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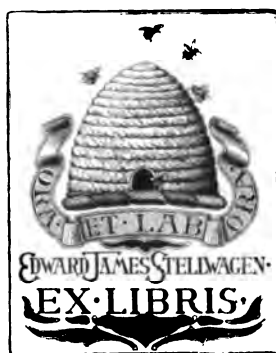
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W. Hall

Edmund Burke

EDMUND BURKE.

THE
IRISH NATION:
ITS HISTORY
AND
ITS BIOGRAPHY.

BY,
JAMES WILLS, D.D.,
AND
FREEMAN WILLS, M.A.

VOLUME II.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

	Page		Page
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,	3—54	21. Sir Robert Stewart,	359
		22. Robert Stewart, of Irry,	363
POLITICAL SERIES.		23. Richard Butler, third Viscount	
1. Roger Moore or O'More,	54	Mountgarret,	363
2. Sir Phelim O'Neile,	70	24. Patrick, ninth Lord Dunsany,	371
3. Sir Charles Coote,	83	25. Letitia, Baroness Ophaly	375
4. Miles Bourke, Viscount Mayo,	90	26. Randal Macdonell, Earl of An-	
5. Owen O'Neile,	100	trim,	379
THE BOYLES.		27. A. Forbes, Earl of Granard,	383
6. Richard Boyle, First Earl of		28. Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyr-	
Cork,	129	connel,	391
7. Roger, Earl of Orrery,	136	29. Rev. George Walker, Governor	
THE DE BURGOS.		of Londonderry,	424
8. Richard, Fourth Earl of Clanri-		30. Gustavus Hamilton, Viscount	
carde,	154	Boyne,	447
9. Ulick, Fifth Earl of Clanricarde,	155	31. Patrick Sarsfield,	456
THE BUTLERS.		32. Colonel Richard Grace,	469
10. James, Duke of Ormonde,	158	33. Teague O'Regan,	470
11. Thomas Butler, Earl of Ossory,	307	34. Baldearg O'Donnell,	472
12. James, Second Duke of Or-		35. Henry Luttrell,	475
monde,	313		
13. Sir William St. Leger,	329	ECCLESIASTICAL SERIES.	
THE O'BRIENS.		INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,	478
14. Murrrough, Baron Inchiquin,	331	36. Heber Macmahon,	479
15. Murrrough O'Brien, Earl Inchi-		37. James Margetson, Primate,	482
quin,	332	38. James Usher, Primate of Ire-	
16. William, Second Earl of Inchi-		land,	486
quin,	336	39. William Bedell,	537
17. Sir Philip Perceval,	337	40. John Bramhal, Primate of Ire-	
18. Theobald Taafe, Earl of Carling-		land,	554
ford,	343	41. John Leslie, Bishop of Clogher,	567
THE CHICHESTERS.		42. Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down	
19. Sir Arthur Chichester,	347	and Connor,	569
20. Arthur Chichester, First Earl of		43. Francis Marsh, Archbishop of	
Donegal,	349	Dublin,	606
		44. Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of	
		Dublin,	607
		45. Anthony Dopping, Bishop of	
		Meath,	618

	Page		Page
46. William King, Archbishop of Dublin,	615	54. Hon. Robert Boyle,	661
47. Rev. John Richardson,	638	55. Valentine Greatrakes,	680
48. Charles Leslie, Chancellor of Connor,	640	56. Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon,	686
49. Francis Kirwan, Roman Catholic Bishop of Killala,	648	57. Henry Dodwell,	688
50. John Lynch, Roman Catholic, Archdeacon of Tuam,	655	58. Sir William Brounker, Viscount Castlelyona,	689
LITERARY SERIES.			
51. Michael Cleary,	659	59. William Molyneux,	690
52. John Colgan,	660	60. Sir Richard Cox,	704
53. Geoffrey Keating,	660	61. George Farquhar,	722
		62. Nahum Tate,	725
		63. Robert, Viscount Molesworth,	726
		64. Thomas Southern,	728

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO

TRANSITION PERIOD.

FITZGERALD, — LINE OF OFFALLY, KILDARE AND LEINSTER. ORIGIN OF LORDSHIP IN FEUDAL TENURE OF LANDS AND LOCAL USAGE. EARLDOM. CREATED BY EDWARD II. 1316.

GREAT ANCESTOR ON **Male** SIDE, **Walter Fitztho**, CASTELLAN OF WINDSOR TEMPORA WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

Gerald, his eldest son, married Nesta, daughter of Rhassa, Prince of South Wales.

Lords of Offally.

Earl of Kildare.

1 & 2
1172.
Maurice,
his eldest son.
1177.
Gerald, eldest,
Patriarch of house
of Kildare.

3
1216.
Maurice,
the great,
his eld. son,
L.-Justice of I.,
Became a friar.

4
1257.
Maurice, s. s.,
L.-Justice of I.,
obtained from
Henry III. free
trade from
I. to E.

5
1286.
Gerald, only son,
dying 1289,
estate passed to
line of 2d son of
2d L. O., viz.

E. 1. 6 L. O.
1389.
John F. Thomas,
cr. E. of Kildare
1816.
A very bold man.

The line of Earls of Kildare is continued in direct male succession to Gerald, 7th earl, the most prominent Irishman in Ireland during his long life. Of the intervening earls the only one whose life presents anything worthy of notice being Maurice, 4th earl, knighted by Edward III. for his valour at the siege of Calais, governor of Ireland 1350, and twice afterwards; and Thomas, 7th earl, lord-deputy 1454 and in 1468.

Earls of Kildare.

E. 8. L. O. 13.
1477.
Gerald, L. Dep. I.
and afterwards
L. Lieut.

E. 9 & 10.
1513.
Gerald, his son,
attainted.
Died in the
Tower.
S. by his son
Thomas 1534.

E. 11 & 12.
1553.
Gerald, his
brother, s. by his
2d son, Henry
who died s. p.

E. 13.
William, 3d son
of Gerald, 11th
E., died unmar.
S. by his
kinsman.

E. 14.
Gerald,
nephew of
11th E.

The line is again continued in direct male succession to James, 19th earl, whom George II., (in consideration of his ancient and noble descent, his offer to raise a regiment at his own expense on the occasion of the rebellion of 1745, and of his marriage with a lady of the royal branch of Lennox,) created a British peer, and raised to the dignity of Marquis of Kildare, Earl of Offally, and Duke of Leinster in Ireland, 1766. Of the intervening earls, his father, Robert, the 18th earl, was conspicuous for his public services (having been lord justice, chancellor, and a commissioner of the great seal in Ireland), and for his benevolence and piety.

Dukes of Leinster, Marquises and Earls of Kildare, and Earls of Offally.

2d D. 26 L. O.
1778.
William Robert,
his eld. son.

ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF FITZGERALD, EARL OF KILDARE.

3d D. 27 L. O.
1804.
Augustus Fred-
erick, his eld.
son,
Solo D. and Premier
E. of Ireland.

**IRISH FAMILIES
JOHN, GRANDSON OF
HIS 2D MARRIAGE WITH**

1.
Fitzgeralds,
the White Knights;
from Gilbert,
his eldest son,

2
Fitzgeralds,
The Knights of
Glin;
from John,
his second son.



ARMS.—Argent, a saltire, gules.
* CREST.—A monkey statant proper,
environed about the middle with a plain
collar and chained or.
SUPPORTERS.—Two monkeys, envi-
roned and chained, as the crest.
MOTTOES.—Over the crest, "Non im-
memor benefici;" under the shield,
"Crom a boo."

**DESCENDED FROM
GERALD, 2D L. O., BY
HONORA O'CONNOR.**

3
Fitzgeralds,
Knights of Kerry
or the
Black Knights;
from Maurice,
his third son.

4
The
Fitzgeralds of the
Island;
from Thomas,
his fourth son.

* The crest and supporters were first assumed by Thomas, called 6th feudal L. O., called "The Ape," from an escape he had when an infant.

Of the patent of Earldom of Kildare, which is given at length in Jacob, Selden says, "It is the most ancient form of creation I have seen."

THE IRISH NATION.

TRANSITION.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

Retrospect—Early Religion not that of Rome—State of Ireland in the previous Period—Anglo-Norman Conquest—Reign of Mary—Elizabeth.

To obtain a just insight into the social or political history of Ireland, during the period on which we must now enter, it will be necessary to recall from the past some general conditions which have still, through all our periods, had a main influence to govern, or chiefly shape the course of events. The consideration is the more essential, as most of the seeming difficulties and misrepresentations which have obscured our history, have their source in opposite views on those fundamental elements—the social condition and early religion of the native Irish.

For the first of these main considerations, we have to observe, that even so late as the 17th century, there existed in Ireland no class, to which, in any modern sense, the term "people" could be intelligibly applied. There was no constitutional structure of civil government—or social order between the lord and the serf. The common people were slaves to chiefs, with few exceptions, little less savage than themselves. As such a statement must seem to many inconsistent with the traditional exaggerations of the annalist or the bard, it may be useful to recall the truth, even as it becomes transparent through the very surface of the tradition itself. And it will also be clearly apparent, that the boasted learning of the early Hibernian saints and doctors, was wholly confined to those learned individuals themselves; and, in no way indicates the state of the people, rich or poor. They were teachers without a school—speculative disputants in religion or philosophy, travelling to learn or teach. The chiefs and the people had other objects to attend to; the incessant and murderous contentions of the petty toparchs who robbed each other, and trampled on their "hereditary bondsmen." The frequent invasions from the Dane or Norwegian, invited by such a state of things, ever tended to repress the first germs of civilization, and drive the arts and muses from the shore.

One high and pure civilizing influence found its way—impeded and

II.

A

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finally interrupted by the same causes—an imperfectly planted Christian church; neutralized by the popular ignorance and nearly primitive absence of moral or social culture. The early, and, it is said, apostolical teaching of Christianity, notwithstanding these impediments, like sunrise on the hilltops, cast its illumination, to a more than partial extent, among the superior classes, and there soon began a rich spread of moral and doctrinal intelligence, strangely contrasted with the general condition of the people and with the rude simplicity of the age. In a few generations the doctors and disputants of the "Isle of Saints" were heard in foreign schools, and the earlier heresies and disputes of the first Christian churches were earnestly discussed among the mountains of Kerry, or the rocky isles of the western shore. And for many centuries, while heresies of all forms and grades of degeneracy were accumulating in Christian churches, the saints and bishops of Ireland, with small exception, adhered to their first unadulterated faith. Of these contests, and of the earlier disciples and doctors whose names they rendered memorable in high tradition, we have given several full notices in a former stage of our history. Two centuries later we trace the slow beginning of a considerable change. It was then that the great metropolitan city of the west, having in the revolutions of continental Europe gathered influence, began to claim supremacy over the nations. As a natural consequence the emissaries and monks of the church began to be mixed among the Irish; a result more natural, as they had as yet not departed widely from the common standard of faith. We only mention this as accounting for the confusion of some more recent antiquarian writers on the ancient church of the country.

It was after the Anglo-Norman invasion, and late in the 12th century, that Henry II. conceived the policy of availing himself of the powerful alliance of the Pope. He had speculated on the defenceless condition of the country, and through his chaplain opened a negotiation with Pope Adrian, in which he urged the fitness of reducing Ireland to Romish jurisdiction, and offered his own services for that laudable end. Adrian gladly closed with the welcome proposal. His power in Ireland was yet unacknowledged; the people had latterly given doubtful and wavering signs of acknowledgment. Much had still been gained since 1152. when Eugenius III. had sent over Cardinal Papirius, who introduced several canons of the Roman See, and established generally a communion with Rome. Henry undertook to reduce the nominal to a real and canonical subjection, and to secure a tribute for the Pope. In return, he was rewarded with the gift of the island, by virtue of a power latterly assumed by the Pope to dispose of kingdoms.

During the period to which we have thus looked back, it cannot be truly said that there existed many of the social or political incidents which indicate progress towards the civil institutions of law, government, or commerce of modern ages. The most decided steps in advance may be traced in connection with the invaders from Denmark and Norway, whose settlement in both of the British isles brought in many elements of civilization. Their general influence is however more decidedly to be found marked in early English antiquity. After their first reduction, in the reign of O'Melachlin, they were again

allowed to land and settle peaceably under Sitric, under many professions of friendly conduct and commercial benefit to the nation. They were permitted to gain possession of the chief cities—Waterford, Limerick, and Dublin. They soon recovered strength, and kept the country in successive outbreaks of war and predatory excursion through the greater part of the ninth century, to the famous battle of Clontarf, when they were finally defeated with great slaughter by Brian Baromhe. We have already given the main details of these events, they are here thus cursorily adverted to as among the few incidents which contributed to the state of Ireland as it existed at the commencement and during the first reigns of the period of the history of which we must now offer the main events. The most important of the cities, and, generally, the elements of civic or corporate organization obtained form and construction in the outset from the habits and commercial genius of that adventurous race. Their occupation was nevertheless too transient to have communicated any impulse to the nation, but that which it did not want, their spirit of outrage and plunder. The Irish people were during that period little in condition to receive improvement, or the Danish settler in condition to impart it. We have to notice the events of a much later period. Events, which may not be characterized as prosperous, nor to be contemplated with humane satisfaction, yet, in which the earlier indications of genuine progress and the civilized future—long after to be approached, become slowly and painfully traceable. It is to be still felt through every reign of the Anglo-Norman kings, through the period of one immediate division, that we are still engaged in following the deeds and fortunes of an unreclaimed people, which we might perhaps describe as rather fallen than raised from their pristine condition; and this we should affirm with less reserve, could we rely on the poetic and legendary relation of the bardic annalists of their primitive heroic ages.

The succession of events chiefly occupying the memoirs of our latter period display no advance in the general condition; some political changes were such as to materially aggravate the disorders we have noted. Nor can we present any very redeeming incident but one, itself the result of the most awful calamities which can befall a nation—rebellions, massacres, and judgments, forfeitures and exiles,—the results, to a remote posterity, from early causes, which had long continued to operate. The constitution of the country, if the term may be so applied, abounded with irreconcilable conditions, and, as it stood, was incapable of being transformed into any polity susceptible of improvement, unless by changes too comprehensive to be effected without opposition, offence, and hence fatal malversation and abuse. The Irish natives, though among the earliest civilized races of Europe, had from many causes hung back in the twilight of antiquity, till, in the course of human progress, their antique customs had become barbarism, retaining on its wild features somewhat of the "hairbreadth sentimental trace" of the Caledonian muse, without the refinement. Rude and fierce, and torn into factions by the continual dissensions of their petty kings, they long continued to degenerate,—warping for many generations further from the pale of progress. From the first inroads of Danish invasion, their condition was sinking into dilapidation, giving

birth to ruins and round towers. And when, after the Anglo-Norman invasion, it became a question how their fallen position could be retrieved,—how it might be reduced into a portion of the modern imperfectly civilized world, and raised from a condition abject for themselves, dangerous for England, of being a mere landing-place for enemies, an approach for foreign intrigue,—it soon became too apparent that one course alone was practically effective. It was one full of difficulties and objectionable consequences, not to be adopted without leaving behind a surviving enmity of the worst kind,—the enmity of races. The disposition of property, the laws of inheritance, the distribution of power, the civil jurisdiction, with the prejudices and customs of every class, were, as they stood, unfavourable to regular government, common as they were to peace or constitutional freedom. There was nowhere power to remedy these evils by peaceful means. The nation, half conquered, had been left to flounder on like a wounded bird that could neither fly nor walk, escape nor resist. It was full of conflicting elements: two races were hostile to each other—two laws clashed—two powers strove for mastery—two religions cursed each other;—ills partially, and but partially, redressed by the only remedies which could be found applicable, yet which no less tended to perpetuate than to assuage them.

During this period there cannot be traced the regular form or working of any civil constitution, beyond the imperfect administration of criminal law and financial imposition by the legislative council, afterwards to occupy so important a position in Irish history, and so largely modify the national condition and the train of events. From the several occasional and incidental allusions to this essential estate of free government, it is not easy to fix the period of its institution, its earliest privileges and constitution. We meet it first very much in the form of a council of ecclesiastics and other persons having rank and authority, assembled to consult on local or at most provincial interests. Under successive monarchs, from the reign of Henry, its constitution was by slow degrees improved, both in authority and the composition of members. These were long the persons of noble rank, summoned by the king or by his lieutenant for some special occasion;—there was not, and, properly speaking, could not have been, a House of borough representation. For long no boroughs existed, until created by successive kings of the Norman descent. The first House of Commons seems to have been in 1613. Of its after history we shall have much occasion to speak more fully. We may here best observe that for the whole of this period, from Elizabeth to Anne, the Irish parliament possessed little power to influence the course of events. It became a matter of discretion or favour long before it was of right, to call in the council or obtain the sanction of the nobles for the laws which were projected by the government, or (by Poyning's Law,) transmitted to the council in England. The law was loosely worded, and one convenient evasion followed another, and abuses rose which were the business of further enactments and declarations to correct or aggravate. At times the balance of encroachment preponderated for the nobles, sometimes for the Crown, and latterly for the Commons, according to the varying changes in the successive reigns, from Henry VIII. to Charles II. The

declaratory act of Philip and Mary is to be regarded as having fixed the sense of the law, and given to the parliament that form which it afterwards held. The Irish parliament began in disorder and confusion, not unprophetic of its future and of its end. The government continued, from the commencement of this period, in the formal possession of lieutenants or deputies of the crown, but mostly with little authority beyond the metropolitan district, or what they could assert by military force. The country, until this time, yet remained in the same condition as before the Anglo-Norman invasion, and with many nominal institutional changes was virtually the same. The population, as of old, consisted of lords and serfs. There was no people, in the vulgar sense of the term; neither commerce, nor arts, nor manufactures, nor even agriculture existed. The land was a forest and a morass. The petty kings—as they chose to be ranked—amused themselves with the chase, or with the costlier game of war and civil intrigue and circumvention; until discord and mutual strife at last brought in the Anglo-Norman. Thus was originated the first step of what might have come to be the dawn of civil progress, but (not to say, that the conquerors themselves were yet but little beyond the first rudiments) the elements of barbarism had somewhat of a constitutional growth in the country. Inveterate prejudices traditionally rooted, and, as it were, crystallized into laws, were favourable to the usurpations of the new, as well as of the ancient lords, and adapted to the manners and customs of both; and combined with a territorial distribution which converted the whole land into a hunting-field, prevented all those wholesome influences of property, and useful occupations of the soil on which, primarily, the social advantage of a people must depend: the country was divided rather into kingdoms and lordships, than farms and pastures. The rule of force was the law. The acquisition of a fortified house was a title to rob, and to lord it over the neighbouring district with its inhabitants, who looked to the owner for protection, espoused his quarrels, and joined his marauding excursions.

The long succession of feudal contentions, forfeitures, appropriations, and settlements, of wars, and transfers of lordship, which constitute the history of the following four centuries, belong to the period already past, and may be referred to the memoirs contained in our former volume. They are here but adverted to, as descriptive of the state of things from which we must next proceed. In quitting the subject, a few reflections may be allowed. We have approached the history of a state of things from which, if suffered to continue, there could follow no recovery. "History's *muse*," as the spirit of the Irish historian has, with inadvertent satire, been termed by the poet of Ireland, has adorned the "blotted" page with bright dreams of heroic achievement and patriotic suffering. The colours of the rainbow have been lavished to glorify the monuments of those dark ages of crime and mutual wrong. The chronicler and the bard too frequently have supplied matter for the rant of Irish eloquence, by ignoring the protracted lapse of ages, which separate the "glories of Brian the Brave" from the black betrayal of friendly trust and domestic sanctity in Charlemont fort. It grieves us to touch these dark recollections; but our main object is, so far as we may, to restore the balance of reality. On

every side there has been matter enough for reproach ; but the fancy of the poet, and the eloquence of the rhetorician, have ever found their most ready material on the side of popular malcontent. The gait and countenance of freedom, independence and liberty, are most easily assumed to the vulgar eye, by the swaggering of democratic insolence, by lawless insubordination, and renunciation of principle. The people whose wrongs are trumpeted abroad in all the keys of brazen exaggeration, were in those heroic days on a level with beasts of pasture as to freedom, and not much above them in moral nature. The rule of force, "the good old plan," was the universal law, the right, was the power to take and the power to keep.

During the long period marked by these characters, there existed no orderly or normal constitution. Calm and disturbance, tyranny and resistance, rebellions against authority, sanguinary feuds among chiefs, and popular excitements, all on an increasing scale, variously shifted like clouds on a stormy day. Virtually there was no government : in the dominant kingdom, disorder of too frequent recurrence, and too violent, left long intervals of license to corrupt authority and to nurture disaffection. There existed no care for the development of internal resources. Agriculture was discouraged by the despotic chief for the preservation of the beast of chase ; nor was the tenure of land favourable to improvement. It was the ancient maxim of the chiefs to keep the "hereditary bondsman" in the state best adapted to the savage submission of their class—subservient to the mandate of robbery and mutual aggression. The astute priesthood saw the security of their growing influence, in the exclusion of all moral or intellectual advance, whether in lord or serf. Over all these was growing unperceived by any party or class, the skilfully ordered influence of an alien jurisdiction, and a secretly advancing cause. We may now pass on to the consideration of those circumstances which mainly contributed to alter, if not materially to advance, this torn and trampled nation from its dead level of poverty and depression.

Ages might pass, and leave it still in the same condition of serf bondage and aristocratic tyranny. The first great step towards improvement was yet unthought of, when an event of a different nature had begun to diffuse a saving and exalting light, which, while it brought in a dawn of freedom and prosperity to England, unhappily carried bitterness and controversial rancour, to give new force and impulse to the national discontents of Ireland. This was the Reformation.

The nation first, by a combination of fraud and dominant power deprived of its more ancient and truer faith, was next, with better intention, but not more lawful means, constrained into unwilling subjection to a renewal of the old creed under a newly framed constitution. In the 15th century, the apostolical faith of the old Irish church was long forgotten, and the heresies of middle-age superstition possessed the people, and were radically combined with their habits, discontents, and animosities.

To estimate more justly the true effects of this and other causes, which aggravated and protracted the state of things heretofore described, we must proceed to notice the more active and energetic measures

afterwards adopted for the improvement of the country, and for the correction of its main abuses.

During the reign of Henry VIII., the reformation obtained, amid much resistance, some advance in Ireland; this was, however, counteracted in the next reign; the superstitious Mary, governed by the Spanish counsels and influence of her husband, and wholly devoted to the interests of the Papal See; though under considerable difficulties from the discontents of the English aristocracy and better classes of her subjects; was not deterred from adopting the inquisitorial proceedings of her husband's church and country; and the persecution commenced in England was readily extended into Ireland. In 1556, there was published a Bull of Pope Paul IV., complaining of the separation of Ireland from his See, and asserting the readiness of the people to return.* The Protestant prelates were violently driven from their Sees, which were filled with Romish ecclesiastics. The primatial authority, committed to Bishop Dowdal, was wielded with more than the harshness of his bigoted mistress.

Meanwhile, the perpetual disorders of the country were much increasing. Great commotion was fast growing violent, in the Queen's county and King's county,† on account of the occupation of new settlers on the lands. In consequence, great numbers were slain, and but for the humane and truly patriotic intercession with the Queen, of the Earls of Ormonde and Kildare, these counties would have been depopulated.

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, steps were taken to restore the church in Ireland to its condition in the preceding reigns. But the hostility of Rome, and the active enmity of its creatures and zealous supporters in the country, were more than proportionally augmented. The brutal chief of Tyrone, encouraged by many escapes, by much impunity, by the devotion of his rabble followers, and by the injudicious efforts of the government at conciliation, increased in pride, and in encroachments on his brother chiefs. In 1562, he came to a resolution to visit the Queen in great state, and appeared in London in barbaric pomp, at the head of a grotesque train of his northern savages. He was received with politic favour, and allowed to plead his rights and complain of his wrongs, and was dismissed with assurances of favour. On his return, he pursued his former turbulent course, but under the cautious pretext of resisting the Queen's enemies. His pretended loyalty was felt by Sydney to be as formidable as his hostility. He was, however,

* This Pope quarrelled with Henry II. of France for slightly relaxing the persecution of his Protestant subjects. Ranke, in his history of the Popes, traces very clearly the strong Protestant reactions in Germany and other parts of Europe, caused by the excessive violence of this Pope. In the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth is supposed to have had some leaning to Romanism. She caused her accession to be notified to Paul. He scornfully told the English ambassador that "she must first submit her claims to his judgment." It is even not obscurely apparent that, if England had not been providentially leavened with a strong infusion of scriptural truth, from a period long antecedent, the conduct of this Pope had secured the victory of Protestantism in England. And the same observation may, in nearly similar terms, be extended through many parts of Europe, from the same period and causes. Paul's most favoured instrument was the Inquisition, which he revived. His tyranny was nearly driving the people of Rome into revolt. On his death their hatred was freely indulged by many excesses, among which was the mutilation of his statue, which was dragged through the streets of Rome.

† Anciently Leix and Offally.

soon encouraged to cast aside pretences, by the occurrence of a destructive explosion of the powder magazine in Derry, which passed for a miracle on the gross superstition of the time, and was ascribed to the vengeance of Saint Columkille on the intruders upon his abode. Tyrone at once raised his standard in the north, and proclaimed his defiance. Once more he plunged the northern provinces into disorder and ruin; he burned the church of Armagh, razed many castles, and sent out his emissaries to engage the aid and alliance of the chiefs of Munster and Connaught. Sydney assailed him with not dissimilar policy; he was aware that O'Neal's ferocity and arrogance, with his savage severity towards his followers, had alienated their temper, and led to desertion and hatred. O'Neal's forces ebbed away from around him, and he presently found himself alone and a fugitive. It is needless to describe the treacherous artifice by which he was slain in a brawl with many of his followers, by a hostile chief whose ancestor he had slain. His attainder, which soon followed, left nearly the whole province of Ulster in the possession of Queen Elizabeth.

Many salutary laws were at this time enacted; much was done to restore the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the crown; the province of Connaught was divided into six counties; but still the late condition of disquiet was far from its end. The Queen was excommunicated by Pius V. 1572, who damned all who should acknowledge her. Fresh commotions followed, and it must have been very strongly apparent at the time, that there could be no reliable security for the peace of the kingdom, while an alien jurisdiction, with the policy and interests of the Pope, could at any moment exercise a sway so absolute over an ignorant and excitable people. The present commotions were quieted in the south by Perrot, and effectively resisted by the citizens of Kilkenny, and by the influence of Ormonde, though his brother, with others of the Butlers, seem to have been rather inadvertently betrayed into the designs of those who were ill-affected towards the government. We have in the preceding volume already related the main incidents and fate of the principal chiefs and leaders of these commotions, and notice them in this place, only to preserve the historical connection of our memoirs. The discontents of chiefs, and of their family connections, under the deprivation of their estates, along with the more secret unremitting hostility of papal emissaries, may be said to have perpetuated disorder as the normal condition of the period; nor can the continual recurrences of insurrection and forced calm be conveniently followed out in their monotonous details, unless in very voluminous order.

The period of which we write is memorable for the active hostility of Philip II. against Queen Elizabeth. Irritated by her protection and countenance to the persecuted Protestants in the Netherlands, this cruel bigot equipped an expedition against Ireland, and a landing was effected in Kerry, at the Bay of Smerwick, from three ships, in which he sent 80 Spaniards, with James Fitz Maurice, and a disorderly band of fugitives from both England and Ireland. This little company was joined by the brothers of the Earl of Desmond. An English ship of war putting out from Kinsale, seized their ships, and thus cut off their retreat by sea. The Earl of Desmond attempted to collect his followers under pretext of aiding the government, and summoning the Earl of

Clancarty to aid ; he was, however, disappointed to find Clancarty quite ready to join in the cause so pretended, and shammed out of his feigned proposal by vexatious objections to every arrangement.

Within nearly the same period, perhaps about 1572, the Earl of Essex proposed to plant the Ulster district of Clandeboy with English settlers. He was to possess half the tract so planted, and the land was to be fortified and garrisoned at the joint cost of the queen and earl. The scheme seems to have been well organized ; but as it was frustrated by the subsequent misfortunes of that ill-fated nobleman, who mortgaged his estate to promote it, we shall not waste our space by its further notice. There could be little sane doubt that the ultimate prospect of Irish civilization was to depend upon the eventual success of such a measure. But Sir William Fitz William, who had been latterly commissioned in place of Sydney, fearing the evils which he foresaw from the rashness and presumptuous interferences of Essex, remonstrated strongly, representing the occasion as premature, in the unsettled state of the country. Essex, baffled in repeated efforts to prosecute his sanguine undertaking—at last worn out by frequent permissions and retractions—retired in anger and disgust to England, where he soon came to his well-known tragic end. Passing the long tissue of confused and stormy changes of two years, during which the various turns of disquiet and calm went on in similar succession, we revert to the Spanish invaders.

They had landed in the confident persuasion of a rising in mass, of the south to join them, but found themselves in a state of isolation. Fitz-Maurice was dead. Their retreat was cut off by six ships of war ; the Queen's forces were in course of collecting against them. They had recourse to the guidance of Desmond, and left the town of Smerwick. They were distributed through Kerry, and entertained by Desmond's followers. The Pope, by a Bull, committed his authority to Desmond, and published indulgences for all who should join him. The rebels increased rapidly in confidence and numbers. After gaining some advantages by surprising small detachments which had exposed themselves too rashly into their secret haunts, they were at last confronted by a small force under the command of Sir Nicholas Malby. The English amounted to 900 foot, with 150 horse. The rebels, to about 2,000. They had the papal standard, and one Allen, an Irish Jesuit, actively busied among their ranks to assure them of victory. They were routed with great slaughter, and among the dead was found the body of Allen. Malby received a letter of congratulation from the Earl of Desmond ; but, on the body of Allen, several papers were found, by which his complicity in the rebellion was made clear. His congratulations were answered by severe rebuke and exhortation to return to his allegiance. The advice was unheeded.

Desmond escaped for the present, by the removal of Malby from his post. For the rest, we must refer to his life. We cannot, however, afford to follow the tangled thread of his perverse and infatuated course to its tragic end.

The unhappy result of Grey's appointment with a commission to end this miserable rebellion by decided measures, in entire ignorance of the country, and with wholly insufficient force and means, may be

despatched in a few words. The O'Byrnes had taken an unassailable position in the Wicklow mountains, whence they issued their defiance against the Queen's government. Grey, in his ignorant indignation, issued a peremptory order to his officers to march with their troops, and drive the rebels from their hold. The officers and their men were aware of the rashness of the attempt, but, not unlike the heroes of a later occasion, undismayed by inevitable destruction, they came through a marsh into a labyrinth of rocks difficult to surmount, and scrambled with broken order in the face of an invisible enemy. In this laborious and confused scramble they were met by a shower of bullets, volley upon volley, without the power of resistance or retreat. Among the slain the most distinguished officers fell; and Lord Grey was compelled to recall the remnant of his force, without even an attack, and return to Dublin in shame and dismay.

This mortifying incident was followed by a fresh alarm from the south. Philip yet retained his inveterate purpose. It was fully known that he was bent on vengeance against the Queen, and that an expedition was in course of preparation to effect a second and more formidable landing in Ireland. Admiral Winter was stationed on the coast of Kerry; but being ill provisioned, and meeting dangerous weather, was forced to return to refit and obtain the needful supplies. During his absence, a force of 700 Spaniards, with a large body of Italians, were safely landed at Smerwick, with arms and ammunition for a still larger force of Irish, and a sum of money to be delivered to Desmond. Ormonde marched against them. On his first approach they took refuge in the woods, but soon discovering the weakness of his hastily collected force, they resumed their first position. Ormonde drew off his scanty force, and awaited at Rathkeal for the promised junction of the Lord Deputy. Lord Grey presently made his appearance with 800 men, and Winter's fleet at the same time regained its station. The fort was thus invested by land and sea; and the enemy was summoned to surrender. The answer is worth full record. They were, they said, sent by the Pope and the king of Spain to extirpate heresy, and reduce the country to the obedience of Philip, whom the Pope had invested with the lawful sovereignty. At the same time they attempted a sally, but were driven back.

Next night, Winter landed and completed a strong battery with the artillery from his ships, seconded by Lord Grey's arrangements on the other side. The garrison was summoned again at dawn, but they did not apprehend their danger; and repeated their bold refusal. A fierce cannonade followed, and they soon perceived the error of their expectations. The Irish whom they trusted, failed to come to their aid, and the Spanish officers in command became sensible of the necessity of an endeavour to gain terms. But Grey insisted on a surrender at discretion, and no alternative remained. The page of history is stained with the event; the Italian leader, with some officers, were made prisoners of war. The rebels were adjudged to death, and a company commanded by Sir Walter Raleigh was marched into the fort, to execute the fearful sentence. It was said in extenuation that this could not be avoided; and on full consideration, the difficulty must be apprehended. The prisoners were too numerous for any means of dis-

posal, and the army threatened to mutiny if restrained from spoil. The judgment of a deliberate court-martial could not have been wholly decided by demoniac revenge, nor without apparent grounds of necessity. The Deputy wept at the sentence; and the Queen expressed her strong displeasure. The report was industriously improved by the Romish agents and emissaries. Humanity must shudder in the relation of deeds, however they may be vindicated by necessity, or palliated by strict justice, or paralleled by the similar or worse atrocities of the party, the people, or the authority which would presume to judge. But we must forbear.

To enter upon the incessant risings, at this period disturbing the peace and repressing the efforts of improvement, would be to extend our preface into a volume. North, south, east, and west, echoed each other with the din of malcontent, of rising, suppression, and resistance. De Burghs and Kildares, names now associated with the high respect of civilized times, were formidable to the ear of peaceful industry and quiet government. The rumour of insurrection was often rendered awful in the apprehension of the peaceful hearer on either side, by the whispers of a root and branch extirpation apprehended by either party. The Sicilian vespers, or the bloody vigil of St. Bartholomew, could not fail to cast their red reflection over those nations, which Irish patriots assume to have felt horror and detestation at the cruel deeds of Smerwick, and the unsanctioned execution of military law on obstinate rebellion and unprovoked invasion.

At the same period, the tragic end of the last Earl of Desmond seemed to offer a fit occasion to secure many fair provisions for the peaceful improvement of a large district long kept back by his turbulent occupation. But many obstacles intervened:—the Queen's economy, the reluctance of many influential noblemen, and the prejudices of the English parliament, then, as ever, grossly ignorant of Irish interests.

We are compelled by our limits to omit many incidents which should be treated according to their local importance in the history of this reign. Great improvements in the condition of the people, in the administration of the laws, and in the settlement of lands, were, in the few years remaining of Queen Elizabeth's reign, effected by the wisdom and activity of Perrot and his immediate successor; and, at the same time, neutralized by the feuds and intrigues of chiefs, and the constant irritation of the inferior classes, kept alive by the under-working arts of the papal emissaries, which permitted no beneficent law or wholesome social process to have its effect. The most auspicious event of Elizabeth's reign was the foundation of the university of Dublin, long to be obscured by the vapours of sedition and the storms of petty insurrection which filled the age, but destined to endure through many gloomy changes, to be the light of better days, and to gradually impart the dawn of moral and intellectual day to future generations; unless that cycle of darkness, to which the social state of man seems limited, shall bring back the age of periodic disruption, which seems to menace the latter days of the 19th century. It was the harbinger of Ireland's civilization—of the day of Grattan, Burke, Plunket, and Bushe, and their immortal compeers, the giants of their day.

This establishment was, we believe, first formally proposed in the parliament of 1559, and successively taken up by Sydney and Perrot Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, opposed to the scheme of these eminent men, proposed and matured the plan ultimately adopted. The monastery of Allhallows, erected by Dermot MacMurrough in the neighbourhood of Dublin, was chosen by the Prelate. The site had been vested in the mayor and citizens of Dublin, who, on the Archbishop's urgent application, granted it freely. The Queen accorded her royal charter, which passed the seals 29th December 1591. For the rest we may refer to the authority of the University Calendar.

We have slightly passed the incidents of this troubled period; the wars of Tyrone, in which some successes gained by the rebels, led to a great increase of violence and popular excitement, and proportional discouragement of the royalists. The Queen, evidently reluctant to waste men and money on these interminable broils, protracted the reign of bloodshed and hate, by withholding the only resources necessary for its termination. The last event of Elizabeth's reign—which we shall for a moment delay to notice—was the invasion from Spain under Don Juan. When Lord Mountjoy was governor of Ireland, the rumour of a Spanish descent was gaining ground, to the terror of the peaceful settlers, and the encouragement of the rebel chiefs. The king of Spain was still inveterate in his thirst for vengeance against the queen for her aid to the Netherlands. He is blamed by historians for having been tardy in the execution of his design. Had he availed himself of the recent successes of the rebel leaders, the distress of the country would have been extreme, and many secret enemies of the government would have declared themselves. It was also said that the expedition was unskilfully timed and directed. It took place in September 1601. A part of the Spanish squadron was driven into Baltimore by stress of weather, but the main fleet entered Kinsale without resistance. The feeble garrison retired. Messengers were despatched to Tyrone and O'Donnel, on whose invitation the Spanish force had been sent, to urge their speedy presence; and the Romish monks were everywhere on the alert among the people, with splendid promises and strong denunciations against the government of the heretical and excommunicated queen. The Munster people, at this time, were anxiously inclined for peace, and many of the chiefs waited upon the Deputy to assure him of their fidelity to the Queen's government. It has been alleged that the Irish leaders were so much repelled by the proud deportment and offensive coldness of Don Juan, that they very generally drew back, and left him to the consequence. The Spanish commander, who came flushed with the sense of high command, and expected to find the kingdom under his hand, found himself shut within the walls of a small town, besieged by the English and deserted by his professing allies. The siege was, however, interrupted by intelligence of the approach of the northern chiefs with considerable forces. The English army was therefore divided to meet them, but without immediate success. The rebel troops melted away before Carew's march, and disappeared among the woods and morasses, so that after a fruitless and fatiguing march he had to return to Kinsale. Fresh reinforcements from England and from the

Pale soon came up, and Admiral Leviston with ten thousand soldiers and military stores, and 3,000 more with the Earl of Thomond, considerably strengthened the President. The siege was carried on slowly, but without interruption from the Spaniards, whose sorties were all repulsed. When summoned, they answered that they held the town for Christ and the king of Spain; and sent a challenge to single combat from Don Juan to the President.

While matters were thus protracted, the Irish leaders standing aloof from their Spanish allies thus at disadvantage, circumstances occurred to give a new impulse to their flagging courage. A fresh arrival of six Spanish transports reached Castlehaven, and landed 2,000 men, with military stores to a large amount, and announced six more ships to follow. Tyrone and O'Donnel immediately joined this reinforcement, and the assurance of certain victory spread through all the Septs, so lately lavish of loyal profession. All the south were eager to be foremost, and put such forts as they possessed in the hands of their imagined deliverers. Don Juan garrisoned those places, and gave rewards and commissions to his patriotic friends. The situation of the English appeared now sensibly reversed; they were in a state of siege. Don Juan pressed his Irish allies to attack them. Tyrone justly saw the risk, and urged the wiser and safer expedient of leaving them to the infallible effect of the cold and famine, from which they were beginning to suffer. Don Juan, in his romantic infatuation, would not listen to this prudent counsel, but peremptorily insisted on the advance of Tyrone; the Irish chief thus pressed, advanced. He was met by the Lord Deputy with a comparative handful of men, while the walls were watched by the President with the main force of the army. As the English detachment approached, the people of Tyrone turned and fled. They were rallied, and offered some ineffectual resistance to their pursuers; but the cavalry which covered their hasty retreat being charged by the Earl of Clanricarde and by Wingfield, were dispersed, and increased the confusion by their flight. A third body made a feeble resistance and followed the same example. The Spanish party from Castlehaven, which had accompanied the march of Tyrone, fought bravely and met their fate on the field; those who escaped the sword were made prisoners. O'Donnel's force in the rear retired without a blow; 1,200 were slain, and 800 wounded. The English lost one officer, and a few soldiers wounded. The leaders on both sides were equally astonished at such a victory and such a defeat.

The Spanish general's mistake, in urging this attack by a rabble of undisciplined men upon a trained and regular force, was followed by another, which may have aggravated the disappointment felt at so unexpected a result. The English on their return to the coast fired guns in celebration of their victory. Don Juan mistook the incident, and marched out to welcome his victorious friends. His astonished sight was met by the Spanish ensigns waving in hostile hands. He could not believe that Tyrone's populous array could have been honestly beaten by so small a force, and suspected treachery on the part of the Irish chiefs. In his rage, he sought a parley, and proposed to treat on honourable terms for the surrender of the town. We may not here enter on the details of this parley; they came to a conclusion, by the

terms of which, the Spaniard delivered up the towns and forts of which the Irish had put him into possession. In this, Don Juan manifested a high sense of chivalric spirit; when the fort of Berehaven was to be summoned, O'Sullivan, who had given it up to the Spaniards, disarmed the garrison, and prepared to defend the place. Don Juan offered his aid to Carew for its recovery; this was, however, refused. Carew proceeded to bring up his forces by sea and besieged the fort. Having stormed the upper part, there was still an obstinate struggle maintained in the lower chambers, and the captain of the garrison being mortally wounded, attempted to blow up the fort. This desperate act was prevented, the fort was surrendered, and demolished by the English.

Peace was far from being attained. The promise of Spanish invasion was still continued, and the expectation kept alive and propagated through the priests and other papal emissaries. A wide-spreading and deadly strife was maintained by the parties on either side. The vindictive temper of private animosity became awakened and diffused; the thunder of excommunication added its share of theological rancour; and mutual aggravation laid up a treasured hate for the next generation. They who fell into rebel hands were butchered as enemies to the Pope; the rebel was hanged. Nor was there a pause in this reciprocity of bloodshed, till, in the course of the protracted struggle, the leaders of the rebellion had been slain or reduced to submission, and a cessation of all but silent hate followed for a season.

We here pass the intervening details of the contemporaneous contest of the Deputy with the two great northern chiefs—Tyrone and O'Donnell—who saw their necessity of submission from an increasing inability to resist, and the growing weakness of their party. It may be enough to say, that their submission was received.

CHAPTER II.

James I.—Charles I.—Cromwell—Charles II.—Accession of James II.

The death of Elizabeth in 1603 opened an order of events, in some important respects new. The period was one of present tranquillity. The contest of sovereignty was settled; while the land yet lay under the desolation of the deadly tempests of war which had swept over it in continued succession for so lengthened a period. But it was still a nation without a government, or in any proper sense a constitution; a people without law or trade, or any but the rudest elements of social existence, dragged on in despite of fierce resistance in the wake of the dominant nation, on which it was thereafter to depend for progress.

The spirit of rebellion was, for the time, subdued; but the forbearance from military repression, and power of martial terror, caused the development of an arrogant temper of resistance and contumacious pretension. Though rebellion did not venture to appear in arms, it was not less free of tongue, or persistent in all safe opposition. The citizens of Waterford boldly refused to open their gates to Mountjoy:

and Doctor White, accompanied by a Dominican friar, visited his lordship's tent, to prove from Augustine, that a king opposed to the Romish faith could not be obeyed. Mountjoy listened with courtesy, and having the book in his tent, showed that it was falsely quoted by the Doctor. He then apprised the refractory citizens, who (more sensibly) pleaded a charter of King John, that he held the sword of King James, with which he would "cut the charter of King John to pieces; that he would level their city with the ground, and strew it with salt." This threat saved the historic immunity of the maiden city, clearly proving the advantage of valour tempered by discretion. The gates were thrown open, allegiance to King James sworn, and a strong garrison stationed. Other chief cities followed the instructive example; Cashel, Clonmel, Limerick, and Cork, all complied, and received garrisons in turn. An act of oblivion and indemnity was published by proclamation, under the great seal, to quiet the fear of the many who must have felt themselves yet within the suspicion of the government. This humane and wise precaution was the winding up of Mountjoy's administration in Ireland.

Many salutary laws were passed, and useful arrangements adopted, on which we will not now enter—as the beneficial results were soon to be reversed, and counteracted in no distant time by succeeding events—after which the same sanative policy may be more fully traced in these pages.

The important event of the ensuing reign, was the plantation of Ulster, which may be considered as the second great step in the real advance of Ireland, from the Anglo-Norman settlement under Henry. At the period to which our summary has arrived, the real condition of the people was virtually not more advanced than in the days of Mac-Murrough. The nominal possessor of large districts, whether of Celtic or Norman race, possessed the same barbarous notions of feudal power and territorial occupation which were held in the 10th or 11th century. The laws of person and property, the administration of justice and the customs of the people, were on the same ancient level, out of which neither theory nor historic precedent offers any probable course of regular advance. The first Anglo-Norman settlement, reduced to its genuine results, was not so much an advance as a step upon that level, from which, in the course of ages, the path was to be gained; one barbarian race was linked to another; but that other, somewhat less stationary, was destined in time to draw it slowly forward. The retarding forces we have fully noticed; how long they were to operate is undecided still. In the earlier years of the 17th century the land was comparatively worthless to occupant or lord. If we except the counties of the Pale, there was little cultivation; beyond this limit there lay a waste of forest and morass, affording scanty pasture for meagre flocks. At the accession of James, the population was less than one-thirteenth of the mean returns of our time. The measure of a Plantation had presented itself to the common sense of the former generation, and had been undertaken and partially executed in several instances under Queen Elizabeth; but an important condition was wanting. New blood, new life, customs, and habits, were what was wanting, and were to be now supplied by the Scottish experience and the larger economy of King

James ; a monarch less remembered for considerable intellectual endowments, than for the moral and personal incapacities by which they were largely neutralized. We would be far from rejecting the strictures of those who have sketched his manners and character somewhat grotesquely ; but it is our impression that, although the features are not untruly drawn, the likeness has been imperfectly caught. Scott, in one of those unrivalled master-pieces which must for ever leave *longo intervallo* behind all competition in moral portraiture, or in reanimating the life of other days, has painted the pedant king with his usual force and freedom of hand. But the outward expression does not always reveal the spirit within. The most observable features of character in ordinary deportment, or in personal conduct, are not intellectual so much as moral ; he who in cell or cabinet may be profound and subtle to combine and generalize or discern, may go forth a fool and a simpleton, impulsive, rash, and blundering into the walk of everyday life. For though reason, experience, and normal rules govern the study, men act from habit, motive, feeling, and routine. The greatest mathematician of our time was found to show a remarkable incapacity for official business. The case is somewhat different ; but King James was very much what Sully has described, "the wisest fool in Christendom ;" or in the more elaborate description of Scott, "deeply learned without possessing useful knowledge ; sagacious in many cases without having real wisdom ; fond of his power, and desirous to retain and augment it, yet willing to resign the direction of that power and of himself to the most unworthy favourites ; a big and bold asserter of his rights in words, yet one who tamely saw them trampled on in deeds ; a lover of negotiations, in which he was always outwitted ; and a fearer of war when conquest might have been easy. He was fond of his dignity, while he was perpetually degrading it by low familiarities ; capable of much public labour, yet often neglecting it for the lowest amusements ; a wit, though a pedant ; and a scholar, though fond of the conversation of the ignorant and uneducated. Even his timidity of temper was not uniform, and there were moments of his life when he showed the spirit of his ancestors. He was laborious in trifles, and a trifler when serious labour was required." We have been tempted beyond our purpose to continue this somewhat over-laboured and antithetic character of a monarch to whom Ireland is indebted for the first step of her national regeneration.

Many circumstances prepared the way for this great act of paternal policy. The forfeitures already mentioned, which gave him the disposal of half a million of acres without leaving cause for just complaint ; the popular expectation felt from a monarch in whom the ancient line of Milesius was thought to be restored ; he was also the son of a mother who was regarded as a martyr for the Church of Rome. His first step was the essential preliminary to the construction of a social state, having its foundation in the security of rights. The Irish customs of tanistry and gavelkind were cancelled by judgment in the King's Bench, and these rude laws abolished. The law courts were organized, and the circuits established in Munster, Connaught, and Ulster. The distribution of property was preceded by the provision for its security. Existing rights were to be settled and ascertained, and com-

missions were accordingly issued to ascertain and secure the rightful possessor. They who held their estate by tanistry were invited to surrender and receive possession by letters patent, and thus acquire permanent possession for themselves and their natural heirs. And the consequence was a general surrender on these advantageous terms. A similar arrangement was entered into for the cities, respecting their corporate possessions.

The larger forfeitures had place in Ulster, where the lands, long neglected, were at this time reduced to desolation; the sword had co-operated with famine to depopulate a wide extent of territory.

The king laid down a well-devised plan, of which the execution was mainly intrusted to Sir Arthur Chichester. The lands were divided into portions of 2,000, 1,500, and 1,000 acres, to be allotted with suitable conditions to their respective classes of grantees according to their rank. They were bound to build, cultivate, and sublet, upon certain fixed terms. The first class were to build a castle and a strong courtyard enclosing it, within four years, and to keep 600 acres in demesne; to settle four fee farmers, having each 120 acres. They were obliged to have 48 able-bodied men of English or Scottish descent on the estates. The others were bound by similar conditions according to their respective grants. The several tenures were also fixed: The first class to hold of the king *in capite*; the second by knight service, and the third in common soccage. They were all bound to five years' residence, or to have agents appointed by government. It was also enacted, that none of these grantees should alienate his lands without a royal license, set at uncertain rents, or for terms less than three lives or 21 years.

The merit of this effective scheme is mainly due to Sir Arthur Chichester, grandson by his mother to Sir William Courtenay of Powderham Castle in Devonshire, thus deriving his lineage from Charlemagne. He became early somewhat notorious for a youthful frolic, more in keeping with the manners of his time than reconcilable to modern notions; the Queen's purveyors, the instruments of despotic exaction, were objects of popular hatred, and, like the bailiffs of sixty years ago in our western counties, regarded as fair game for mischief by country gentlemen; it was thought by the young student to be no bad joke to follow the example of Prince Hal, and ease the licensed spoiler of his plunder. The exploit was discovered, and, as the joke was considered as no laughing matter by Elizabeth, who was to suffer the loss; Chichester was for a time compelled to seek refuge in France. There he was taken into favour with Henry IV., by whom he was knighted. His reputation reached the ear of Queen Elizabeth, who with her known inclination to promote rising talent, was thus induced to recall him and pardon the youthful indiscretion.

After some years of military service, he was sent into Ireland, where he soon distinguished himself in the war against the Earl of Tyrone; and was among the most able officers under Mountjoy. He was soon appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland; he signalized his government by renewing the circuits, and establishing justice and order throughout the country.

Many projects for the plantation of Ulster had, at King James' desire, been submitted for his inspection; that of Chichester was

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chosen, and the details were carried through by his active zeal and ability.

There is a remarkable passage in a letter to Chichester from the king, which is worth extracting for its description of the country and the time. "*Hiberniæ, post Britanniam omnium insularum occidentalium, maximæ et amplissimæ et pulcherrimæ, coeli et soli felicitate et fecunditate affluentis et insignis, sed nihilominus per multa jam secula perpetuis seditionum et rebellionum fluctibus jactata; necnon superstitioni et barbaris moribus, presertim in provincia Ultonum, adiectæ et immerse.*"

Chichester continued in the government for ten years till 1613, and took a principal part in the troubles which we shall presently have to notice.

The native Irish who received lands under this settlement, were exempted from most of the conditions imposed on the English; while these were compelled to people their lands with a British tenantry, the Irish grantee was allowed to let to natives; an arrangement in some measure detrimental, but not in fairness to be avoided. The Irish were also exempted from building castles, or fortified places, or from arming their tenantry; an exemption of which the policy is obvious. They were, however, restrained from the barbarous customs till then incidental to Irish proprietors and their tenants. They were obliged to set their lands for certain rents, and for certain terms of years; all denominations of Irish dependency and exaction were prohibited. English methods of cultivation were imposed, and the custom of wandering with their cattle from place to place for pasture forbidden. They were also enjoined to dwell together in villages like the English tenantry. Under these conditions, the lands disposable in Ulster were distributed among one hundred and four English and Scotch, and two hundred and eighty-six native undertakers, who all covenanted and agreed by their bonds to perform all these conditions.

It had been experienced in the former plantation under Elizabeth, that great evils, amounting, in fact, to the failure of all the objects of the measure, had resulted from the intermixture of the English and natives. The Irish, who were naturally reluctant to give up their own ways of cultivation and management of property, did not thrive in the same rapid course as their British neighbours, and became discontented, disorderly, and insubordinate to the settled jurisdiction. The British, on their part, rather looking to their immediate personal advantage or disadvantage, than upon the ultimate policy of the Settlement, soon found attractions, as well as irregular advantages, in falling into the less constrained and less orderly habits of their neighbours. If honest industry becomes insecure, and is defrauded of its direct and immediate objects, the commencement of demoralization is not long retarded in any stage of social advance. It was at this time determined to prevent the recurrence of these disadvantages by separating the two races. We are far from approving of the abstract policy of such an expedient; but considering all circumstances, it was necessary to immediate success, though less reconcilable to longer views: but all measures of governments must needs be adapted to the time that is present. The attempt to legislate for the future is the most dangerous of all kinds of quackery,

and far beyond the bounded range of human intellect. The soundest measure is only beneficial according to the steadiness and honesty with which its operation is carried out: it was the defect of the policy of the Irish government of that period that it was never to be thoroughly carried out in its details.

The Irish undertakers were, much to their own advantage, located on the plains, and on situations of easy access; their allotment was thus the most fertile for agriculture. The British, on the contrary, were disposed of rather with regard to their safety, and for the preservation of their manners, customs, and language; their lands were therefore in the more boggy and mountainous tracts, and far less profitable. They were at the same time interdicted from intermarriage with the Irish; and a regulation more inconsistent with the further objects of the settlement cannot easily be conceived. Providentially, indeed, among the many pernicious abuses which defeated the beneficence of the English government, these feeble restraints could never be maintained.

Such was the settlement of Ulster, which, whatever exceptions may be made, was the wisest and most fortunate measure of British policy in Ireland. A measure from which, by a connexion of circumstances too simple to be further explained, may be traced the superior civilization and prosperity of that Province.

The improvement of the new plantation, under the able superintendence of Chichester, was rapid and decisive. Notwithstanding the numerous defalcations and abuses inseparable from all great and thorough-working measures, the whole results confirmed the wisdom of what had been effectively, though not with unexceptionable precision, carried into operation. Numerous undertakers observed their stipulated engagements, and thriving farms soon covered the face of the country; castles, with their villages and respectable yeomanry tenants, gave it an orderly and civilized appearance. Several towns were built, and obtained the privilege of fairs and markets. Thus commenced, on a secure basis, the structure of a civilized, industrious, and commercial Province. To complete this fair beginning, the king erected some of these towns into corporations, with the right of sending members to parliament.

Plowden, a historian of considerable learning and research, but of views singularly confined, and writing manifestly under the strong influence of national feeling, quotes from Cox the apportionment of forfeited lands, for the express purpose of showing the small share given to the old possessors. But the statement does not support his proposition. The distribution was as follows:—

	Acres.
To the Landowners and Undertakers,	209,800
The Bishops' mensal lands,	3,418
The Bishops Termon and Erenachs,	72,780
The College,	5,630
Free Schools,	2,700
Incumbents' Glebes,	18,000
Old Glebes,	1,208
Deans and Prebends,	1,478
Servitors and Natives,	116,330
Restored to M ^{rs} Guire,	5,980

To several Irish,	.	.	.	.	1,548
Impropriations and Abbey Lands,	.	.	.	.	21,552
Old Patentees and Forts,	.	.	.	.	38,224

These distributions of the land were accompanied or immediately followed by several changes well calculated to spread satisfaction through all classes. The sessions of Ulster were extended or restored in Connaught and Munster; the law of tanistry and gavelkind abolished and replaced by the British law of inheritance; the serf class emancipated from their chiefs; and a generally favourable sense of the English government, for a transient hour excited. Many of the chiefs, though deprived of somewhat of popular authority, saw the superior advantages of order and lawful government. The recent disorders inflicted on all, through the violence of Tyrone, imparted a sense of the value of peace, and the necessity of a strong-handed jurisdiction and defined rights.

We may for the present pass the numerous and minute conditions respecting the settlement and distribution of the lesser divisions of estates. They were planned upon the fairest principles of expedience, limited by justice. But to those who can allow for the customs of the country, and the habits of the age, it must be understood that every cause in the least open to discontent of the tenant, or the grasping of official malversation, was soon in full play. In the execution, unlicensed claims were to be met, and spurious patents under pretended claims of the Crown; these were wisely met by a "commission of grace" under the great seal, by which the Subject was secured against all claims of the Crown. The chief was secured by exchanging his Irish life tenure for a tenure by grant; but at the same time limited to the estate in his actual possession; his tenants were fixed and bound in their tenures by the valuation of former duties to the Lord. A similar policy was applied respecting corporations and their charters.

The effects of these more favourable arrangements were fated to be postponed to times yet distant. It is easier to make laws and economical changes, than to alter the implanted habit of a generation; laws can be made or repealed, but the traditions of a people hold their place. Faction, superstition, and rooted discontent, the habit of sedition and conspiracy, were indigenous in the soil, and surviving recollections, the embers of ancient wrath, kept alive the undying flame to break forth on the moment of occasion.

James, in the latter years of his reign, was driven to the adoption of several projects to raise his revenue, and to remedy the mischievous and disorderly working of his well-devised plans. Of these, some were not only unsuccessful, but productive of discontent and alarm. The project of correcting the abuse and misapplication of large grants to cities and corporations by resumption of the lands, was soon discouraged by a just apprehension of the consequences.

The Connaught proprietors, who had surrendered and received a reconveyance of their estates in Elizabeth's reign, were surprised and alarmed to find themselves insecure, by the neglect of the officers of the Crown to enroll their patents. Their lands were consequently adjudged to be still vested in the Crown. On the strength of this iniquitous omission, the king was advised to establish a new settlement

in Connaught. This injustice was met by strenuous remonstrance, and at last by a compromise, not very honourable to the king's government. The wronged lords were to be let off for fine and composition. They were released by the king's death.

In March 1625, Charles I. was proclaimed. His troubles may be said to have commenced with his reign. He was soon entangled between the Protestant Commons of England and the Popish influences of his matrimonial alliance with the crown of France. He was constrained to assent to a public petition to enforce the laws against papists and priests, and not less compelled to suffer the celebration of mass in his own house, and open his doors to the swarm of priests who flocked around his queen. He was immediately engaged in a contest with people and parliament on supplies, and entered on a war of which he was forced to disguise the object from his protestant subjects. But with these inauspicious beginnings, we are not directly concerned; for Ireland, the after results were calamitous.

A policy of conciliation had, for the latter years of the late reign, been pursued by Falkland in Ireland; but at last the ill consequences were become too prominently apparent for compromise. It was now presumed not unnaturally that the king, surrounded by Popish influences, must be in favour of the Irish priests; under this persuasion, the priests began to assume an arrogant tone, and to parade their ceremonies and offensive processions in the streets of Dublin. They went even so far as to seize and forcibly appropriate some of the churches. Loftus and the Earl of Cork, who succeeded Falkland in the government, would have adopted harsh measures to check these presumptuous indications, but were for a time restrained by the king. At length, it so happened that a Carmelite fraternity, encouraged by continued indulgence, ventured on a great public procession in Dublin, and forcibly repelled a weak attempt to dispel them. This rashness compelled the king to act with a show of decision, and fifteen religious houses were seized, with a new Popish seminary.

At last the expediency of a firmer and more decided government was sensibly required to compose these troubled elements; and perhaps still more, to improve the financial returns, so mainly necessary to the growing wants of the king. Wentworth's government has been the subject of lavish condemnation by latter historians; we do not propose to defend him, but one thing is clear; it is admitted that his severities were no more than necessary to quiet contentions which could not be reconciled, and compel the awards of justice and equity to be submitted to. Law, to be heard, was to speak in thunder. The great administrative capacities of Wentworth were beneficially exerted to restrain disorders inconsistent with peace, order, or safety; though, we can admit, that his powers and formidable influence were harshly strained for what he regarded as higher obligation in the prosecution of the royal interests. With those objects we may confess a want of sympathy, but the lesson which Wentworth left of heroic fidelity and courage cannot be recollected without praise. Some allowance must be made for a truth enforced by the constant experience of many generations; that the complaints of the public incendiary, of every description or class, take the tone of suffering virtue, of popular sympathy or patriotic in-

dignation. Wentworth, in common with the master whom he served, must be admitted to have carried the rule of despotism too far, to have lost sight of justice in his earnest sense of the exigencies of the English government; he was too lightly impressed with the consideration due to a people whose want of loyal feeling, of respect for rights and imperfectly suppressed hostility, repelled trust, and continually kept sterner feelings alive. Wentworth, who well knew, from personal experience, the dangers of the approaching state of things, and whose practised sagacity could not fail to discern the indications of the contest soon to set in between the Commons of England and the Crown, had little heart or spirit for the arduous and hitherto impracticable work, which, in less stormy times, should have been his main duty, and could it be successful, the glory of his name and memory. A state of things was not distantly arising, to involve both countries in common disaster for no brief period, and which was to render of small eventual value all that could then be effected for Ireland. The ocean tide was swelling to flood both islands, and to sweep away boundaries and landmarks; it was no time for calm cultivation, or the gentler courses of peaceful economy.

A new policy was in fact then required by an unperceived change in the times. The people of Ireland had for a generation been prepared by many lessons, and by several acts of a wise policy, to receive and rightly appreciate the benefits of a just paternal government; a just, but firm maintenance of law, and the assertion of a stern control over the Papal encroachments, was all that was needed. Both people and chiefs had attained to a sense of their true interests, if repeated provocation did not drive them too often back into the arms of treason and ultramontane seduction. But these more favourable conditions were interrupted by the civil wars, which now began to disturb the repose of England—and for a hapless interval, to withdraw all fostering care from Irish interests. The dawn of constitutional freedom was not destined to rise in the sunshine and smile of heaven; and Ireland, scarcely emerged from the desolating struggle of 1641, was doomed to share to the utmost, all the disastrous results, without the eventual compensations.

From such considerations, we are led to the darkest period of Irish history. Of necessity we shall have to state the discovery and main outline of the massacre of 1641 in our memoirs of those mainly concerned in its detection or involved in its guilt. We must now review its proceedings more generally with respect to the causes, or as affecting the after-course of national events.

Its main cause must be looked for in the long-continued course of discontents and disorders by which it was preceded—fomented by the papal agency, ever on the watch to keep alive the discontents of the nation against their Protestant rulers; by those who hoped to regain what they had lost by forfeiture; by those who were irritated by the stern suppression of disorder and by the assertion of laws by which their personal license had been suppressed; and lastly, with more just reason, by those who felt that in the state exigencies of the time, exaction had been strained, and remonstrance too peremptorily silenced, by an authority which carried with it the insult of contempt.

But all this might of itself have passed away, leaving behind but the

beneficial effects. Good laws were enacted, an orderly system of executive government in some measure established, and the majority of the nobles and commons seeing the necessity of submission, gave their free consent. The scene was ere long changed by the rapid progress of the civil wars in England. It was soon perceived that the king was beginning to be involved in difficulties, which must deprive him of all power of interference in Irish concerns. And they, who at no time lost sight of the chances of conspiracy, soon began to plot, and by every usual art, frame an extensive rebellion. Their power over the peasantry, through their priesthood, was nothing less than absolute.

The Lord Maguire, who was the main contriver and most authentic historian of this rebellion, was joined by Sir Phelim O'Neil, the chief actor, Roger Moore, and others, whose respective parts we have related; as also the account of its first discovery by the incaution of O'Connelly.

About the actual insurrection, several accounts remain, mostly agreeing in the one fact, that great numbers of every age and sex were butchered by the native Irish at the command of their leaders. And it remains on credible record, that they acted on the avowed design to massacre all the English without any exception. It has been a question as to the number of the victims to this horrible revel of murder. It has been much under, and as much over rated on either side, by the friends or opponents of Irish disaffection; each of which may be identified in the writings or politics of the descendants of the same parties, whose names are eminent in the records of that evil time. In making such a remark, it is proper to mark the qualification due to the different period in which we live—civil and social cultivation—the long annihilation of the traditionary rights for which they plotted and murdered; and the more firm and solid safeguards of the rights which time has affirmed, have helped to assuage the rancours and bloodthirsty impulses, which ruled the chiefs and serfs of that dark day. Yet it cannot be denied that the family features of the race may be traced in the incendiary deceiver and the hereditary dupe, who seek, by more specious means, to gain the same ends. As to the actual amount of the slaughtered English settlers—from an article in the *Edinburgh Review* (October 1865) we learn that the fact of the massacre of 1641 has been denied by a recent writer, whom the critic, though not participating in his monstrous and almost inexplicable mistake, praises for general accuracy. At the same time justly observing the "partiality, which tinges his whole narrative—a partiality which has led him, like Lingard and Curry, to suppress or exaggerate (according as the case concerns the Irish natives or the English settlers) sufferings and atrocities, too monstrous in themselves to be either exaggerated or disguised." Every writer of the actual period, who adverts to that sad history, has left some high amount on record. The Jesuit O'Mahony boasts 150,000 slain in four years by his party. Carte states that in the first year the slaughter amounted to 37,000, confirmed by Sir W. Petty's computation. The writers of the ultramontane, or of the democratic parties, have generally tried to soften those terrible details, as the advocacy of their insidious designs required. The evil was in some measure aggravated by the unwise expedient of Strafford, of disarming the Protestants, who, it was feared, would take part against the king, then at war with

the Scottish party in England. It is yet to be recorded, that numbers were saved by their courage, and found refuge in the towns. Unhappily, as has happened in later times, the crimes of one party brought on in the natural course the not less criminal retaliations of the opposite. In some months after these atrocities had commenced, and while yet at their height, the example was too faithfully followed at Newry, where as little mercy was shown by the Scottish troops to the helpless crowd who surrendered there.

In feeling compelled to make these passing statements required by the connection of our summary, we at the same time would willingly spare the language of party recrimination. It is not easy to exclude from the memory some sense of the old national animosities of sect or party, which never have been yet allowed to rest in the grave of the O'Neils and O'Mores of that dark day, and have often since called up the same sanguinary Spirits to revisit the scene of their old atrocities. But the impartial historian, however he may feel in duty, and in regard to truth and justice, bound to vindicate the right, and to condemn where condemnation is due, will recollect the state of those dark times which gave a fatal concentration to the prejudices and resentments which belong to unenlightened humanity, and which, even in our own age of comparative civilization, can hardly be restrained from similar excesses; for this, we need hardly recall the Bridge of Wexford or Shruel, or the fires of Scullabogue. The same deeds which are the disgrace and shameful boast of our Celtic sires, have been designed by the living representatives of the brave Maguires and Sir Phelims of 1641. The wisdom of government, and still more, the admirable conduct, spirit, and judicial firmness and ability of the illustrious men who sit on the Irish bench, have under Providence saved the country from an attempted renewal of scenes which are never likely to be out of date.*

But we are compelled to hasten on. The effects of the Irish Rebellion were destined to advance the proceedings and materially decide the results of the civil wars on the other side of the channel,—by which they were prolonged and finally doomed to meet a rude termination. They presently afforded the pretext for extensive levies of troops and money for their suppression, but to be employed to strengthen the parliamentary cause, and to reduce the power with the resources of King Charles.

* To the Irish peasantry of this generation, there is due a debt of justice. The accelerated progress of art, commercial and general knowledge in the 19th century, has not advanced without diffusing a large impulse and portion of its light amongst them. The peasantry have by slow degrees been acquiring not only much of the externals of civilization—dress, manner, and the English language—but with those apparent advantages, a truer sense of their real interests, and of the retarding influence of their old barbarous prejudices and superstitious delusions. These happier changes are due in the greatest measure to a cause not yet fairly acknowledged—the earnest and self-devoted labours, for the last 40 years, of the Protestant clergy, who have of late been falsely taunted with the little progress in conversions which they are said to have made in the south and west. But a silent and unobserved result has followed on their labours, of which we may hereafter have occasion to notice the details. The character of Popery itself has been imperceptibly changed by an infusion of scriptural light, which, like the first grey dawn of twilight on our western hills, has awakened numbers of those who call themselves Catholics to Christian convictions. And while the grosser errors of the ultramontaniam have been fast sinking down among the dregs of older ignorance, even their very priesthood have been compelled to recognise and conform to the change.

The first great change caused in the aspect of affairs, was the extension to Ireland of the main struggle between the king and the parliament; in such a manner, that the Rebellion in that country seemed for a season to acquire the character with the pretensions and forms of loyalty. An assembly was held in Kilkenny, in which the Royal authority was formally professed in connection with the interests of the chief rebel leaders, and under the insane guidance of the papal Nuncio Rinuncini. Considerable supplies and a considerable body of Irish soldiers were obtained for foreign service, and the royal cause was not ineffectively contested for a time; but not without a more real and sincere view to the objects of the papal see and leaders of the rebel faction, thus forwarded under cover of loyalty. This confusion of purpose, and the internal dissensions thus prevailing, were very considerable; and it was not long before the Marquis of Ormonde and other genuine supporters of the royal cause, discovered that they were surrounded by hollow and traitorous profession, and felt compelled to withdraw from the party which was only willing to use and betray them. With the decline of the royal cause the contest assumed a character less equivocal; and a long season of factious contention followed, when the reins of government dropped from every hand. The nominal peace of 1646, concluded in the king's name, was rendered abortive by the parliamentary partizans, and by the Nuncio, who went beyond his commission in violence. He was backed in his opposition to peace by a strong party under Owen O'Neil, and became for some time the prominent authority in Ireland. By the success of O'Neil in a recent battle, this monk was enabled to exercise civil jurisdiction, displacing magistrates and public officers who refused submission to his orders. He excommunicated the commissioners at Waterford, and all who had any part in the peace. He, however, committed the oversight of an exceptional proviso in favour of loyalty, for which he received a reproof from Rome, by which he was instructed that the "Holy See" would never consent to approve the civil allegiance of Catholic subjects to a "heretical prince."

The main object of Rinuncini was the possession of Dublin, and there to fix himself as governor. His intemperate violence soon caused dissension among his faction—O'Neil and Preston, his chief supporters, began to regard each other with suppressed animosity. O'Neil was earnestly devoted to the Nuncio's main commission to establish the papal sovereignty in the country. It soon began, in the course of the following year, to be more truly apprehended that the event of the contest was not likely to be in favour of Pope or king, and it became generally felt that the will of the parliament must decide the fate of all the factions. The wretched and mischievous monk was, with some difficulty, awakened from his crazed dream of exaltation, and persuaded to quit the country. A more formidable intruder was in preparation to appear upon the scene, and crush the factious parties which so long contended for pre-eminence, into terrified repose.

On the 15th of August, 1649, Cromwell landed with 12,000 men, of whom 4,000 were cavalry; and a large train of artillery. He first visited Dublin, where he settled the government under Colonel Jones; and from thence marched to Drogheda with 10,000 men.—On the 10th of the following month, the city had been well garrisoned and fortified,

and its defence was looked forward to with sanguine expectation, by the leaders of the Royal party; without, perhaps, sufficiently taking into calculation the composition of their garrison. Such hopes were doomed to disappointment. Cromwell battered the walls by a fire kept up for two days, and having obtained a wide practicable breach, found no resistance from within. What followed has been the subject of much unqualified animadversion, and the doubtful defence of a political and military expediency. The historian, whatever may be his creed or party, must shrink from any attempt to extenuate a cruelty so irrespective as to the victims, however beneficial or even necessary the proposed result. But though we cannot defend the massacre of a garrison which had laid down its arms, or of citizens who were innocent of resistance, it is fair that Cromwell should have the benefit of such motives and expediencies as have been urged in palliation of a proceeding as inexcusable by the laws of war as by those of humanity. Ten years of sanguinary faction, all through signalized by deeds of unredeemed atrocity, were likely to convey the impression that peaceful settlement must be hopeless, and that mercy could only result in the renewal of the same persistent and incorrigible course of murder and rapine. To arrest this by the only available expedient, however desperate, might seem not altogether inexcusable. Many cities were to be stormed, and the whole land must be washed in its blood, if it were to be subdued by force of arms. Terror was had recourse to, to obviate this terrible necessity, by a warrior hardened to the milder feeling of humanity in the long and rough training of cruel civil war. Cromwell's hard sagacity apprehended the consequence which followed—a consequence as merciful and politic as the means were inhuman and bloody. But it is also not less probable, though hardly more to be excused, that Cromwell was at the time much actuated by a resentful sense of the still more atrocious persecutions then at their height in Savoy and other lands of Europe in the same cause; by the authority or influence of the Pope, and the fanatic princes who massacred whole peaceful settlements and communities in his name. But we have been led farther than our design. To judge of men with perfect justice, it is fair to look back into the temper and condition of the times in which they acted. In that agitated period, a vindictive spirit and a spirit of terror breathed in the air of life. Persecution, conspiracy, and the aspect of change and revolution occupied and disquieted the mind of all. Strong hearts were strung to meet the emergencies by which the time or their position was surrounded, with a temper which silenced, at moments of trial, much of the affections which prevailed in the calm of peaceful times.

The end was as was expected. It is needless in this summary to accompany Cromwell in his rapid and decisive progress. He was called to England by the not less unsettled condition of affairs there; and left to Ireton the prosecution and final settlement of his campaign. His departure was the signal for the revival of the disorderly scenes of tumultuary conflict between the same old confederate factions composed of Irish chiefs and popish agitators—and loyalists now without more than the shadow of a cause or a name. The principal events of this interval will have to be noticed in our memoir of the Duke of Ormonde, the chief name of this transitionary period; and if virtue and goodness be

counted essential elements of greatness, well entitled to be esteemed the great man of his time.

The accession of Charles II., in 1660, excited many expectations and fears through both kingdoms, and several measures were adopted, which gave cause for satisfaction and discontent, so as to leave the different factions and parties eventually as they had been. The king had been served by many in his distresses, and came to the throne encumbered by promises, most of which he could not easily, and was not very intent to fulfil. Something was manifestly to be done for the security of his reign, and to quiet the more exacting of the strongest factions. The leanings of the king were to popery, but he was in the hands of the protestants, and more especially of the Puritan party.

It was in this position that a policy of compromise was found necessary. All parties were animated by mutual dislike, suspicion, and jealousy. All desired restoration to real or supposed rights, or to earned rewards. Many were emboldened to seize their former estates, and local contests followed which filled the country with fresh disorders, such as to create alarm and favour complaints of interested parties transmitted to the government; all seemed as the beginning of a new Rebellion. The Act of Indemnity then in preparation, was thus on the point of being rendered one of spoliation against all the old English proprietors. A proclamation against Irish rebels was published, and an Irish parliament proposed, for the security of the interests assumed to be endangered. This the king saw reason to postpone, in order to be first enabled to study at leisure how best to extricate himself from the embarrassment of conflicting rights, and arrive at some effective settlement.

This design was in no long time initiated by a declaration publishing the plan of a settlement, including several arrangements to establish the rights and claims of all parties, on principles of justice, and of their respective claims. These proposed settlements, as stated by Carte, whom we cannot afford to follow, appear strictly according to the equitable claims of the parties. Old possessions not determined by lawful forfeiture for rebellion were confirmed, as also those grants which had been the recompence of service—some too of forfeitures which were relinquished; and from some provision was made for innocent Papists; while several classes of persons implicated in rebellions specifically described by date, were excluded. It may be needless to say that suspicion and discontent soon appeared to be the more prominent effects of the proposed settlement. An Irish parliament was called, in 1661, to give it the sanction of law, and a commission was appointed for its execution. In this, all the difficulties, which must be conjectured by any one who may have followed the preceding outline, ensued. Though the rights of many were established or secured, many just claims were doomed to defeat, by intrigue and by stretches of power, and also by entanglements arising out of previous settlement; as also, further, by the entire deficiency of lands to meet many claims,—thus leaving a wide scope for litigation and complaint to go into the sum of indigenous disorder and sectarian animosity.

Of these the rough and troubled succession presents little variety, and still less of necessary connection with the succession of historical events. The most noticeable character of the opening of James's ac-

cession, is the repeal and resumption of whatever was done by his predecessor to correct or amend former abuses, or to reconcile old enmities. Feebleness and tyranny were unhappily united in the temper of the last of the Stuart kings. His accession was greeted by the triumphant exultation of the popish faction in both kingdoms. The wavering policy of Charles long continued to keep up an intense excitement in the Romish party in Ireland, who (not quite erroneously), considered him as favourable to their church, and looked to the prospect of a future intervention in their favour. The open adhesion of his brother seemed to confirm their hopes, and gave fuel to the fire of insurrection. James had for many years wholly devoted himself to the Romish faith, and with his brother, Charles, secretly cherished the design for its re-establishment in Ireland. This design was now openly avowed. Many of the best-known pages of English history tell of his conduct to advance this scheme, and of the results, fatal to his reign and to his race.

His accession was the signal for exultation among his popish subjects in Ireland, and for a considerable exchange of the feelings of either faction. The subdued and broken spirit of repressed disaffection caught once more a gleam of rabble patriotism, and prepared to seize the homes and altars of their Norman lords: these, on their part, shrunk from outrage and prepared for defence.

CHAPTER III.

James II.—Derry—William III.—Battle of the Boyne—Sieges of Athlone—Aughrim—Limerick—Final Siege and Capitulation.

The accession of James II. was the consistent winding up of the general policy of the Stuart line. Despotism, maintained on the fallacious maxim of the "divine right" of kings, falsely interpreted, was eventually to lead on the true and final establishment of British freedom on its constitutional basis. With the civil wars, suppressed by the iron hand and genius of Cromwell, were swept away the formal and legal pretenses of arbitrary power: but they were still in a manner invested with the sanctions of custom, and rendered venerable by tradition. The Restoration insensibly revived many an old prejudice, which there was little in the comparatively lax tyranny of the royal voluptuary to render hateful. Charles was too sagacious, and too regardless of all that did not interfere with his private pleasure, to risk any decisive course which was likely to give public offence. Unlike his brother, he was not likely to be betrayed into peril by the errors of superstition. In common with James, he had long secretly given his allegiance to the Roman See; and they had concerted the means to steal in the authority and profession of the Popish church into Ireland, where it seemed least likely to meet effectual opposition.

The accession of James gave a strong impulse to his popish subjects,

to whom it seemed to carry the assurance of triumph to their church, and a full restoration to their claims.

The first steps of the new government promised to fulfil these expectations. Ormonde was removed from the lieutenancy, and substituted by two Lords Justices, who, though still Protestant, were regarded as popish in their leanings. James was aware of the expediency of avoiding the excitement of the Protestant party, by any harsh or summary display of his intended policy. To these a temporary advantage was thus secured, at the cost nearly of a popish insurrection; but James, profiting by favourable appearances, soon gave way to the impulses of his arbitrary nature and superstitious creed. He openly declared and acted upon his scheme to employ popish officers in England; and still more decidedly in Ireland. On the pretext of Monmouth's rebellion, he called in the arms of the militia. The general terror thus produced, with the earnest and undisguised exultation of the Papists, may be regarded as the inauguration of the great events which followed. We cannot afford to follow, in its details, the course of those measures and their immediate consequences, of which the main result to Ireland was the war which followed, and decided the main issue. For a time the disarming of the militia called out a swarm of bandits from their dens. Informers filled the ear of authority with whispers of Protestant conspiracy or private treason. The Earl of Tyrconnel was sent over from the king with specious instructions, which seemed to imply equal respect to both parties, but with a contrary understanding, fully confirmed by the king's policy at the same time pursued in England. Tyrconnel ordered that none but Roman Catholics should be allowed in the army. It was openly declared among them, that in a few months not one Protestant should remain in the army, and that the ancient proprietors would thus be enabled to recover their lands. Tyrconnel was vainly opposed by the Earl of Clarendon, who saw the consequence of this and other extravagant proceedings. Clarendon, who would not be a party to a policy both dangerous and dishonest, was soon dismissed. Sunderland was appointed in his room, and was bribed by a pension from Tyrconnel, whom he had appointed as Lord Deputy.

Tyrconnel was in one respect honest; he was a sincere fanatic in his political creed. He had an escape from the carnage of Drogheda, and carried his resentment against Cromwell so far as to propose to be his assassin; and when that heroic offer was not accepted, it was succeeded by a like threat against the Duke of Ormonde. He was noted for his utter disregard of every principle—a liar and a tyrant, a slanderer, and politically a swindler—committing public and private wrong on any false pretence. We should apologize for this summary judgment;—it could be more smoothly conveyed in the usual course of historic narrative, and by reference to the usual authentic writers. But it is necessary to pass on to consequences which leave no doubt of their antecedents.

The Irish army was soon a fit organization for the designs of the royal bigot, and for the ends of the popish party. The Protestants, deprived of their arms, were driven into the service of the Prince of Orange. The corporation of Dublin was, with the same design, advised, with threats, to resign its charter. A deputation to the king was contumeliously rejected: a *quo warranto* issued, and, by perversion of

law, decided against this and other corporations. Popish corporations were established in their room, fitly accommodated to the Royal ends.

A like attempt was made on the University, with the addition of a robbery of their plate, too lawless to be quite successful in the end; but enough to leave its brand on the intention.

And now the elements of the hurricane, which was destined to sweep away these infamies from the land, were fully aroused, and in energetic activity;—administrative robbery, military victims, judicial favour, crime unrestrained, murder at will, trade at an end, and the power and patronage of the Crown wholly devoted to the dissolution of every law of civil right or social order.

In course of no long time, by the proceedings thus briefly summed, the Protestants were so completely divested of all civil rights and legal authority, that the adverse party were at liberty to exercise their factious and aggressive tendencies, in mutual contention. While this state of things was in its natural progress from deep to deeper disorder, a strong reaction was fast proceeding in England.

It is needless to trace what has been rendered so popularly familiar as James' precipitate career in the design to effect by his own authority in England, the same course of perversion which he had more successfully inaugurated in Ireland by his servants. He was interrupted in this rash and blind course by intelligence from Tyrconnel, received from Amsterdam, respecting William's design. The rumour spread rapidly in Ireland, and awakened on either side a general excitement of hope and terror; and the hasty arming of both parties. The English party proposed to seize the castle of Dublin; and on the other side a rabble started up, calling themselves the king's soldiers, and were maintained by indiscriminate plunder. They were stoutly resisted, and the country was soon filled with the noise of party strife.

Under such auspices, the Protestant party were soon exposed to plunder, both by stretch of legal wrong, and illegal violence; by informers and robbers of every rank and order. The act of settlement was repealed by a Bill in the Irish Parliament. An act of attainder was also passed, by which many Protestants who had retired either to England or to take service abroad, were condemned to the penalties of death and forfeiture, unless upon surrender within a limited time. Those who were included in this act amount to 2,461 persons of every rank and profession. To give the greater effect to this atrocious act, it was concealed until the limit of the time assigned for indulgence was expired. It was discovered by an accident, and the cowardly tyrant owned his shame by reproaching his Attorney General for an encroachment on the royal prerogative, by a clause which excluded the power of pardon after the 1st November 1689.

In the meantime, many lesser administrative acts, some to appease the fears and suspicions of his English subjects, some to raise money by arbitrary stretches of prerogative in Ireland, in which latter offence against people, parliament, and even his own advisers, he went to the most extreme and arbitrary lengths. We cannot venture to state in detail his swindling device to raise money by the adulteration of the current coin, or the cruel and base refinement upon fraud, by which (through the army) he contrived to turn the impoverishing consequence

against Protestant traders, or the climax of dishonesty by which he bought the commodities of his people with base coin and turned trader himself on the goods obtained by these infamous devices.

To heighten the confusion and distress thus spread by these stretches of tyranny and exaction, the report of a massacre, in which the English were to be exterminated without distinction of age or sex, was suddenly spread in every direction, by anonymous letters directed to several gentlemen. Soon the panic became general; the memory of 1641 was but too easily recalled, and lived sensibly in too many homes. Many families took refuge in England; numbers in fortified towns. In Ulster, where the loyal spirit was strong, and the Protestants were more numerous and united, the appeal to arms was soon proposed; arms were collected, and courses of a defensive nature discussed.

In the midst of this confusion, while much wrong was in course of perpetration by authority, by arbitrary license, by lawless violence; and much preparation for sanguinary strife, shortly to break forth, was on foot; the report of William's landing at Torbay gave a new impulse to every party. It spread consternation among the Irish party, but more especially, it paralyzed the official plunderers, who, under Tyrconnel's protection, robbed all parties for their private use, or for the royal coffer.

To that great man, the cry of Protestant England was now directed. There, too, the country was the prey of two great factions, though happily the public mind was united in a just and constitutional sense of the national interest, and of the dangers to freedom and religion from the abuse of prerogative. Among the upper ranks of the aristocracy, the spirit of faction began and ended; the ordinary contention of party, never wanting to political action, then, in that age of low political morality, turned almost exclusively on the motives of personal ambition. The perilous intrigues which were soon to harass and obstruct the reforming and saving efforts of the common deliverer were, for the moment, arrested by the extremity of a great constitutional danger, and the appeal to William animated every voice that carried authority.

William, earnestly intent upon the urgent necessities of a great contest which may be said to have virtually combined the interests of Europe: and besides, beset by the difficulties of his domestic administration; where he had, with insufficient authority, to constrain the factious temper of a frugal people to the support of a great war and to move and combine his wavering allies in the Protestant cause, against the "most Catholic king:" William naturally felt the difficulty of decision between many present exigencies and the serious obstacles presented by the position of affairs in England. At the same time, he could not fail to discern the prospective advantages to the main policy of his life, to be derived by a leader of European war, from having the power to wield the influence and authority of England.

As we are not engaged in writing the history of England, we may briefly say, that these doubts were soon decided. William was persuaded to visit England, with a view to interfere and mediate between his father-in-law and his oppressed people; and after the necessary preparation he landed in Torbay, on the coast of Devon, in 1688. The particulars of his reception will be found in any history of England.

We have only here to mention, that after a short indecision, in which fear and the consciousness of wrong predominated, James took flight into France. Having for some previous time been in receipt of repeated letters of remonstrance from both William and Mary, he was in full possession of their sense of his conduct, and of their wholly opposite principles. He also had a lively conception of the popular enthusiasm for them, and scorn against himself; the combination was too much for his timid spirit.

In Ireland the fears and expectations of parties changed sides, while their mutual animosity continued steady. Each party had its own objects; some to retain plunder, some to obtain redress. Patriotism, the standard pretext of Irish sedition in more civilized times, had little to say in that confusion of more personal and meaner motives. Men of more lofty nature, known for ruling wisdom and virtue, had been carefully put aside by a ruler whose most fortunate qualifications were the folly which disarmed his despotic temper, and the cowardice which removed him from the scene.

William, to whom all eyes were turned, was yet hampered by the numerous and perplexing concerns of his English affairs. The same bigotry and tyrannic aims which had confused and aggravated the already disordered state of Ireland, had left England without a government, in the crisis of a great political revolution. Exposed to the opposite influences of two great and powerful parties, each desirous to assert its own views of policy, the new king lay under disadvantages which the utmost strength of his sagacious character was not more than equal to resist. His ignorance of the language, his inexperience in the courses of internal administration, of the popular temper, and more than all, of the public men through whom he was at present to act, all laid him open to the bolder pressure of opposite counsels. There was some misarrangement in every branch of administration; every public interest was more or less to be rectified, every concern of foreign policy to be guarded and provided for;—the reader will call to mind that William was then the great arbitrator of the freedom of Europe, no less than of English and Irish liberties. Months were at least necessary to clear him from the embarrassment of these exigencies, and of the endeavours of party to hamper his powers of action. But the calculations of his ambitious or party counsellors were defeated. In the cold silent bearing, and undemonstrative aspect and manner of William, there was concealed a keen, lofty, and far-seeing intellect, and a judgment guided unerringly by right principle and the love of truth. His knowledge of men had been acquired beyond the narrow arena of parliaments and privy councils—his constitutional experience in the concerns of Europe, where he was recognised as the protector and the great leader in the cause of freedom. In England, he was revered both for the near alliance, by his marriage, with the presumptive heiress to the throne, and by the high authority of his character, which caused him to be regarded by the oppressed subjects of his tyrannical and bigoted father-in-law, as the centre of appeal, and the refuge from iniquitous oppression and capricious tampering with the law and the liberties of the people.

James, as the reader is aware, had taken flight at the approach of the

Prince of Orange, and appeared as a suppliant at the footstool of Louis, the implacable enemy of William, and found in him a ready friend. From him he obtained some present aid in money, men, and ships, with promise of more, which doubtless, would have followed any material prospect of success.

The ardour of the confederates could not await the tardy movements of their foreign reinforcements; nor were the English authorities and officers of William's party quite remiss. There yet existed on the British side no regular civil or military organization, and though the preparation of war was on every side in active motion, there was no army in the field, no certain measure of attack or defence. There was, as often of old, the momentary pause of terror or distrust, which precedes civil war. There were the yet vivid recollections of 41; there was the more recent experience of William's heroic achievements in the vindication of European freedom, against the greatest military power of the age. On either side, the formidable powers stood yet apart, like Milton's thunder-clouds, prepared

"To join their dark encounter in mid air."

This preliminary suspense was interrupted by the zeal of the restless confederate parties. Collecting their scattered bands, they saw the advantage, without fully measuring the possibility, of seizing by surprise upon the imperfectly garrisoned towns. In the meantime, Tyrconnel despatched a messenger to France to encourage and hasten the proceedings of James. But willing to deceive and to secure his own retreat by a double manœuvre, he treacherously sent a contrary message by Lord Mountjoy, a peer in the English interest, to assure the fugitive king that there was no remaining hope for him; and advising that he should think no more of recovering his kingdom. By the other, James was privately urged to hasten his preparations and his journey, and to secure Mountjoy. This nobleman was instantly seized and shut up in the Bastille.

On the 1st of February James left St. Germain on his way to Brest, where he arrived on the 5th. Louis presented him with his own cuirass, and bade him farewell, saying, "The best wish I can offer is, that I may see you no more," a wish not destined to be fulfilled. Louis supplied 2,500 soldiers, with a fleet of 15 sail, manned with his best sailors, and commanded by trusty officers. After some days' delay by stress of weather, this armament reached Kinsale on the 12th of March, and after passing through Cork, James made his way to Dublin.

Arrived in Dublin, he found few who were not of his own zealous party, the priests, and those who looked to him for acquisition of lands, and ascendancy of religion. He was met on his approach by a procession of ecclesiastics bearing the emblems and objects of the Romish worship. He convened a council composed of a few of the Jacobite peers who still adhered to his cause, with some Roman Catholic bishops, and French officers.

From this, he published such declarations as he supposed might for the moment operate to conciliate his opponents by political equivocation. He was waited upon by the Protestant bishop and clergy of Meath, to

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offer their complaints; they were assured of his general protection for the rights of all, in their religion and property. Having called a parliament, to which he announced his regard to the rights of conscience, he consented to the repeal of the act of settlement, thus depriving the Scottish and English Protestants of the security for their lands. In virtue of this repeal, immediate measures of spoliation were at once commenced, and armed squadrons were detached to effect the forcible ejection of Protestant proprietors; and, so far as this power of robbery extended, there was a universal course of seizure and forcible possession pursued, irrespectively of all consideration but force.

The Protestant churches were in like manner seized, and transferred to the Romish priests; and, to illustrate more fully the tyrant's professed respect for the rights of conscience, Protestants were forbidden to assemble for worship or for any purpose, on penalty of death. James was soon called away by the pressure of less encouraging circumstances, to the north where the Protestants still retained a front of resistance.

It was the obvious interest of the Jacobites to secure possession of the forts and garrison towns. In December 1688 a strong regiment, purely Irish, had been sent by Tyrconnel to occupy Londonderry. It so happened, that when this force had reached a neighbouring village, a Mr. Philips having observed its character, and apprehending its destination, sent off immediate notice to the magistrates. The regiment of Tyrconnel had just come in sight, and the dismay of the citizens was not yet allayed, when a party of thirteen youths, "prentice boys of Derry," acting at the instigation of a gentleman of the neighbourhood, rushed to the Ferry gates, to which the enemy were approaching. Having seized upon the keys, they raised and secured the drawbridge, and locked the gate. This act, with the spirited appeal of David Cairns, the gentleman referred to, and some officers who joined in rallying the people, awakened the resolution of the citizens to exclude the regiment. After an arrangement had been come to by which a force was admitted there of a more Protestant character, a feeble garrison yet remained under the command of Colonel Lundy, who, though nominally commanding for King William, had secretly resolved to betray the city to James. As the magistrates and civic authorities, in their first alarm, hesitated as to the safe course, and in their perplexity were confused and inactive, Lundy seized the occasion to throw a damp on their resolution by insidious representations of the inutility and danger of resistance. Happily his drift was shrewdly conjectured; he was understood; and as a reaction was soon excited by the loyal remonstrances of more determined spirits, he was expelled from the town.

James presently appeared with his army before the walls, confident that his summons, with the formidable appearance of his forces, would awe the garrison to a surrender. He was fired upon from the walls, and after eleven days, retired, leaving the conduct of the siege to De Rosen, the commander of the French troops. Then followed a siege memorable for the extreme and prolonged sufferings of the citizens, and for the patient fortitude with which they were endured. Of the many recorded instances of the like extremities, none have been known to exceed those of Londonderry. Some of the details we shall meet in

the history of Walker, who commanded. These sufferings were aggravated by the gloomy addition of hope deferred; the fleet, with stores and reinforcements for their relief, was unable to approach, having failed to force the boom which the besiegers had fastened across the narrow part of Lough Foyle. After hovering for a few days in sight of the famishing multitudes, this fleet disappeared, leaving them for a few more terrible days to famine and despair. It would be difficult for the invention of romance to add a horror to this half-told tale of human endurance; yet such, in cruel reality, there was added; the population of the surrounding country were swept together from their homes and crowded within the lines of the besieging host, under the city walls, to entreat for shelter and food from their friends and neighbours within, adding thus their cries and sufferings to the disease and famine of those who felt the wretchedness they could not relieve.

Happily, at length, this interval of horror was broken by one more glimpse of the fleet sailing up the Lough. The hope thus awakened was no longer vain. The boom gave way before the foremost prow, and the long-desired fleet sailed in, to cheer the despairing crowd, and carry discouragement and irresolution to the besieging force. Within the walls no less than eight thousand had died within the four months, during which these heroic men had endured and braved all the fierce extremities of privation and danger, with a constancy never excelled.

It was now, on the last mentioned event, felt by De Rosen, the French commander, that any further prosecution of the siege was but a hopeless waste of time. He broke up his encampment in great mortification; baffled and defeated in all his efforts by a feeble and undisciplined garrison, rather citizens than soldiers, and deficient in the munitions of war, commanded by a few presbyterian clergy, under the guidance of Rev. George Walker, the rector of the neighbouring parish of Donaghmore.

On the same day, the Protestants of Enniskillen, who had still kept their town against many attempts at surprise, sallied out in force, and marched against a strong party of the Irish, commanded by Macarthy. They came up with them at Newtown Butler, and, after a fierce encounter, routed them with a slaughter of 2,000 men.

On the 12th August 1689, Schomberg entered Carrickfergus Bay with 90 vessels and 10,000 men. His troops were badly appointed. The expedition was hurried, and it is likely that reliance on the weakness of a barbarous enemy, somewhat appeared to render haste more important than force; devastation and pillage were, it was thought, the main danger to be arrested. In this, it soon appeared there was some mistake. Having landed, Schomberg laid siege to the town of Carrickfergus, into which Macarthy had thrown himself with the remnant of his army, amounting to 2,500 men. The siege lasted four days, after which the garrison were allowed to march out with their arms, to the great indignation of the soldiery, who were hardly restrained from attacking, but could not be prevented from disarming them.

From this town the general marched towards the neighbourhood of Carlingford and Dundalk. He encamped in an unwholesome situation, among fens and morasses, where his army was exposed to considerable privations, and soon began to show the effects of the damp and pestilen-

tial air. The army of James soon appeared in sight. Schomberg's soldiers were in no condition to fight; worn by fatigue, sickness, privation, and reduced in number, it was seen that they could not fail to be surrounded by the enemy's vastly superior numbers. On the other side, James' general, De Rosen, who, fortunately for the English, was not aware of their helpless condition, awaited their attack, and from its delay, only inferred that Schomberg "wanted something." His judicious respect for an English army convinced him that nothing could be gained by the attack which was urged by the inconsiderate James, and he drew off his troops to Dundalk, while Schomberg fortified his camp on the grounds.

He was in no condition for effective action, and, of necessity, was constrained to await a reinforcement, which he expected with his artillery and cavalry, in order to proceed in pursuit of James.

In the meantime the English parliament loudly expressed its dissatisfaction at the conduct of this war, and King William, harassed by complaints which were in a great measure factious, announced his resolution to take the command in person.

William landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th June 1690, attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and many of the English nobility, and after half an hour proceeded in Schomberg's carriage to Belfast. While this event had been anxiously expected by his friends in Ireland, Schomberg's army had regained its spirits and been reinforced from England, and also joined by the heroic Enniskilleners. These gallant men had, to the number of 1,400, encountered the Duke of Berwick at Cavan with 4,000 Irish, whom they put to flight at the first charge. Seven thousand Danes, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg, had landed in Belfast to join the English army, and, on both sides, the arrangements for a more regular and extensive scale of proceeding were in course of active preparation. Schomberg was supplying his garrisons; and James had received 5,000 French soldiers under Count Lauzun. Of this reinforcement, it has been ascertained, and should be remembered, that it was commissioned with the insidious design to secure Ireland for the French king. James had soon reason to be tired of the alliance, as he was treated with insolent superiority by Lauzun, and utter disregard by his troops.

The arrival of King William spread universal rejoicing among the English, and in the army. From Belfast he advanced to Lisburn. His first act was to order an annual charge of £1,200 on the customs of Belfast, in favour of the northern dissenting ministers, who had acted and suffered in the cause of religion and order. He gave directions for immediate action; and when his military adviser suggested more deliberate proceedings, he answered, "I came not to Ireland to let the grass grow under my feet." The army was much inspirited by his energy, and the earnest activity with which he rode through their ranks inspecting everything for himself. He lodged in his camp, and spent his day in looking to the comforts of his men. He had been six days thus engaged, while James was still consoling himself with the delusion that he was yet only striving with an English faction. He was undeceived at last, by the alarming intelligence that William was on his march to meet him. He arranged his affairs in Dublin, and marched out with

6,000 French to join his Irish force, encamped on the banks of the Boyne, and amounting to 33,000 men.

He was now grown weary of suspense, and fully determined to try the hazard of a battle. His more considerate officers, who could more coolly weigh the chances on either side, strongly urged a contrary advice; they represented that a large reinforcement was to be soon expected from France, and only then awaited the departure of the English fleet from the coast; that the disorders in England must immediately require the presence of William; and a very short delay would be of advantage, for the better discipline of their army. James, governed by the wilfulness of his temper, obstinately rejected all such counsels, and declared his resolution to "strike one stroke for his crown." He had not long to wait for the desired occasion.

The decision was no less a matter of earnest anxiety to William, whose mind was bent on more important interests elsewhere. He directed his march to the same scene of action, and on the last day of June, 1690, moved his army towards the river Boyne. He led his advanced guard to a hill two miles west of Drogheda, to reconnoitre his enemy. From this height he saw the town occupied strongly with an Irish force. Eastward, on the farther banks of the river, lay the hostile encampment, flanked on the left by a morass; in their front the fords of the Boyne, defended by breastworks.

Anxious to gain a nearer view, he approached a rising ground opposite to Oldbridge, where he sat down with his officers to rest, and was engaged in consultation upon the method of crossing the ford, and the position for his battery. On the opposite bank, James' officers, Berwick, Sarsfield, and Tyrconnel, with other officers, appeared riding, and by their movements showed their discovery of the king's party. Presently a small cavalry detachment made its appearance opposite the king's position, and immediately retired, after having first deposited two field pieces of artillery under cover of a hedge. William divined the purpose of this manœuvre, and mounted his horse: there succeeded an immediate discharge of one gun from the hedge. It killed a man nearly on a line with the king, and two horses. Another shot followed, struck the ground, rose and grazed the king's shoulder, slightly wounding him. As some confusion in his suite became thus visible, a loud shout of triumph rose from the other side, and before the impression could be counteracted, the report of his being slain was carried to Dublin, and thence to Paris, where the news was received with triumph, and celebrated by a discharge of cannon. William rode through his army to dispel the alarm.

Late at night he summoned his officers, and announced his design to pass the fords opposite, in front of the enemy. Schomberg strongly remonstrated, but he adhered to his plan of attack, which was to cross the Boyne early, in three places. Having settled the details of the attack, he rode with torches through the camp, visiting all the posts.

Early next morning he sent his right wing, led by Count Schomberg and General Douglas, forward to secure the bridge of Slane, where some fords had been ascertained. Duke Schomberg was directed to lead the centre in front, and William was to lead the left over a ford near the town.

Count Schomberg* crossed without opposition, except from a regiment of dragoons, which, after severe loss, gave way. The Count advanced on the enemy, who were before him in two lines, over a field heavily obstructed by deep ditches in front, with a morass beyond, such as to wholly interrupt the advance of the cavalry. The foot soldiers, however, were ordered to advance, and went forward boldly through all these obstacles; while the dragoons found their way round on the right. The enemy looked on for a time in silent suspense and no little wonder, on a proceeding which gave clear proof of the firmness and formidable courage of the approaching enemy; and hardly awaiting their approach, turned, in panic flight, and were pursued with severe loss towards Duleek.

The centre, under Duke Schomberg, met with no resistance until they had reached the middle of the river, and were wading nearly breast high in the water, when a hot fire from the lines and the houses met their advance. They suffered small loss, and pressing rapidly on, gained the bank, and drove the enemy before them. Fresh battalions of Irish came up and were repulsed in five successive attacks.

There then occurred a turn in the fight. A charge led by General Hamilton was repulsed by the Dutch, who, while yet in some disarray, were attacked with fury by a strong party of Irish cavalry, and compelled to give way in disorder. It was but for a moment, but it spread confusion among the Dutch ranks. The French Huguenots in William's centre, were cut up severely by the Irish, and Caillemote, their gallant leader, was slain. Duke Schomberg, witnessing the confusion, rushed into the stream and rallied the French line. He pointed to their countrymen in the enemy's ranks, and exclaimed, "Come on, gentlemen, there are your persecutors." He had hardly spoken when he was struck by a musket-ball and dropped dead. It is believed that the fatal shot was from his own lines; in the hot struggle that succeeded his charge, he had got entangled in the enemy's retreat, and was borne with them under the fire of his own soldiers. In the same furious *mêlée*, George Walker also met his end. A short pause now took place. In the foremost ranks of either party there was some disorder, in which the fierce confusion of the foremost combatants on either side had somewhat mixed their ranks.

William had put himself at the head of the left wing, which was composed exclusively of cavalry, and prepared to pass the river not far above Drogheda. In crossing his charger had been forced to swim, and had been almost lost in the mud. At this conjuncture he brought up with him the left wing. He was soon seen in front, sword in hand, and urging the attack. The sight gave renewed impulse to his men. The Irish ranks gave way, but rallied, and returning, charged so fiercely as to force the English to give ground. The king, with the coolness which never deserted him, rode up to the Enniskilleners and asked them "What they would do for him;" they came on with him, and received the enemy's fire. They were joined by a Dutch company, and both sides closed in a fierce hand to hand struggle. Here the king was to be seen in the hottest scenes of the encounter, and had many

* Son to the Duke.

escapes. The soldiers, thus led, were inflamed to double ardour, and could not be long withstood. The field was, for the moment, bravely contested, in spite of a desperate but disorderly charge, led on by General Hamilton; the Irish finally gave way, and Hamilton was made prisoner. He was asked by the king, would the Irish fight more? "Upon my honour," said he, "I believe they will, for they have a good body of horse." William calmly eyed the man who had betrayed him, in the communications with Tyrconnel, and contemptuously exclaimed, "Honour!—your honour!"

Had William been slain, or had this decisive struggle turned in favour of the Irish army, there seems no reason for the conjecture that Count Lauzun would have improved the advantages for his own master, any more than that he looked on James as a cypher in the account. He now advised his retreat. James sought refuge in Duleek, protected by Sarsfield's cavalry. William lost 500 men in this crowning fight. Of the Irish, 1,500 were slain. Lauzun kept his French troops whole for James' protection in the retreat, which from the first he anticipated.

James arrived in Dublin, in the shame and despair of a discomfiture which closed his prospects. There his party were confidently looking out for his triumph; and, in their disappointment, first thought of revenge on those who were yet in their power. Official authority yet lay in the hands of James' friends, and they were bent on vindictive proceedings of every kind. It is the mitigating allowance due to James' character that, fool and tyrant though he was, he strenuously deprecated all vengeful and vain steps. He advised submission, and represented William's humane and merciful character as the safest ground of reliance. He made, however, one excuse for his own disgrace, equally needless and false; his Irish subjects, he affirmed, had deserted him in the moment of trial, and turned their backs on an enemy they might have conquered. The false and ungrateful calumny drew upon him a retort, which has passed into history. "But change kings," said Sarsfield, sometime afterwards, "and we will fight the battle again."

As we desire to close in this chapter the succession of events which complete the history of this war, we will but slightly sum the immediate incidents which followed in Dublin. The Protestant party, oppressed and humiliated by the Irish, now felt it to be their turn, and were proceeding to a violent retaliation, when Fitzgerald took a timely alarm. A party of Irish, still believing in the success of James, and excited by the rumoured approach of a party of their associates, had set fire to the suburban houses. Fitzgerald caused the flames to be extinguished; he rushed among a rabble who were breaking into Sarsfield's house, and, by entreaty and threat, restrained their violence. He sent messengers to the king to ask for aid, and to hurry his presence. William, who was approaching slowly, sent forward some troops of horse, and presently encamped at Finglass.

From thence he visited the city, and returned thanks at Patrick's Cathedral. Returning to his camp, he received a deputation from the Protestant clergy, whom he assured of protection. He published at the same time a general amnesty for all people who should remain quietly at home and surrender their arms. The tenants of those proprietors who were not implicated in the Jacobite party, were ordered to

pay their rents to the landlord ; those, whose landlords had engaged in the rebellion, were directed to reserve the payment for further orders. Commissioners were appointed to seize the estates of those who continued in arms. Those gentlemen, after the custom of commissioners, executed their trust with little discrimination and less mercy, thus, in no small degree, contributing to keep the rebellion alive.

William, whose English and continental interests now called for his presence, became earnestly desirous to put an end to the war. His force was wasted, and his means reduced. He marched southward, and lay before Waterford, which at first refused to yield to his summons ; but after a few days' parley, yielded on favourable terms; the garrison being allowed to march out unarmed. He proceeded to Duncannon fort. There a determined resistance had been planned ; but this design was abandoned on the appearance of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's fleet in the Suir, on which the fort was surrendered. The appearance of a French fleet on the English coast, and the report of a battle lost by his allies, gave William some alarm, and for a moment determined him to leave for England. He was soon relieved, by hearing of the departure of the French, and by learning that the report of the battle was an exaggeration, and altered his plans.

He now learned that the town of Wexford had voluntarily declared for him. Limerick, a city of great strength, and containing the main force of the Jacobite party, still held out as the chief obstacle to a peace. Thither he now bent his course, much shortened in force and in the materials of war ; and, as he soon learned, in time. He encamped before the city, but was compelled to wait for his battering train, which was yet on its way from Dublin. But these circumstances being made known to Sarsfield by a deserter, he planned a night sortie to intercept the party. The surprise was successful ; the artillery was seized, the guns were filled with powder, their muzzles turned down into the earth, and a train laid by which they were blown up. The report, heard over the Province, sufficiently apprised William of his loss. He had with him but a few field-pieces, and was forced to submit to a further impatient delay. His next step was to send for some guns to Waterford. When they reached his camp he opened fire upon the city walls ; a breach was soon effected, and a party told off for the assault. These, in their first assault, drove the enemy before them ; the supporting party stopped, according to their orders, at the counterscarp, but the stormers pressed on. It had not been foreseen that the defenders would have so soon given way ; the stormers, thus isolated, received a deadly discharge from the city on every side, and the garrison, rallying in force, surrounded them ; the ground was soon heaped with dead, and the survivors were pressed on by soldiers and armed citizens, and even by the women, intoxicated with fury. For three hours, cannon, musketry, pike, and sword, did their work, till stone and street ran with blood, and the assailants had, between killed and wounded, lost a thousand men. William saw that it was necessary to put a stop to the slaughter, and ordered a retreat. The army called loudly to renew the assault, and the city might have been won at the cost of many hundred lives.

But the king's considerate mind was otherwise moved by several pressing considerations. His army was wasted by loss of men, by pri-

vations, and by disease, and the rainy season was impending. The roads would soon be deep and unfit for his heavy baggage and artillery. With these considerations his mind was strongly impressed with an increasing anxiety about his English affairs. He determined to raise the siege and commit to De Ginckle the task of ending the war. He led the army to Clonmel, and with Prince George, the Duke of Ormond, and others, he repaired to Waterford and embarked for England.

Cork and Kinsale were soon reduced by Marlborough, who volunteered his services on condition of receiving command of a small force, and was accepted by William. These exploits, conducted with the ability of this illustrious commander, demand no detail, as they were attended with no unusual result, and met no impediment sufficient to claim our space. The success of this enterprise enabled De Ginckle to take steps for retiring into winter quarters.

The Irish garrison in Limerick were much elated by their recent success, and began to form immense projects for an expedition to attack the Pale, and drive the English from the land. The French general in that city, disgusted with his allies, who repaid his contempt with suspicion and hate, now withdrew his force and joined other parties of his countrymen. The sole command of the Irish remained with the gallant Sarsfield.

During the winter season, though the fury of war slept, the condition of the country was not one of rest. The irregular Irish troops resolved themselves into plundering bands, and infested every corner. The original Celtic population, of which but a scanty remnant now exists in the south and west, was then still numerous, and unreclaimed from their primitive state. Among these there was no safety for the peaceful or the civilized. They were, like the Indian of the forest and the prairie, a fierce race, and are, like them, worn to a melancholy remnant. They have transmitted to the mixed race which has followed, some fiery virtues and some no less lively defects, doubtless a great improvement, though not without some primitive traces of the olden time. But we are digressing in our haste, and the subject is yet to recur.

The winter was disturbed by the plunders and the violences of both parties. The soldiers were ill-paid and mutinous. De Ginckle had a struggle to keep his army together. But as the season of distress advanced, he received succour and supplies. He saw reason to regret that he had not secured the passes of the Shannon, by which his army would have been comparatively protected from the depredation of roving beggars and wandering bandits, who watched their opportunity to cut off any unfortunate stragglers from the camp.

His campaign opened with an important success. The fort of Ballimore lay in a convenient position for whoever might possess it; it was strongly fortified by the enemy, and garrisoned with a thousand men. It was summoned, and refused to submit. But when the general sent a strong party with boats on the river to assail its more undefensible side, the governor submitted at discretion, and the garrison were made prisoners. The main present object of De Ginckle was the siege of Athlone; he thus secured a safe and convenient position of strength in its vicinity.

On the 18th of June, he reconnoitred the town from an eminence

within a few miles, and saw the position of the Irish army beyond, on a narrow elevation between two bogs. De Ginckle's army was next day moved forward, and the Irish, who lined the hedges, retiring before him, poured into the town. He presently opened his fire upon the walls, where the breach of last year's attack had been imperfectly repaired. A practicable breach was soon made, and the general directed an assault. The enemy retired before his stormers after a short struggle, and retired in panic and in such confusion, that many were precipitated into the river. The assailants, however, soon came to a stop. The bridge had been broken in the former siege, and was only passable by planks laid across the chasm upon the central arch. The ford was deep, and the English were forced to a stand-still under a heavy fire from the opposite side. De Ginckle contrived to have planks laid down over the broken arch, but before he could avail himself of this resource, it was frustrated by a daring feat. A party of the enemy rushed forward to cast down the planks from this broken arch; they were repulsed with slaughter by a hot fire from the besiegers, but were succeeded immediately by twelve men in armour, who, in the shower of bullets which rained from De Ginckle's ranks, cast down the planks; two only of the number retired. Once more, the general attempted to renew the same expedient more surely, by the construction of a covered gallery; this was not quite completed when it was set on fire by hand grenades from the enemy. The besieging party thus foiled in repeated attempts, were somewhat perplexed in the consideration of their next possible resource. The river was supposed to be too deep to be forded, and was not to be crossed by boat or pontoon in the face of the strong force on the further bank; and the fords at some distance were, on inquiry, found to be strongly guarded. It seemed a case of despair. Monsieur St. Ruth became so confident of safety, as to use expressions of triumph; and the English were taunted by the enemy for not having better earned the pay they had been seen to receive.

On a council held with his officers, De Ginckle resolved to face the danger and difficulty of attempting the river on the next morning. Two thousand men were appointed for the trial; the hour for relieving guard was fixed, that the noise and movement might less attract hostile attention. Morning came, and, on a concerted signal, the chosen ranks entered the river, headed by their commander General Mackay, and accompanied by most of the other officers of rank, French, Dutch, and English, in De Ginckle's army, as volunteers. They were soon immersed shoulder deep, and under a fierce fire from the bank, returned with equal fury from their own side. In the thunder of these discharges, the assailants forced their way and approached the hostile bank. The Irish, who had not regarded the feat as possible, were struck with panic, and fled in disorder as the besiegers gained the land. The English pursued, reached and mounted the nearest breaches. Meanwhile another party, now unopposed, laid down planks across the broken bridge, over which the main body marched in. It may be needless to say that a great slaughter of the flying Irish took place. St. Ruth, on first learning that they were crossing the river, refused to believe; he alleged the impracticability of the attempt, and the absurdity of the assumption that they would so far presume while his army lay so near.

Sarsfield coolly told him that he did "not know the English." The Frenchman, in great vexation, ordered that these "presumptuous intruders" should instantly be expelled; and some useless attacks followed. But they could not prevent the English from gaining the works opposite to his camp, on which the guns of the tower began to pour their contents.

Leland mentions a fact corroborated by several intimations. "St. Ruth had hitherto, it is said, flattered himself with the hope of reducing Ireland to the dominion of the French monarch. He solicited the Irish to swear allegiance to his master. All orders were issued in the name, not of James, but of Louis. Such, at least, was the intelligence given by deserters; and to confirm it, the English saw, with surprise, the standards of France waving over the town of Athlone."*

In fine, the castle and town fell to the besiegers, with the governor and five hundred prisoners; about 1,200 men were slain. St. Ruth drew off his troops, execrating and execrated by the Irish. He now collected his detachments from their different quarters, and prepared for a decisive conflict with the English, who, he justly felt assured, would seek him. De Ginckle repaired the fortifications of Athlone, and, with the same intention, prepared to follow. He published a proclamation offering conditions of amnesty to the Irish, by the order, rather unwillingly given, of the Lords Justices. On the 10th of June, De Ginckle left Athlone, and directed his march into the county of Roscommon, where he encamped along the river Suck. He soon ascertained that St. Ruth lay three miles away, near the hills of Kilcomedon. His army was skilfully posted, with bogs and morasses covering their left, near the village of Aughrim. A large bog, about a mile in breadth, extended along his front toward the right, with a ruinous tower, occupied by infantry and entrenched, which guarded the only pass on the right. The slopes of the hill were intersected by hedges, which were lined with musketry. The number of St. Ruth's force was 25,000; of De Ginckle's 10,000. Among the Irish, their priests were busy in exciting their courage by exhortation and the rites of their religion.

At noon, on the 12th July, the attack was begun by moving forward a party of Danes to gain the pass on the enemy's right; these, however, gave way before a party of Irish. Some English cavalry followed, they were strongly resisted; but were sustained by a fresh party. Fresh reinforcements thus brought up on either side contested the pass for an hour, when at last, the English forced their way within the bog. The advantage was, however, doubtful; De Ginckle's left wing was thus in a measure isolated from his whole front, which was still intercepted by the bog. The general hesitated, and would have deferred his attack till next morning. Mackay's urgency prevailed for an immediate attack upon the Irish right, as St. Ruth would thus be forced to weaken his left, and leave the Aughrim pass more easy to force. The attack was accordingly made at five in the evening by the English left, and boldly resisted on the other side. After a fierce conflict, for nearly two hours, Mackay's opinion was confirmed. St. Ruth found it necessary to support his right wing by a considerable body from his left. Mackay was

* Leland, vol. iii., p. 599.

prepared, and instantly detached a strong force of cavalry to attack the pass by Aughrim Castle: at the same time several foot regiments were ordered to cross the bog in their front, and take post among the lower ditches, till the horse should force the pass and wheel round to join their attack.

The infantry were soon up to the middle in the deep morass, with difficulty making way to the opposite side. As they came near, a furious discharge of musketry opened on them from hedge and ditch. Their progress was unstayed; the enemy retired before them to lead them on unawares towards their main line. The ruse succeeded. They presently found themselves tired, few, and disordered, in presence of St. Ruth's whole force. Nearly surrounded by an overwhelming mass, they attempted retreat, and were driven back with loss of men and officers into the bog.

St. Ruth exulted. "Now," he cried, "will I drive these English to the very walls of Dublin." In the midst of his triumph, he saw with astonishment the movement of the enemy's horse, which had been sent round by the castle. They were pressing forward at their utmost speed, under a heavy fire. In his amazement, he asked what the English could mean? He was answered, "to force their way to our left." "They are brave fellows, 'tis a pity they should be so exposed," was the brave Frenchman's comment. The English forced their way toward his left, and were joined by the infantry, who rallied and regained the ground from which they had been repulsed.

The English pressed on, and were bravely met. St. Ruth came down from his post on Kilcomedon, and directed the fire of a battery on the advancing line, and then charged at the head of his cavalry. At this moment he was struck dead by a cannon ball. His cavalry, thus deprived of their leader, came to a stand, and then turned back; at the same time the Irish foot were giving way. The charge of a body of Danish horse on the extreme left, put to flight the bodies opposite to their station in great confusion. This incident completed the disorder along the whole line, and it became a rout. The infantry took refuge in the morass, the cavalry escaped to Loughrea, and seven thousand Irish were slain in the pursuit; De Ginckle lost seven hundred men. The whole baggage, artillery and ammunition, with the camp of the enemy, fell to the conquerors.

After a few days given to rest, De Ginckle moved his force to Galway. His object was to lay siege to Limerick, which he regarded as the final issue of the war; but the reduction of Galway he viewed as a first essential step. We shall not need to enter on the detail of a siege which cost no struggle. The first impulse of the governor of Galway was resistance; but after a few days' holding out, when they were disappointed in the promised aid, they compared their field force of seven weak regiments with the army of De Ginckle, crowned with the formidable renown of Athlone and Aughrim, and wisely consented to a capitulation, thus leaving the English army free to seek a more equal foe.

This last mentioned event was at first assumed in England to be the end of the war; and was near leading to a premature withdrawal of the army. William was at the time engaged in his campaign against the

French in Flanders; and Queen Mary, assured that there was no further post of strength likely to hold out in Ireland, ordered transports to convey ten thousand foot and six hundred cavalry to his assistance from the Irish army. Fortunately for Ireland, this operation required many delays; and it was resolved, meanwhile, to effect the reduction of Limerick. Notwithstanding the fortune of the first unprosperous attempt, the enterprise was considered to involve no difficulty. De Ginckle seems to have estimated it more truly. He renewed the proclamation of pardon to all who should make timely submission. His approach was favoured by the state of the town and garrison.

The citizens and the army were variously divided. The French treated the Irish with scornful insolence, who repaid them with bitter hate; their objects too were wholly different. The more timid of the citizens feared the result of a siege, the wiser saw the vanity of resistance. Among the Jacobite chiefs similar divisions existed; but for the most part they leaned to compromise and submission. In this state of discouragement, the French, and the party which, with them, favoured the designs of Louis, were encouraged by the report of a reinforcement on its way, in 20 ships of the line, under M. Chateaurenault.

In the meantime Sarsfield, at the head of 7,000 men, crossed the Shannon and threw himself into the city. De Ginckle called in his garrisons, secured the passes of the Shannon, reduced some Irish garrisons which might cramp his communications, and advanced with caution towards Limerick, which he reached on the 25th of August, 1691. A fierce fire was soon opened and kept up for some days, the houses were presently burning on the besieger's side of the river. After a continued cannonade, ample breaches were soon made. But De Ginckle, recollecting the incidents of the former siege, and being aware that the besieged force, French and Irish, was fully equal, if not superior, to his own, came to the conviction that his surest course was to convert the siege into a blockade. For this it was necessary to cross the Shannon, in order to invest the opposite quarter of the town, in which the citizens were still sheltered from his fire. The army was meanwhile impatient for the assault; the Lords Justices dissatisfied at the delay; and there was a report of the approach of a French fleet, to relieve their beleaguered countrymen. It may be added that the still more formidable approach of winter was felt to render the position of the British force alarming.

To cross the Shannon to the Clare side was itself no less arduous than the storming. It was to be effected by boats and rafts, and was likely to be resisted successfully by the strong force sure to be encountered on the opposite bank. While the boats were in preparation, a report was spread that the siege was about to be raised, which seemed confirmed by the general disarray and motion apparent in the English camp. As night concealed their movements, 400 grenadiers, followed by a body of workmen, and supported by a strong force with a train of artillery, marched two miles north on the river, and there securely laid their bridge of boats; while the grenadiers were conveyed in boats to an island, from the other side of which the river was fordable. All this was effected without alarming the city. A faint resistance was

mot on the other bank from four regiments of dismounted dragoons, who were driven back from their position.

The enemy was taken by surprise; the sound of conflict came from far, and conveyed no suspicion to the few who were awake to hear it. The approach of the English aroused the Irish camp, and created panic and wild disorder, in which, had not De Ginckle restrained the pursuit, a great slaughter must have followed. We cannot afford to detail the incidents of the next eight days, during which several manœuvres were executed by either side, and fresh dispositions made by De Ginckle for the assault of the works by which the Thomond gate was protected. The attack was at last made; it was considered so hazardous by the general, that he ordered his grenadiers not to venture too far, an order which, in the heat of conflict, they little heeded. A desperate and bloody struggle ensued, in which the Irish were driven back, were reinforced from within and rallied, but at last compelled to give way. They were arrested in their flight. A French officer who commanded the gate, seeing the imminent danger, ordered the drawbridge to be raised. It was a death warrant to the fugitive crowd. Suddenly checked, they stood on their defence, and a hideous carnage followed. There were slain on the spot 750 Irish; several prisoners were taken. Of the English, 20 privates were killed, and 60 wounded. The result was that the garrison, cut off from the country and from its horse, began to think seriously of capitulation, and next day they beat a parley on both sides of the town.

We pass the lesser details of the negotiation. Some very serious differences protracted the discussion. Terms were proposed by Sarsfield which were wholly inadmissible, and which, if granted, must have renewed the ancient disorder, and restored a state inconsistent with any constitutional government. De Ginckle's answer was the re-erection of his battery, on which it was requested that he would propose his own terms. In answer he sent twelve articles which formed the basis of capitulation.

The historical interest attached to the civil portion of these articles, induces us to incorporate them with this chapter to some extent, according to their more or less permanence of interest, or the further questions they may have led to.

The lords-justices arrived on the 1st October, and on the 3d, the articles were signed in two parts. One, relative to the surrender of the town, and signed by the military commanders on either side: the other relative to the privileges and concessions to the Irish, signed by the civil authorities, and several of the Irish nobility and gentry. The event occurred most providentially but a day or two before the arrival of a fleet in Dingle bay, sent by the king of France to relieve the city. It amounted to eighteen ships of the line, or frigates, six fire-ships, and twenty large transports, with ten thousand stand of arms, two hundred officers, and three thousand soldiers. The result would have had for its least consequences another campaign, with a winter of extreme distress to both parties, and a vast amount of added loss, slaughter, and suffering, through the entire country. The result, indeed, can hardly be pronounced with certainty. The historical interest, attached to the civil portion of these articles, leads us to insert them here with-

out any mutilation: the military articles, to the number of twenty-nine, may be seen in Harris's appendix,* as well as in many other works of extensive compilation.

"In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and other agreements made between the said lieutenant-general Ginckle, the governor of the city of Limerick, and the generals of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the said city, and submission of the said army, it is agreed, that,

"First, The Roman catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles II.; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman catholics such further security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

"Secondly, All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers now in arms, under any commission of king James, or those authorized by him, to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them. And all the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters that belong to the Irish regiments now in being, that are treated with, and who are now prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience; and their and every of their heirs shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of king Charles the II., or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of king Charles the II., and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or in the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quitrents, and other public charges incurred, and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof; and all persons comprehended in this article, shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them, or any of them, belonging, or remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any person whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them. And all, and every the said persons, of what profession, trade or calling soever they be, shall, and may use, exercise and practise, their several and respective professions, trades and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise and enjoy the same in the reign of king Charles the II., provided that nothing in this article contained, be construed to extend to or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

* No. 63.

" Thirdly, All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their majesties' declaration in February, 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article in the same manner as if they were present: provided such merchants do repair into this kingdom in the space of eight months from the date hereof.

" Fourthly, The following officers, viz., Colonel Simon Lutterel, Captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, submit to their majesties' government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

" Fifthly, That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of king James the II., and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords-justices and generals will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing clerks' fees.

" Sixthly, And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last; for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding these inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded, at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for arms, horses, goods, money, chattels, merchandizes, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed, in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

" Seventhly, Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third article, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

" Eighthly, The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave

the houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

"Ninthly, The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

Tenthly, No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

"Eleventhly, The lords-justices, and general, do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

"Twelfthly, Lastly, the lords-justices and general, do undertake, that their majesties do ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

"Thirteenthly, And whereas Colonel Brown stood indebted to several protestants by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the Lord Tyreconnel, and Lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their army; for freeing the said Lord Lucan of his engagement, past on their public account, for payment of the said protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords-justices, and the said baron De Ginckle, shall intercede with the king and parliament, to have the estate secured to Roman Catholics by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the same debts, as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said John Brown amount unto; which account is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof;

"For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands,"

CHAR. PORTER.

THO. CONINGSBY.

BAR. DE GINCKLE.

Present

SCRAVENMORE.

H. MACCAY.

T. TALMASH.

"And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since in pursuance of the said articles surrendered unto us,—Now, know ye, that we having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And to such parts thereof, for which an act of

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parliament shall be found necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz :—‘ And all such as are under their protection in the said counties,’ should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered : and that our said justices, and general, or one of them, did promise, that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation and inserted in the foul draught thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the same omitted words, viz :—‘ And all such as are under their protection in the counties,’ hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy, the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner, as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second article ; any omission, defect, or mistake, in the said second article, notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patent shall be enrolled in our Court of Chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c., Witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February anno regni regis et reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. ad requisitionem Attornat. General. domini regis et dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus presentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis annoq. regni eorum quarto.”

BRIDGES.

Examinat. per nos { S. KERR,
LACON WM. CHILDE, } *In cancel. Magistros.*

By the military articles, there was secured a full permission for such Irish officers and soldiers as might be so inclined to go beyond seas into any country they might think fit (England and Scotland excepted) with their families and moveable property of every description. And by several distinct and specific articles, all the essential provisions to facilitate such a removal were for the time secured. It next became a matter of anxious effort on the part of Sarsfield and the French officers, to bring away with them the greatest number they could of the Irish soldiers, while on the other side, De Ginckle had to exert a vigilant superintendence to prevent the application of constraint. The Irish generals contrived to lock up these men, who were carefully guarded : and large distributions of money, brandy, and other articles of value were made to induce their consent. A lieutenant-colonel who was confined for refusing to go to France, wrote a letter of complaint to De Ginckle, who thereupon commanded a battery to be planted on

Ball's Bridge, and in his resentment declared that "he would teach the Irish to play upon him." On this Sarsfield came out to the camp to expostulate, and concluded by saying that he was in De Ginckle's power. "Not so," replied the general, "but you shall go in again and do the worst you can." Sarsfield put a reasonable face on the matter, and showed that they had simply exercised military control over their own officers for misdemeanours. It is not, however, improbable, that the accusation was true. It is also asserted by historians, that at this very time, one of the strong incentives made use of in working on the Irish, was the promise of return in the following year to revenge their defeat: a suggestion so adapted to excite and keep alive a pernicious spirit of disaffection and turbulence, and so opposed to the principle of the treaty just concluded, that if true, we cannot conceive treachery and deception carried much further. Sermons in accordance with the principles of their priesthood in that day of bigotry, were preached, to assert the duty of adherence to the French, and the "certain damnation which would be the consequence if they joined with heretics." A course of proceeding, which, we must say, converts into the most impudent mockery all the complaints of party-writers, on the assumed infringements of the treaty of Limerick.

On his part the general put forth a counter declaration, assuring them "how willing he was to indulge and provide for such, who, remaining in the kingdom, or serving their majesties abroad, had rather promote the British and Irish interest, than the designs of France against both. He therefore promised, that all officers and soldiers, who were inclined to return home, should have leave to do so with all their goods and effects, and should be permitted to live quietly under the protection of the government. That though by the capitulation all the troopers of the Irish army (except 600 that had license to go abroad), were to deliver up their horses without payment, yet he gave to the troopers and dragoons leave to sell them to whom they thought fit, and promised to pay them for their arms, upon their giving them up to the artillery officers, either in the Irish town of Limerick, or in the camp; and the same to the foot-soldiers: That those officers and soldiers who were willing to serve under their majesties, should have quarters immediately assigned them, and subsistence till their majesties' further pleasure: and as it has been industriously reported that such of the Irish as should enter into their majesties' service, were to be sent into Hungary, and other remote parts, contrary to their inclinations, he concluded by assuring them, that they should not be obliged to serve in any place against their wills, nor be constrained to take service in Ireland, or to return to their homes, they being at full liberty to choose what side they would take; but if once they went to France, they must never expect to return home again."

This declaration was distributed among the Irish, who were drawn together by their commanders. They amounted to 14,000 effective men. Adjutant-general Withers was commissioned to lay before them the advantages in favour of the English service, and to point out that it was unnatural to serve France against the independence of their own country. The whole body were reviewed on the county of Clare side, and De Ginckle with his generals crossed over to see them. They

were then ordered to march, and a point was marked where those who were inclined to stay at home, were to file off from those who were to depart. The royal regiment, to the number of 1400, went on for France, with the exception of seven men : " which," says Harris, " gave general Ginckle much concern, for they were the best corps in king James' service." Some regiments and several parties of regiments also declared for France. But Lord Iveagh's regiment of Ulster Irish, Colonel Wilson's, about half Lord Louth's, and great numbers out of nearly every other regiment, came out and filed off for the English service. These latter were then mustered, and provision was made for their subsistence.*

Some efforts were made to diminish the ill effect of the articles which thus permitted such numbers of the Irish to enter into a foreign and hostile service. The lords-justices contrived to dismiss the prisoners who were kept at Lambay, to their homes, without informing them of the treaty. This step was unquestionably as much for the advantage of these men, as for that of the state: nor can we admit that the treaty demanded more than the absence of compulsion: the government was not bound to second, in any way, the gross delusion of which so many unhappy poor people were made the victims. Yet on the other side, it must be admitted, that it is so easy to find specious reasons for the violation of every political principle, that if public faith is of any moment, there should be no excuse admitted for the slightest deviation from the strict and literal observance of treaties. Less equivocal in its character was the obstacle which Count Nassau threw in the way of this embarkation for France, by preventing the wives and children of the emigrants from being shipped. This was a direct infraction of the first article of the treaty: on which Sarsfield wrote to De Ginckle to remonstrate, and represented, " that as hitherto they had proceeded on both sides with sincerity, so relying on his Excellency's honour, and the public faith, they expected to be dealt withal without forcing or wresting any meaning out of the articles, contrary to agreement and the general sense of them; which candid manner of proceeding," says he, " will add to the reputation of your arms, that of your justice."† On this De Ginckle consulted with the lords-justices, and they agreed that the desire of Sarsfield was just and should be conceded.

It remains to mention the fate of these men. They were embarked for France in French and English vessels during the month of November. On the return of the English ships after landing the Irish at Brest, they reported that they had received every assistance they wanted in the French port; but that the Irish were not so well treated as they expected to be. They received a congratulatory letter in the name of the French king, full of splendid promises of pay, clothing, and quarters: but the crippled performance limped far behind these liberal words. They were quartered in lanes and hedges under the wintry air of December, and excluded, to a man, from the city of Brest. Nor was their treatment confined to mere bodily suffering and privation, which the Irish know well how to endure; their pride, the tenderest point with Irishmen of every degree, was insulted. It was

* Harris.

† Ibid.

perhaps quite inconsistent with the conventions of the polished and refined school of the French service, that soldiers, such as the Irish actually were, by the accident of a party-war and utterly untrained, perhaps too somewhat behind in point of manners and education, should take rank in the French service according to their casual elevation at home. But the most exquisite malice could not have invented a more unlucky blow to the pride of these brave and high-minded, though rude men, than the order which degraded every officer, from the general down to the corporal, one step in military rank. The effect of this mixture of slight and neglect was quickly shown: numbers of these men endeavoured to obtain their passage back, and such as had the means offered large sums; so that guards were soon set over them, and the masters of vessels forbidden on pain of death to receive them. Their letters were however not stopped, and soon spread a strong reluctance among those who had not yet embarked: great desertions took place from the troops still remaining with Sarsfield at Cork, and three regiments turned out together and peremptorily refused to embark.

This caused Sarsfield and Waucop to determine against any further delay, and on the 22d of December, they hurried all that remained under their charge on board. On this occasion it has been noticed that they themselves had recourse to a mixture of force and fraud, to deprive these unfortunate dupes whom they led, of the benefit of the very article for which they had so recently contended; "having," says Harris, on the authority of a correspondence to which he refers, "published a declaration, 'giving liberty to as many of the Irish as pleased to transport their families along with themselves.' Accordingly, vast numbers of all sorts came to the waterside, when Waucop pretended to ship the soldiers in order, according to their lists. They first carried all the men on board, and when the boats returned for the officers, the women catching hold to be carried to the ships, many of them were dragged off, others through timorousness losing their holds were drowned, while those who held faster had their fingers cut off and perished in the sight of their husbands." * No excuse can be made for this awful scene of fraud and cruelty.

By these events a final period was put to the war. Ireland was reduced to her usual state of unprogressive stagnation, occasionally broken by the cry of discontent, the murmur of rising disaffection, and the terror or the reality of popular risings, at intervals corresponding nearly with the successive generations of Irishmen. Of the causes of this hapless and anomalous constitution, we shall abstain from the notice, so far as the honesty of our purpose admits. We have already, in the progress of our labour, arrived at that point which most Irish historians have justly viewed as the termination of their task. Some have chosen to pass down to modern times. With us (from the nature of our undertaking) this is no matter of choice, but of necessity; but when the few lives worthy of mention, which have relation to some one or other of the preceding events shall be exhausted, which cannot require many pages, we consider that the nature of our task will be in

* Harris.

many respects changed. Our memoirs will become more strictly biographical, and less historical; and literature will begin to occupy the place of primary importance, hitherto assigned to politics.

POLITICAL SERIES.

ROGER MOORE, OR O'MORE.

DIED A. D. 1648.

IN writing the lives of numerous persons, of whom most are to be chiefly distinguished for the several parts which they sustained in the same succession of events, it would be as vain as it would be embarrassing to preserve the unbroken order of history. We are at every fresh life compelled to look at the same main events, with the choice of changing the aspect and suppressing or expanding the details, as they become more or less the appropriate accessories to the principal figure, which is to occupy the foreground of narration. Something, however, we have effected to counterbalance this necessity, by the adoption of a double order of arrangement; following the succession of deaths as a general guide, to keep a just preservation of the course of generations—on a smaller scale we have endeavoured to be guided by the succession of events; in this, placing the contemporary individuals as nearly as we might, so as to preserve the true sequence of their *historical* existence. Thus though often entangled in the necessary repetition of minor incidents, without any regard to order, the greater and more cardinal events will be found in their true places, and comparatively freed from the encumbrance of needless repetition. And the same necessity of preserving a biographical form, renders it necessary to introduce, among our notices of the more important and weighty, some persons and some historical facts not strictly within the scope of mere biography.

In one of the letters of the great earl of Chesterfield to his son, he advises, in reading history, the especial study of troublous and revolutionary periods, as alone furnishing a sufficiency of lessons useful to the statesman and philosopher. However this may be, it is undeniable that such epochs are vastly richer in political biography than the calmer events in the life of nations. The opportunities for the display of energy are during them more conspicuous, and the incentives immeasurably more powerful. Personal qualities influence more markedly the course of events, and form the material of history, as well as its salient points and landmarks. This remark holds especially true of Irish lives. The centre of authority being out of the island, it is chiefly when that authority is menaced or imperilled that local actions rise into historical importance, and local character assumes dignity. And of all the perturbations with which its annals are rife, the great rebellion which began in 1641, and terminated in 1657, forms in this respect no exception, partly from the reaction of exhaustion which followed the excitement of the wars of Elizabeth, partly

from the dead level which it had been the policy of Stafford to establish, and partly because that rebellion itself was, on one side, the culmination of efforts that had long been in preparation, and of feelings that had long been smouldering, but were by it only first brought to light.

In commencing, therefore, the political series of Lives of this division of our work, we shall find the dearth of great local names between those that distinguished the close of Elizabeth's reign and its outbreak sufficiently accounted for in these considerations, and find it convenient also, for the sake of historical clearness, to give the first place to those who figure on the side which began and sustained this tragic outbreak.

The author of a pleasing and popular work on the principal incidents of our history, has somewhere described this rebellion as a great and fearful tragedy in three acts. The comparison is valuable for its perfect truth. The first brief act in this terrible drama is brought out into prominent relief in the course of the biography of Roger O'More, lightened up in its details by the actions of Sir Philip O'Neill, recorded in the subsequent memoir. The arrival in Ireland of Owen O'Neill, and the events that followed in the succeeding memoir of this great rebel, is coincident with its second long act. At the rising of the curtain he stands before the scene. The third and last is developed in a series of memoirs, and more fully detailed in that of the great duke of Ormonde.

ROGER LEIX, known chiefly as Roger Moore or O'More, was the representative of the ancient family of this name, in the province of Leinster. The names of his ancestors have frequently occurred in Irish history. A sept bordering upon the English pale must have been exposed to the constant effects of those mutual aggressions, which slight occasions were ever sufficient to provoke from either side. And as the English power became ascendant before the secret of this ascendancy was fully comprehended by the Irish, the spirit of opposition continued until the retaliations of the government became more decisive and overwhelming. The native leaders, looking on their numbers, and on the experience of previous encounters, little calculated on the consequence of a more regulated and deliberate direction of the English force, and inadvertently pushed their aggressions to extremity. With a fallacious confidence in their own strength, and ignorance of the real resources of the government, they continued to present a front of resistance, till they drew upon themselves utter destruction.

In the reign of Mary, the O'Mores had been expelled from their possessions; and we must assent to the general sense of our authorities, that there was in this violent and extreme proceeding a very considerable mixture of injustice and deception. The result was a hereditary enmity to the English—a passion in its fullest violence inherited by Roger Moore.

Having passed some years of his youth in Spain, he was, while there, chiefly conversant with those Irish or their descendants who had taken refuge in that kingdom after the rebellion of the earl of Tyrone, and who naturally cherished the recollections of their ancestral honours, and of the wrongs which they attributed to the English; these sentiments were inflamed by the national enmity of Spain, which had for the course of the last generation burned against England with

a violence unabated by occasional intervals of alliance and peace. The humiliations of reverse are relieved in some measure by the recollections of the "times of old;" there is a dignified character in suffering for a great cause, and a romantic grandeur in the resentment of national wrongs. The companions of Moore—young men of enterprising spirit and military ambition—were invested with the honours of misfortune; and living among a romantic and ardent people, learned to feel their own proud importance as patriots, and as the sufferers of adversity in a noble cause. Such was the congenial atmosphere in which the ardour of Roger Moore caught fire. But his was not a spirit to waste its fervour in the peaceful ostentation of suffering heroism. While his enthusiastic spirit was inflamed by the traditions of ten thousand wrongs, and exalted with the glory of a noble line, his enterprise was roused, and his active and ready intellect was stimulated to projects of revenge, and for the recovery of his possessions. Among his companions who fed themselves with resentment and hope, there could be no want of breasts to respond to this excitement, and Moore met encouragement, applause, exhortations, and promises of assistance. Above all, his designs met encouragement from the son of the late unfortunate Hugh O'Neile. O'Neile had obtained a regiment in the Spanish service: he was looked up to by his countrymen at home and abroad with feelings something similar to those with which the descendants of Stuart were regarded in England and Scotland.

This temper was additionally excited by the agency of deeper and wider causes. Years before the rebellion, lord Strafford received information from M'Mahon, an Irish priest, that a general insurrection in Ireland was designed, and that great exertions were making to obtain foreign assistance. As the time drew nigh similar warnings flowed in from the residents in every foreign court. And the Irish lords-justices received an intimation from the English cabinet, "that there had passed from Spain, and other parts, an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen to England and Ireland, and some good old soldiers, under pretence of raising levies for the king of Spain; and that it was whispered by the Irish friars in that kingdom, that a rebellion was shortly expected in Ireland, particularly in Connaught."*

In Ireland the insurrection was mounting to the point of combustion. The agents mentioned in the despatch of secretary Vane were not remiss in their labour of love; and Moore was not less industrious or successful in conciliating, inflaming, concentrating, and organizing the spirits and the resources of Irish patriotism. He was indeed eminently qualified for the office; his mind was endowed with all the nobler tones of the Irish character; he had imagination to exalt and dignify, enthusiasm to animate and warm, eloquence to communicate: his high bearing and graceful address could win the eye, and his frank and earnest patriotism strike corresponding flashes from the simple and ardent hearts of his countrymen. Though not gifted with solid and practical wisdom—he was quick, ingenious, and penetrating, and

* Carte, Letter xviii. Vol. III.

possessed that instinctive insight into character which enabled him to seize upon the master passion of his hearer, and avail himself of the motives by which each individual was most likely to be influenced. With these qualifications for the task of awakening insurrection, he was also gifted with a humane and honourable temper, which had he been a wiser man, would have checked his career, and restrained him from the application of that fatal brand, which it cost so many years of blood and gall to quench ineffectually. But Moore was a creature of romance, his dream was the vindication of national rights, and he fondly thought that armed violence could be limited by the feeble barriers of justice, honour, and humanity. With the advantage of a popular manner and prepossessing exterior, he quickly won the hearts of the common people: he was extensively and highly connected with many of the noblest families of the pale, and maintained a familiar intimacy with the noblest of the English race. His influence was thus easily extended into every quarter, and there was no circle in which he had not means to try his way, and if possible, insinuate disaffection. With all these advantages he gained a rapid ascendancy.

Among his kindred and friends he found some whom their fortune and tempers recommended more especially as fit objects for his purposes: Richard Plunket, a son of Sir Christopher Plunket, Maguire lord Iniskillen, MacMahon, Philip Reilly, and Tirlogh O'Neile. To each of these he presented the suggestions most adapted to their several characters and positions: to all he urged the facilities and probabilities in favour of a general rising. He advised that each should endeavour to gain over his own friends to the project: and that they should hasten their preparations for declaring themselves in a few months, when the approach of winter should lessen the danger of any interference from England. Of the first overtures which he made to these conspirators, a minute account has been given by lord Maguire: from this we shall here give a full extract, as the most satisfactory statement which can be obtained of the beginning of this most disastrous rebellion:—"Being in Dublin, Candlemas term last was twelve months, 1640, the parliament then sitting, Mr Roger Moore did write to me, desiring me that, if I could in that spare time, I would come to his house, for then the parliament did nothing but sit and adjourn, expecting a commission for the continuance thereof, their former commission being expired; and that some things he had to say to me that did nearly concern me; and on the receipt of his letter, the new commission for continuing the parliament landed, and I returned him an answer that I could not fulfil his request for that present; and thereupon he came himself to town presently after, and sending to me, I went to see him at his lodging. And after some little time spent in salutations, he began to discourse of the many afflictions and sufferings of the natives of that kingdom, and particularly in those late times of my lord Strafford's government, which gave great distaste to the whole kingdom. And then he began to particularize the sufferings of them that were the more ancient natives, as were the Irish: now that on several plantations they were all put out of their ancestors' estates. All which sufferings, he said, did beget a general discontent over all

the whole kingdom in both the natives, to wit, the old and new Irish. And that if the gentry of the kingdom were disposed to free themselves furtherly from the like inconvenience, and get good conditions for themselves, for regaining their ancestors' (at least a good part thereof) estates, they could never desire a more convenient time than that time, the distempers in Scotland being then on foot; and did ask me what I thought of it?

"I made him answer, that I could not tell what to think of it; such matters being altogether out of my element. Then he would needs have of me an oath of secrecy, which I gave him, and thereupon he told me that he spoke to the best gentry of quality in Leinster, and a great part of Connaught, touching that matter; and he found all of them willing thereto, if so be they could draw to them the gentry of Ulster: for which cause, said he, I came to speak to you. Then he began to lay down to me the case that I was in then, overwhelmed in debt, the smallness of my estate, and the greatness of the estate my ancestors had, and how I should be sure to get it again, or at least a good part thereof.* And moreover, how the welfare and maintaining the Catholic religion, which, he said, undoubtedly the parliament now in England will suppress, doth depend upon it: for, said he, it is to be feared, and so much I hear from every understanding man, the parliament intends the utter subversion of our religion;—by which persuasions he obtained my consent. And so he demanded whether any more of the Ulster gentry were in town. I told him that Mr Philip Reilly, Mr Tirlogh O'Neile brother to Sir Phelim O'Neile, and Mr Cossloe MacMahon, were in town; so for that time we parted.

"The next day he invited Mr Reilly and I to dine with him; and after dinner he sent for those other gentlemen, Mr O'Neile and Mr MacMahon, and when they were come, he began the discourse, formerly used to me, to them; and with the same persuasions formerly used to me, he obtained their consent. And then he began to discourse of the manner how it ought to be done, of the feasibility and easiness of the attempt, considering matters as they then stood in England, the troubles of Scotland, the great number of able men in the kingdom, meaning Ireland: what succours they were to hope for from abroad: and the army then raised, all Irishmen, and well armed, meaning the army raised by my lord Strafford against Scotland. First, that every one should endeavour to draw his own friends into that act, and at least those that did not live in one county with them. And when they had so done, they would send to the Irish in the low countries, and in Spain, to let them know of the day and resolution: so that they would be over with them by that day or soon after with a supply of arms and ammunition, as they could: that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own quarters should rise out that day, and seize on all the arms he could get in his county; and this day to be near winter, so that England could not be able to send

* *Fortuna ea omnia victoribus premia posuit*, the true old secret of rebellion, however the outside may be ornamented with the dream of liberty, and the pretence of patriotism.

forces into Ireland before May, and by that time there was no doubt to be made but that they themselves should be supplied by the Irish beyond seas, who, he said, could not miss of help from either Spain or the Pope.* Such was the plan proposed by Moore; but lord Maguire informs us that the company did not entirely adopt his proposal. They resolved not to stir in the matter until they should first have ascertained how far they might depend on having help from the continent. They were also desirous to have the advice and consent of the gentry through Ireland. On this point Moore urged, "that it was to no purpose to spend much time in speaking to the gentry: for that there was no doubt to be made of the Irish, but that they would be ready at any time," &c. Among other things he told them, that there was a great man whose name for the present he was sworn to conceal; but who would not fail them if the rising should begin. This was lord Mayo, as he declared on a pledge of secrecy from lord Maguire and the rest of the company.

From this, Moore continued to exert his utmost efforts, while the other principal parties, just mentioned, held themselves in reserve, according to the views they had taken. Their caution was not yet overcome, and they were resolved not to commit themselves, until they could ascertain the security for success and safety. Moore proceeded soon after into Ulster, where he hoped to meet many of the gentry at the assizes; but meeting few, and not finding the readiness he expected, the utmost that could be determined was the postponement of further proceedings, till the following May, when the conspirators should meet in Dublin. In the mean time, a message from the earl of Tyrone came from Spain, to confer with the members of his family and name, and inform them that he had obtained the cardinal Richieu's promise to send arms, ammunition, and money, on demand, to Ireland: and that he himself only awaited the favourable moment to join them, and desired them to be ready.† This message quickened the dilatory, and gave new life to their proceedings. When they met in Dublin, Mr Moore, Reilly, lord Maguire, and his brother dispatched the messenger (Neile O'Neile) back to Spain, to announce their determination to rise on "twelve or fourteen days before or after All Hallowtide, as they should see cause, and that he should not fail to be with them at that time."‡

In the mean time, the earl of Tyrone was killed. On receiving confirmation of this afflicting intelligence, Moore sent off one father Connolly, the priest of the parish in which he lived, to colonel Owen O'Neile. Further incidents soon occurred to favour the views and quicken the resolution of the conspirators. Intelligence was received of severe proclamations against the members of the church of Rome, in England, and of the hostile declarations of the Scots against that communion. A permission from king Charles to levy men for the Spanish service, and an order to transport for the purpose, the Irish regiments then in Ireland, set these leaders actively to work; they set

* The relation of Lord Maguire.

† Lord Maguire's Narrative.

‡ Ibid.

on foot a violent clamour against the removal of the army, on the adherence of which they relied, and they also availed themselves of the occasion to levy troops as if for Spain. In this, Plunket already mentioned, Hugh Byrne, the wrongs of whose father we have already related, and an officer of the name of O'Neile, volunteered their exertions. To these, Sir James Dillon added his exertions, and gave his concurrence and the weight of his name. From this gentleman, lord Maguire learned the design entertained by himself and his branch of the conspiracy, which was to devote the force they were raising to the defence of the Irish catholics against the Scots; they were to begin by seizing on the castle, where they expected to find abundant supplies of arms and military stores. On their arrival in Dublin, a meeting was held between the principal conspirators and the colonels of the army, who were thus engaged in the same enterprise. At this meeting they discussed the points: how they should secure money to pay the soldiers; how they should obtain foreign succours; how they should draw in the gentry of the pale; who should undertake to surprise the castle, and how it should be attempted. To these points it was respectively answered: that the rents should be collected to pay the soldiery, and that the Pope had promised Tyrone to maintain 6000 men at his own charge; for foreign aid, the promises of the Spanish ambassador in London were alleged; for the gentry of the pale, colonel Plunket answered that they would not be found slow to join in their arms; the seizure of the castle was undertaken by colonels Plunket and Bourne. This meeting was held "in the end of August, 1641, or beginning of September."* And as these colonels were to surprise the castle with no more than 100 men, Sir James Dillon pledged himself to join them in a few days, after they should have succeeded, with 1000 men. It was thought that once seizing the castle, they could command the town with its artillery.

While farther meetings and messages were going on, and the conspirators were yet doubtful when to rise, they received an intimation through Mr Moore, from Owen O'Neile, desiring them to rise without further loss of time, and that he would join them on fourteen days' notice. There nevertheless appears still to have been much irresolution, indicated by numerous abortive meetings and desultory resolutions. At last, on the 5th October, the principal conspirators resolved to attempt the castle on the 23d, which being a market day, the concourse of people would less attract the notice of the government. To the question, as to the leaders in this enterprise, Moore replied that he would be one, and colonel Bourne another; the castle he observed had two gates, that the Leinster men should undertake the small gate, and the Ulster men the other. Sir Phelim O'Neile and lord Maguire attempted to excuse themselves from being present, but Moore insisted. Sir Phelim pleaded the necessity of being away to seize upon Londonderry; but Maguire was compelled to give his consent to be present.

* Lord Maguire's Narrative.

It was a necessary part of their plan, and, in the existing condition of the English garrisons, not unlikely to be crowned with success. that they were similarly, and at the same time, to obtain possession of every important place of strength.

By simultaneous movements on the same day, Londonderry, Carrickfergus, and Newry, were to be surprised, and directions were to be circulated through the country, that the gentry should everywhere rise and seize upon the nearest forts.

On the 22d, one day before that fixed for the attack, the conspirators assembled in Dublin, and met to weigh their strength, and settle the proceedings for the next day. Of 200 men they had counted upon, but 80 had arrived, and it was proposed to delay the attack until the afternoon, to give time for others to come in.

But while they were thus concerting their plan, other incidents were taking place elsewhere.

The council had already received warning from Sir William Cole, of many suspicious indications, such as were sufficient to satisfy all intelligent persons, who were not stupified by the opiate atmosphere of the Castle, that something unusual and dangerous was afloat. The movements of Sir Phelim O'Neile and lord Maguire had been observed. But the Castle crew were unwilling to be roused from the placid slumber of office, and were content to recommend watchfulness to others. On the eve of the rebellion, however, they received a warning not to be trifled with, with impunity.

Owen Conolly, a servant of Sir John Clotworthy, on the evening of the 22d, was seized by the watch, and brought to lord-justice Parsons, and disclosed to him the whole particulars of the conspiracy. Parsons disbelieved the story, it carried the appearance of exaggeration, and it was apparent that the informant was considerably affected by intoxication. He told his tale confusedly, and his answers seemed not consistent. Parsons, perhaps to get rid of him, desired him to go and obtain further discoveries. On cool reflection, however, he thought it expedient to consult with lord Borlase, to whom he forthwith repaired, though it was ten o'clock at night. Borlase, saw the matter in a stronger light, and blamed his colleague for letting O'Conolly go. O'Conolly was however easily found. He had not gone far before his intoxication attracted the notice of the sentinels, and he either was detained or remained for safety. He was found by the messenger of Borlase. He had become a little more collected, but as he was not yet perfectly coherent in his statement, he now represented that his head was affected by the strong potations which had been forced upon him, but that if he were permitted to lie down for a little, he could explain all clearly. He was sent to bed, while the lord Borlase sent round to summon as many of the council as could be found. They were soon joined by Sir Thomas Rotheram, and Sir Robert Meredith the chancellor of the exchequer. Orders were sent to secure the city gates, and strengthen the castle guard, while the lord mayor and city officers received directions to have all persons watched who should appear in the streets.

In the mean time, O'Conolly became collected, and detailed the particulars contained in the following document:—

"Examination of Owen O'Conolly.

"Who being duly sworn and examined, saith; That he being at Monimore, in the county of Londonderry, on Tuesday last, he received a letter from colonel Hugh Oge MacMahon, desiring him to come to Connaught in the county of Monaghan, and to be with him on Wednesday or Thursday last. Whereupon he, this examinant, came to Connaught on Wednesday night last, and finding the said Hugh come to Dublin, followed him thither; he came hither about six of the clock this evening, and forthwith went to the lodging of the said Hugh, to the house near the boat in Oxmantown, and there he found the said Hugh, and came with the said Hugh into the town, near the Pillory, to the lodging of the lord Maguire, when they found not the lord Maguire within, and there they drank a cup of beer and went back to the said Hugh's lodging. He saith, that at the lord Maguire's lodging, the said Hugh told him, that there were and would be this night great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the Irish papists, from all parts of the kingdom, in this town; who, with himself, had determined to take the castle of Dublin, and to possess themselves of all his majesty's ammunition there to-morrow morning, being Saturday. And that they intended first to batter the chimnies of said town, and if the citizens would not yield, then to batter down the houses, and so to cut off all the protestants that would not join with them. He further saith, that he the said Hugh told him, that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom, to destroy all the English inhabiting there to-morrow morning by ten of the clock; and that in all the seaports and other towns in the kingdom, all the protestants should be killed that night, and that all the posts that could be, could not prevent it. And further saith, that he [O'Conolly] moved the said Hugh to forbear executing of that business, and to discover it to the state, for saving of his own estate, who said, that he could not help it: but said, that they did owe their allegiance to the king, and would pay him all his rights; but that they did this for the tyrannical government that was over them, and to imitate Scotland, who had got a privilege by that course. And he further saith, that when he was with the said Hugh in his lodging, the said Hugh swore that he should not go out of his lodging that night, but told him that he should go with him next morning to the castle; and said, if this matter were discovered, somebody should die for it. Whereupon the examinant feigned some necessity for his leasement, went down out of the chamber, and left his sword in pawn, and the said Hugh sent his man down with him: and when this examinant came down into the yard, and finding an opportunity he, this examinant, leaped over a wall and two pales and so came to the lord-justice Parsons.

(Signed)	"WILLIAM PARSONS,	} OWEN O'CONOLLY
	"THOMAS ROTHERAM,	
	"ROBERT MEREDITH,	

"Oct. 22, 1641."

While this examination was going on, MacMahon and others were secured; many however escaped seizure, and of those who were taken, some contrived to get away. MacMahon, when brought before the council, spoke plainly. He seems to have relied on the assumption that the insurrection was successful in every other part of the kingdom. It was five in the morning, and he told them "that on that very day, all the forts and strong places in Ireland would be taken."—"That he with the lord Maguire, &c., &c., were come up expressly to seize the castle of Dublin, and that 20 men out of each county in the kingdom were to be there to join them. That all the lords and gentlemen in the kingdom that were papists, were engaged in the plot; that what was that day to be done in other parts of the country, was so far advanced by that time, as it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it. And withal told them, that it was here they had him in their power and might use him how he pleased, but he was sure he should be revenged."

It is mentioned, that while MacMahon was waiting in the hall, he was observed to amuse himself with chalking out the figures of men hanging on gibbets, or lying prostrate on the ground. The act was probably designed to convey a threat, by the only means left at the moment.

While the justices were yet at lord Borlase's dwelling, at Chichester house in College green, then without the city gates, they were found by Sir Francis Willoughby, the governor of the fort of Galway. Arriving that evening he found the gates shut and noticed an unusual appearance of movement and bustle in the surrounding suburbs. Being apprised that the justices were there he hastened to find them.

He informed them that he had found the country quiet along his way; but that there was a very considerable concourse of strange horsemen pouring into the suburbs. And advised their removal into the castle.

The lords-justices, having removed into the castle at Willoughby's advice, appointed him commander of the castle and city. And sent out a proclamation into all parts of the country to put the peaceful and loyal on their guard.

"Thus," observes Carte, "by the hand of Providence rather than by the care of the government, was defeated a design, easy in the execution, and which, if it had taken effect, would have endangered the whole kingdom." The castle was guarded by eight infirm soldiers and forty halberdiers, and contained 1500 barrels of powder, with ball and other arms in proportion, and 35 cannon.*

We must for the present refer the subsequent events to other memoirs, and return to Moore. On the night of the incidents above narrated he made his escape, and directed his course to Ulster, where he thought his presence most necessary. While there he is supposed to have been the author of a manifesto which shortly after made its appearance, stating the complaints of the Roman catholics and their motives in taking arms. Such documents need not be here quoted, as in all such

* Carte.

cases, they can only be regarded as specious, and for the purpose of giving the fairest or most popular outside to a cause. With regard to Moore, we believe him to have been sincere in all that he professed, and far from the execrable purposes which have been imputed to many engaged in that rebellion. His wish was but justice, according to the notions he entertained, and he had chimerically assumed that justice could be executed strictly, and humanity preserved by the sword of insurrection—a dream, which has often deluded the enthusiastic and high-minded, who little know or are capable of knowing the instruments they must use and the passions they are about to awaken. In his manifesto, Moore dwelt upon the oppression of the Roman catholics by inferior governors—acknowledged that they had been indulged with liberty of conscience, by the favour of the king; but complains of the fears which they had reason to entertain from the landing of the Scots, who were expected to land “with sword and Bible,” for the extinction of the Roman catholic religion in Ireland. They complain of a design against the “papist and protestant bishops of the kingdom,” and propose “that the king should secure them and the protestants of this kingdom,” &c. We have quoted the above words from this paper for the purpose of showing the peculiar ground which was at first taken up by the more moderate of Moore’s party. And it is necessary to notice, that the word protestant is often used by the Roman catholics in their writings of that period, in contra-distinction from the puritans.

It appears indeed, plain enough, from the general tenor, both of the public declarations and conduct of Roger Moore and his associates, that they neither designed nor anticipated the frightful scenes which were to follow. Rebellion as it advances, rapidly numbers in its ranks all the extreme views and all the atrocious passions of human nature. As the movement advances, it grows broad and deep; and its constituent elements become more fierce, unrefined, and base. The philosophers and politicians, the soldiers, scholars, and gentlemen, are soon pushed aside to make way for the ruffianly and reckless spirits, which ever take the lead in popular movements; and such was the course of these events which are now so long to fill our pages.

Moore’s activity and genius had propagated an impulse, which was ere long to escape from his control. On the other side, the danger was increased by the incapacity of government, and the want of all the ordinary resources of civil control; there was neither justice, prudence, nor vigour, to meet it at the source. Instead of a formidable resort to military means or a fair disposition to redress reasonable complaints, a strife of intrigue and insidious negotiation commenced the contest. The memorials presented to the king were mixed with complaints against the lords-justices; these in their turn sent private statements to the earl of Leicester; and their statements were largely mingled with misrepresentation. They also harassed and impeded the proceedings of the parliament which was sensible of the approaching crisis, and disposed to act with spirit tempered by moderation.

If, indeed, it may be said with truth, that the insurgent party were ignorant of the consequences which they were to draw upon themselves

and their country, there seems every reason to suspect that the Irish government was equally infatuated. They either underrated the danger, (the common error of governments,) or they ignorantly wished to push the rebellion to an extremity of which they computed the advantages. The errors were probably concurrent. The result was an effort to impede such information as might be expected to bring succour from England, and to check the loyalty of the well-affected. They had with difficulty been prevailed upon to call a parliament; and when it had assembled, they were so anxious to get rid of it, that they would hardly allow time for a vote of supply. The parliament drew up a spirited declaration against the rebellion, and appointed agents to inquire and report the state of matters to the king and council; but they were not allowed the time required for the completion of this proceeding. A second day was allowed on much entreaty by the obstinacy of the lords-justices. And the parliament, finding itself suspected, or divining the real motive, and resolved on discharging its duty to the public, passed a vote empowering them to levy forces for the defence of the kingdom, and to raise money by assessment for the purpose.

Lord Dillon of Costello was appointed to present a memorial to the king, containing complaints against the lords-justices, and recommending the appointment of the earl of Ormonde. It is also probably conjectured,* that they recommended the adoption of those just measures for the security of property, which could not fail to be unacceptable to the party then at the helm. But the industry of the castle was alert in the vocation of intrigue. In the very same packet which conveyed lord Dillon with his commission, the agent of Parsons and Borlase conveyed their counter-statements and their representations of the design and characters of the opposed part of the council, whose names are given by Carte and others—Sir Richard Bolton the lord chancellor, Bulkeley, archbishop of Dublin, earl of Ormonde, Anthony Martin, bishop of Meath, John Leslie bishop of Raphoe, Robert lord Dillon of Kilkenny West, afterwards lord Roscommon, and Sir Gerard Lowther, judge of the common pleas. These persons who were for acting by the only rational and just way, and employing military rigour to suppress violence, and legislative justice to quiet just discontents, were denounced by the narrow and self-interested lords-justices, whose representations were but too successful. Declaring their distrust in the eminent persons whom we have enumerated, and the danger of employing any force levied in Ireland or commanded by Irishmen, they entreated for an English army, of which they proposed to supply the expense by confiscations.†

The packet was met by a storm, and cast upon the Scottish coast. Lord Dillon and lord Taaffe, the agents of the moderate party, while proceeding on their way to London, were seized at Ware, and their papers taken from them and suppressed: after which they were confined for some months, until their escape was considered of no consequence.

* Carte.

† Carte, I. 228.

This conduct of the lords-justices gave encouragement to Roger Moore and his party. The prorogation of the parliament left them without any counter-check; the refusal of the Irish government to permit the activity of the native leaders who had volunteered against them, left them in possession of the field. The selfish policy adopted by the castle junto, threw a heavy weight of just complaints into the scale in their favour. Their cause seemed to prosper, and they were advancing in confidence and numbers. Moore lay near Dundalk and Atherdee, with a body of 2500 men, so undisciplined and unarmed that they could have been of no use in the field. They were yet, in the absence of all resistance, sufficient to give the appearance of strength; and their confidence was increased by a commission from parliament sent to treat with them. In their infatuation they treated this overture with a contempt which indicates plainly enough their confidence in themselves. Moore (so far as we can form any conjecture,) was not quite the dupe of this vain confidence: he was by far too well informed, observant, and prudent, not to be aware that his present strength lay in the absence of an enemy. He strongly urged the folly of declarations against the English, which the rabble who followed him had indulged in, and advised that they should mainly rest their cause on religious grievances. With this view he also gave them the dignified title of *Catholic Army*, a seasonable artifice, and equally illustrative of his enthusiasm and dexterity. There never was a more disastrous pretext for Ireland, or more fortunately adopted for the views of the rebel leaders. It not only served to conceal the secret motives and put them out of view, but tended to attract to their standard many who would most resolutely have opposed them; and above all, it embodied the real grievances of some of the most considerable bodies in the kingdom. The priesthood were counted on as their most efficient and trusty friends; and the Roman catholic lawyers, whose influence pervaded the Irish aristocracy, and whose professional employment was restricted by the oaths they were required to take, were also to be conciliated. The English parliament had proceeded with a harshness against the English Roman catholics, which added motives of terror to those of grievance; and Parsons had been said to declare in a large company, that "within a twelvemonth not a catholic should be seen in Ireland."

Such were, in brief, the circumstances which gave to Moore's expedient the force of a universal call to arms, and subsequently led to the most hapless direction of popular fanaticism—a fatal instrument, which has never been successful for good, though it has often forged an iron crown, and riveted the chains of those who are its dupes: under its insane influence—the lunacy of nations—deeds have been done, of fear, desperation, and blind resentment, which the plain rule of justice, unsusceptible of refined distinctions, must for the interests of mankind treat as guilt; although the decision of the historian, who is allowed to weigh men's actions in the balance of determining motives and causes, may temper his judgment with the palliation of error, infatuation, and the panic of insane excitement, which, when it seizes the crowd, seems to awaken and concentrate the worst passions of man's nature into

something more fierce and formidable than belongs to any other known living species.

The violent proceedings of the English commons, and the policy of the rebel leaders, as here described, was rendered still more productive of evil by the first measures of the lords-justices. While they repelled the aid of the nobility and gentry of Ireland, they had recourse to that of persons who were recommended by their thorough participation in the views and prejudices of their employers. A soldier of fortune trained in the former rebellion of Ulster, led a small force against a party of rebels which had invested the castle of Wicklow. These were easily repelled; but the soldiers of the lords-justices committed the most unprovoked outrages upon the people of the town, and thus gave a premature specimen of the mercy to be expected from these men. They sent an undisciplined body of 650 men to the relief of Drogheda, and thus afforded the rebel leaders the opportunity of a triumph, which served to increase and encourage their followers. And, lastly, they crowned the offence which their whole conduct had given to the Roman catholic lords of the pale, by an insulting exhibition of distrust.

These noblemen, sensible of the approaching commotion and of their own dangerous and questionable position, between their own party and a suspicious and bigoted administration, chose their course with decision and prudence. They prepared at once to embark in the cause of order, loyalty, and the constitution. They had already joined in the vain effort to urge the castle to its duty: they now offered their services. They were met by shallow insidiousness and demonstrations of treachery, too thinly disguised to escape detection; their offers were refused, they were neither allowed to fight for the protection of the state, nor in their own defence: they were desired to stand out naked and defenceless, spurned by one side and a mark for the other. They were disarmed, menaced, and insulted; and withal, the course of things was such as to render it quite evident that the creed which made them objects of all this degradation, must soon assume the form and character of crime. Their position was one of extreme trial; and their conduct is here to be reviewed with humane allowance.

Of these circumstances, favourable for his purpose, Roger Moore was on the watch to take advantage. The lords of the pale met and sent a temperate letter of remonstrance, in which they adverted to the rejection of their services against the rebels, and complained that language had been used in council such as to deter them from waiting upon the lords-justices, &c. To this the lords-justices replied by a proclamation, in which they denied the alleged words; and presently summoned the lords Fingal, Gormanston, Slane, Dunsany, Netterville, Louth, and Trimleston, to attend at a board, on the 17th December, that they might confer with them.

On this, the lords thus summoned, with the principal gentry of the county of Meath, assembled to consult on the hill of Crofty. They had not long been there when they were approached by Roger Moore, attended by colonel MacMahon, and other rebel gentlemen, with a guard of

musqueteers. The lords of the pale rode out to meet them, and lord Gormanston asked why they thus entered the pale in arms? Roger Moore replied—They came, he said, to vindicate their liberty of conscience: that they were armed in defence of the king's prerogative which had been invaded; and also with the design to make the Irish as free as the people of England. On this lord Gormanston asked if these were their genuine designs?—whether they had not some other private ends of their own? This Moore denied: on which lord Gormanston rejoined that these were their common interests, and that they would join them. And all present having agreed, a warrant was thereupon drawn up and issued to the sheriff, to summon all the lords and gentry of the county, to a general meeting in the next week upon Tara hill.

We shall have again to enter into a minute detail of the incidents here briefly noticed. As the insurrection thus mainly raised by the instrumentality of Roger Moore acquired more numerous and powerful leaders, his instrumentality becomes less apparent. Colder hearts and wiser heads—motives more profound, long-sighted, and corrupt—more exasperated passions took their usual places in the council of interested and angry spirits. As they gather in numbers and authority, dissension and divided counsels rose up among them; and the power, influence, and personal ambition of individuals, became ruling springs of the conduct of the party. We may then shortly pass to the end of Moore's career.

The rebellion had, as we have already said, as it extended, yielded to the common law of all unorganized and irregular movements; it lost power as it gathered numerical weight, and was weakened by the varied opinions, principles, and objects, of its influential movers. The English commons, though little disposed to waste their strength upon this country's tumults, and misled by opposite representations, began to supply the means of opposition, men, money, and stores, though with a parsimony ill suited to the state of affairs. However, by the skill, promptness, and bravery, of many distinguished officers, the tide began to be turned, and the rebels became considerably distressed. The Irish chiefs were on the point of abandoning a cause which they began to think hopeless, when their courage was rallied and their hopes revived by the long desired arrival of colonel Owen O'Neile. To increase it still further, several vessels from France landed abundant supplies of arms and ammunition, and a considerable Irish force, with numerous officers who had acquired experience and reputation in foreign service.

Of this advantage, the first use made by the Irish was an effort to give authority and method to their proceedings. The details of this change we are compelled to reserve for a memoir yet to come in its order. The clergy saw their time: they also saw the necessity of infusing order into confused movements, of establishing some source of civil rule, of directing desultory efforts, and of controlling the fierceness of fanaticism. They convened a synod in Kilkenny, and framed a body of acts, among which the principal provided for a national convention of deputies to meet for the government of the country. This

assembly met, and gave form, and for a time vigorous instrumentality to the proceedings of the rebellion. They made declarations, constituted authorities, appointed councils, and distributed commands.

In the division of commands, the first movers were passed by:—persons of desperate fortune and active spirit may be permitted to embrace a desperate cause. But they must be set aside, when the appearance of success brings forward more wary and prudent observers, whose means and authority enable them to give weight to the cause, and render the declaration of their sentiments desired.

Moore began to sink in spirits and health as he fell in estimation and influence. His enthusiasm had been damped by the disapprobation of the conduct and slow progress of a war of which he now began to discern the true course. His humanity and gallantry had been shocked by the savage and brutal spirit which began to manifest itself among the rebels, and which neither his zealous opposition, nor that of other commanders, men of honour and humanity, had the power to control. He had been discontented and disgusted; and after the siege of Drogheda, withdrew to Flanders. At that affair he had been attacked by his own party for attempting to control their brutality. After the convention, which established a supreme council at Kilkenny, he returned only to find himself wholly set aside by inferior persons, who dreaded his energy, and were jealous of his commanding character. They thought it necessary to soothe his bitterness and appease his wounded pride by empty show of respect. He soon fell ill, and died in Kilkenny, and his death is not without reason attributed to mortification.

"He was," writes Carte, "a man of a fair character, highly esteemed by all that knew him, and had so great a reputation for his abilities among the Irish in general, that he was celebrated in their songs; and it was a phrase among them, 'God and our Lady be our assistance, and Roger Moore.' He exceedingly detested the cruelties committed by the Irish in Ulster; and when he afterwards got to Sir Phelim O'Neile, he did all he could to stop them, and to establish a regular discipline among his mobbish army."*

We shall have but too many occasions to present many and varied details of the disgusting and flagitious atrocities of this long rebellion, of the commencement of which we have given a slight sketch. But we cannot forbear taking this occasion to offer one observation as to the cause of these revolting enormities, which our perusal of the history of Irish rebellions has strongly suggested. The laws which make the rebel a criminal amenable to a species of summary justice, not extended to ordinary crimes, or executed by the laws of the land, are perhaps quite defensible on the ground of abstract theory, nor can we object to their strict justice. But they answer no good or expedient purpose; and fearfully aggravate the horrors and calamities of civil war. They do no good; the rebel marches to the field in defiance of death, and in anticipation of a different result: the law which makes a traitor of him is simply vindictive, it never deterred a single rebel from the field. Its real effects are twofold: to the rebel's discontent it

* Carte.

adds other incentives, the fury of desperation and revenge; he considers capture or the failure of his cause as certain death, or ruin worse than death. This, however, if it were all, would not call for our notice;—the great evil is the vindictive spirit of the cruel and savage retaliation. The military execution, even when attended with the most rigid regard to justice and humanity, is not viewed as justice by those who, right or wrong, consider justice to be on their own side, and are little capable of entertaining distinctions. For every prisoner who is judged as a criminal, and meets a felon's death, some victim is sure to suffer. This victim may be also a prisoner, and the retaliation may for a time be conducted with military order, and not pass the strict limit of a balanced account. So far the evil bears on the troops employed by government, and renders their capture somewhat different in its result from that of regular war. But by degrees, when rebellion happens to be protracted, other conditions arise. The forces on both sides become highly inflamed with the irritation to which many varied causes and incidents will inevitably give birth. Executions become more summary and more vindictive, brutal tempers (never wanting to the purest cause,) are brought into authority, and excesses are committed by angry soldiers: these unhappy and fatal demonstrations, which do no honour to a cause, are not allowed to remain unbalanced in the account of blood; executions of criminal or of *suspected* persons, inflicted without discretion are repaid by massacres without discrimination or mercy. And as every phase of civil disturbance brings its appropriate spirits into the field, the country becomes a scene of diabolical outrage against every claim of humanity.

The evil is increased by the want of prudence and vigour on the part of governments, which so often has been observed to precede rebellion. In their first alarm, the civil powers give way too far, and instead of meeting the evil in its commencement, rather oppose the loyal parties than those whom they have most reason to fear. Among the most common and dangerous errors thus committed, that which most aggravates the ills here noticed, is the mistake of disarming those who are the persons mainly to be defended, and who are sure to be the first objects of attack. This has been too frequently done, by regulations which bear unequally, on the peaceful and disorderly; no precaution of an Irish government has ever extended so far as to spoil the equipments of a rebel army.

SIR PHELIM O'NEILE.

BORN A. D. 1604.—EXECUTED A. D. 1641.

SIR PHELIM O'NEILE, of Kinard, in Tyrone, was, at the time which brings him into historic notice, the principal person of his name in Ireland. He was grandson of Sir Henry O'Neile, who was slain in the action against Sir Cahir O'Doherty, in 1608. The services of Sir

Henry had been acceptable to the government, and he had received a grant of the district called Sir Henry Gage's country.* On his death Sir Phelim was found to be his next heir. On coming of age, he applied to have a new grant, specially naming the lands which were comprised in more general designations in his grandfather's grant; on which, in 1629, a new instrument was made out according to his desire.

He entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn, and while in England professed the protestant religion; he is, however, believed to have changed on his return. Having entered on his property, he soon launched into a career of waste and dissipation, and did not cease until he had nearly wasted his ample property; which he was compelled to encumber almost to its full value. In consequence, he was for some years exposed to embarrassments, which seldom fail to corrupt and harden persons of strong passions and weak understanding, and add no small amount of vice to those follies of which they were the result.

Hugh, earl of Tyrone, died in 1616, leaving a son, who was married, but had no children. Sir Phelim, who was considered next heir, had thereby a new and vast prospect opened to his ambition. Roger Moore found him thus prepared to listen with eager avidity to proposals which were gilded in perspective, with the title and princely possessions of Tyrone. Such were the hopes with which Sir Phelim became the most active partisan of the proceedings of 1641, and entered on a course which soon led him to the scaffold.

In the first movements of 1641, while the insurrection was yet but in its projection, Sir Phelim's house was a central resort for the meetings of the conspirators; thither Moore, and Plunket, and lord Maguire used to come; and from thence messengers were soon observed to be dispatched to all quarters of the compass. Such was the information given by Sir Wm. Cole, in a letter to the lords-justices, on the 11th October, 1641; and we find it confirmed in lord Maguire's narrative, who mentions that he was asked to attend the funeral of Sir Phelim's wife, with a view to "confer with Sir Phelim touching all these proceedings." Sir Phelim next appears as one of the five who met in Dublin to plan the seizure of the castle; on which occasion Maguire and a few more were seized, while the main conspirators escaped.

Some time in the same month, Sir Phelim achieved an exploit which exhibits his character in no honourable point of view. It has been already mentioned, that on the first meetings of Sir Phelim with Moore and his associates, it was planned, on the same day that the castle was to be surprised, to obtain by similar means, possession of all the forts and garrisons in the provinces. It was allotted to Sir Phelim to secure the forts and garrisons of Ulster. Of these, Charlemont fort was under the command of Sir Tobias Caulfield, lord Charlemont, then a very old man. Sir Phelim was his neighbour, and as such was on the most intimate footing of hospitable intercourse, as hospitality was

* Carte.

practised in those simple old times. This intimate friendship was now perceived by the low-minded tact of Sir Phelim to offer an occasion of honourable enterprise: by availing himself of the open hospitality and unguarded confidence of the unsuspecting old soldier, he saw that he might secure a bloodless triumph. In accordance with this dexterous project, he sent word to the old lord, "that he would come a-gossiping to him." The veteran was delighted at the prospect of a cheerful company, the feast was prepared, and the cordial welcome was not wanting. Sir Phelim came with frank smiles on his countenance, and ruthless perfidy in his breast. He was, according to the custom of the day, attended by a company of friends; and others of the same honourable stamp fell in in small parties during the evening. It was advanced in the evening, and the cup had gone its repeated rounds among those guests, whom it warmed with no generous feeling; when Sir Phelim saw the moment, and gave the signal by laying his hands on his astonished host. The unfortunate nobleman had not an instant to recover from his surprise, or to doubt whether it was a drunken frolic, or a rough impulse of rudeness, when he saw all the members of his family and household seized in like manner, by the ruffians among whom they were seated. Sir Phelim was not a man to soften a rough act by the gentleness of the execution; when the last restraints of honour and decency are thrown aside, the bad passions are summoned up to give the needful courage. The act of violence was accompanied by the most revolting indignity, and followed by the basest acts of meanness and atrocity. Sir Phelim ransacked the castle, and appropriated the valuable property of his victim. The victim was bound and shut up in close confinement for fifteen weeks. We must, however, follow him to his unworthy and unprovoked fate.

His soldiers had been secured by means similar to those we have related; and, with their officers, were either killed or imprisoned. We have no means of ascertaining their fate, but it may be conjectured from the following incident. After the earl had for upwards of four months lain in prison, with his mother, sisters, and brothers, Sir Phelim separated him from them, and sent them away to Killenane, the house of Laurence Netterville. The unhappy lord received this cruel deprivation, as the warning of danger, and showed no small earnestness to retain about his person some one on whom he might rely. Having entreated that Major Dory should be left with him, Sir Phelim answered, and the answer must have sounded strangely from his false tongue, that Major Dory was a traitor; but added the assurance that he should "have better company before night." Before night he was committed to the charge of Captain Neile, Modder O'Neile, and others of the same name and stamp, to convey him to Cloughouter castle. He was hurried off without delay; at night-fall the company and their prisoner reached Sir Phelim's own castle of Kinard. It was a place aptly chosen for the murder of one whose hospitality he had outraged. They were entering the hall door, where the victim had often entered as an honoured and welcome guest, when the concerted signal was spoken. Captain Neile M'Kenna of the Trough in Monaghan, who walked on one side of the baron, turned to Edmund Roy O'Hugh, Sir Phelim's foster-

brother, and said "where is your heart now?" O'Hugh answered the signal by discharging his gun into the back of the old man, who, receiving the contents, exclaimed, "Lord have mercy on me," and fell dead across the threshold of his betrayer. The crime was followed up by another as revolting. On the same night a number of Sir Phelim's own tenants and servants, who were English and Scotch, were massacred by the same abandoned band of ruffians. Among the murdered was a son of Sir Phelim's, whose mother was an Englishwoman.

This tragic incident took place 1st March, 1641. A curious story is told by Lodge or his commentator, from some old book. We shall add it here in the words of the teller. On the perfidious visit of Sir Phelim which we have just described, when the company were met, "The Butler, an old and trusty servant, remarked that the assassin with his accomplices and the noble family, made up the odd number of *thirteen*; and observed with dread and concern, that the murderers had often changed their seats and their countenances, with the exception of the bravo himself, who kept his place on the left hand of lord Caulfield as he was wont to do, being an intimate acquaintance. The butler took an opportunity, whilst they were at dinner, to acquaint his lady with the causes of his uneasiness; telling her that he dreaded some direful event. She rebuked his fears, told him he was superstitious, asked if the company were merry, and had every thing they wanted. He answered that he had done his duty; they all seemed very merry, and wanted nothing he knew of but grace; and since her ladyship was of opinion that his fears were groundless, he was resolved, through a natural impulse he felt, to take care of his own person. And thereupon instantly left the house, and made the best of his way to Dublin."*

Such was the first exploit of Sir Phelim O'Neile. On the same night many similar successes were obtained, but none by means so base. From Charlemont fort O'Neile proceeded to Dungannon, which he surprised and seized without any resistance; the castle of Mountjoy was surprised by one of his followers; Tanderage by O'Hanlon; Newry was betrayed to Sir Con Magennis; Roger Maguire, brother to lord Maguire, overran Fermanagh; lord Blaney's castle, in Monaghan, was surprised by the sept of MacMahon, and the lord with his family made prisoners by the MacMahons. In Cavan, the insurrection was headed by Mulmore O'Reily, sheriff of the county, and all the forts and castles seized by the *posse comitatus*, under the pretence of legal authority and the king's service. His example was followed by the sheriff of Longford. Insurrection had not as yet put forth its horrors, neither had its vindictive spirit been inflamed, nor the fanaticism which was to infuse its fiendish character at a further stage, as yet been called into action. It was as yet an insurrection of lords and gentlemen; nor is there any reason to believe, that any thing more was designed by these, than a partial transfer of property, and certain stipulations in favour of the church of Rome.

By these successes, Sir Phelim soon found himself at the head of an

* Lodge.

army of 30,000 men, and of ten counties. On the 5th of November, he took up his head quarters at Newry, and endeavoured to give a legal colour to his conduct, by the declaration, that he took up arms by the authority, and for the service of the king. To authenticate this pretension, he exhibited a parchment to which he had cunningly appended a great seal, which he contrived to obtain while at Charlemont fort, from a patent of lord Charlemont's. This fact was afterwards proved, both by the confession of Sir Phelim, and by the production of the very patent a few years after, in a lawsuit in Tyrone assizes, where the marks of the seal having been torn away, together with an indorsement to the same effect, confirmed this statement.*

In the mean time, no measures of a sufficiently decisive nature were taken against the rebels. The lords-justices appear to have been infatuated by some fallacious security, and perhaps were diverted from a sense of their danger by interested speculations of the future consequences of rebellion. Such speculations are, indeed, but too likely to have arisen; for it was only the after events of the long civil wars in England, that prevented the rebellion of 1641 from following the ordinary course of former rebellions. But so far were the lords-justices from manifesting any true sense of the emergent position of events, that they not only acted remissly themselves, but interposed to prevent the activity and courage of such noblemen and gentry of the pale as were inclined to arm in their own defence. The earl of Ormonde volunteered his service, and pressed earnestly to be allowed to lead whatever men they could spare him against the rebels. This was not acceded to; and the lords-justices, pressed by the remonstrances of every loyal tongue, contented themselves by sending a regiment to the relief of Drogheda, which was then besieged by 4000 rebels.

The English parliament was still less desirous of giving peace to Ireland. The rebellion favoured their views, and could, they knew, be suppressed whenever it suited their own purposes to send an army into the country. It gave them, however, a pretext for the levy of men and money to be employed against the king, and of this they availed themselves largely.

The pale, and the protestant nobility and gentry, were thus left to their own courage and means of resistance. They quickly threw off their fears and their false security, and took up arms in their own defence. Their resolution and energy, however great, were in some measure paralyzed by the uncertain conduct of the king, and by the false pretences of the rebel leaders, who assumed his name and authority. Yet they began to fortify their castles and to defend the towns, and the progress of the rebels began to be more difficult, and to be interrupted by numerous checks and disappointments.

Sir Phelim and his associate conspirators had been raising a strong force against themselves; the fugitives which their first successes had rolled together into Carrickfergus, were embodied and armed into a force, which, if inferior in numbers to the rebels, was far superior in moral force and discipline. From these colonel Chichester garrisoned

* Carta.

Carrickfergus, Derry, Belfast, and other principal places of strength. A reinforcement of 1500 men from Scotland gave added force to the whole. Sir Phelim's people were defeated in many places. He was himself repelled with slaughter from before the walls of castle Derrick, in the county of Tyrone, and fled to his camp at Newry, in mortification and disgrace.

From this, Sir Phelim's conduct is to be distinguished for its violence and cruelty. Some historians attribute the murders committed by his order, to a design to secure the fidelity of his people, by dipping them in guilt beyond the expectation of forgiveness. The love of plunder had brought the common people to his standard, and he very well understood that there was no other motive so likely to preserve their fidelity, as the desperation of crime beyond the hope of mercy. By some this counsel has been imputed to Ever MacMahon, one of his followers, and titular bishop of Down, on the authority of a deposition of a Mr Simpson of Glaslogh. But with Carte, we are inclined to attribute the crimes of this person to the evil passions of his nature, upon the strong ground, that they appear to have chiefly followed upon occasions of ill success. On such occasions where his followers met with a check—when any thing in the camp caused irritation, and sometimes when he was drunk, it was usual for him to be seized with a violent fit of rage bordering upon phrenzy, during which he frequently gave orders for the murder of his prisoners. Some of these ruffian-like acts are enumerated by Carte, and we shall give them in his language. "In some of these frantic fits, he caused Mr Richard Blaney, knight of the shire of Monaghan, to be hanged in his own garden, and the old lord Charlemont to be shot; in another, when the rebels were repulsed in the attack of the castle of Augher, and several of the sept of the O'Neiles slain, he ordered Mulmory Mac-Donell, to kill all the English and Scotch within the parishes of Mullebrack, Logilley, and Kilcluney; in another, when he heard of the taking of Newry by lord Conway, he went in the beginning of May, in all haste, to Armagh, and in breach of his own promise under his own hand and seal, at the capitulation, murdered a hundred persons in the place, burnt the town and the cathedral church—a venerable and ancient structure said to be built by St Patrick, and called by a name revered enough among the Irish, to have been an effectual protection to a place dedicated to his honour—and fired all the villages and houses of the neighbourhood, and murdered many of all ages and sexes, as well in the town as in the country round about."

From this, all pretence to humanity was at an end: once adopted there is no end to cruelty. It will be justified by the assertion of its justice, and will be maintained by the furious passions of men dipped in lawless murder. The rebel soldier was not slow to catch the spirit of his chief, and to glory in atrocities which came recommended by a sanction he could not but respect. Even cows and sheep were tortured for being English, and were not saved by the growing necessity which they might have been used to supply. "Cruel and bloody measures," writes Carte, "seldom prosper:" from the commencement of this course of cruel conduct, Sir Phelim's successes were at an end.

Whatever may be the value of Mr Carte's maxim, it seems quite reconcilable to every thing we know of the laws of human nature; an army steeped in crimes, which demand the help of the worst passions of man for their perpetration, cannot be the fit organ of moral discipline; it can have no calm energy, no sense of honour, or of an honourable, high, or holy cause. Some savage state can, it is true, be conceived, debased by a faith, atrocious by some fell rule of wrong; there may be hordes who worship the powers of evil, and are bound by fanaticism of some black and hell-born hue. The Christian, however misled, is taught to act on other grounds; even his illusions preserve the name of a holy cause; his crimes are in the defiance of his conscience, and his creed: the plundering and the licentious butcheries only sanctioned by cupidity—revenge, and the blood-thirsty excitement of an uncontrolled rabble, the most dangerous and disgraceful phenomenon in the known compass of things, could never be consistent with the moral discipline which is the best strength of armies. The army of Sir Phelim, terrible henceforth to the defenceless, were chaff before the smallest force that could be brought into contact with them. The rabble who followed him, expressed their designs in language, which requires no commentary. They declared that "they would not leave an English man in the country; that they would have no English king, but one of their own nation, and Sir Phelim O'Neile should be their king, . . . that if they had his majesty in their power, they would flay him alive," &c. Such were the frantic professions of this vile mob, as has been proved from several depositions, perused by Carte.

Among the grievous consequences of these excesses, one was, that they called forth some lamentable instances of retaliation. Among the English and Scotch a horror of the Irish spread to every rank; the report of such barbarities appeared to degrade the perpetrators below the level of human nature. They also excited the worst passions among the inferior classes of the opposite party. The Scotch garrison at Carrickfergus, possessed both by their habitual hatred to popery, and inflamed to an implacable detestation of the Irish, by multiplied accounts of their cruelties, horrible in themselves, and exaggerated not only by the sufferers, but by those wretches who boasted and magnified their own barbarities. In one fatal night, they issued from Carrickfergus into an adjacent district, called Island Magee, where a number of poor Irish resided, unoffending and untainted by the rebellion. Here, according to the statement of a leader in this party, they massacred thirty poor families. This incident has been, as might be expected, misstated in all its particulars, both as to the number of the sufferers and the date of the occurrence. Leland, by far the most accurate and scrupulous writer on our history, ascertains the true particulars from the MS. "depositions of the county of Antrim," preserved in the College Library; and states, that instead of happening in November, this incident took place in the beginning of the following January, when the followers of Sir Phelim "had almost exhausted their barbarous malice."* We should add, that Carte cannot, as Leland

* Leland, iii. 128.

thinks, be properly said to favour the assertion, that this massacre took place in November: without entering on the question as to its date, he quotes the assertion from a book entitled, *The Politician's Catechism*, in order to show from numerous facts, that it was not "the first massacre in Ireland, on either side,"* and on this Mr Carte is quite conclusive. We also think it fair to state, that one historical writer, whom we have consulted, questions the accuracy of Leland's investigation of the college MS.; but from the uniform tone of acrid misrepresentation in which this writer deals, we have not thought fit to adduce an opinion which we should be compelled to investigate at a very disproportioned length. The importance of the point has been overstated in the heat of party recrimination. When crimes on either side must be admitted, priority is of little importance; it cannot justify those who cannot be justified, but by the denial of every principle of right and wrong.

As we have observed, the moral effect of these atrocities was fatal to the army of Sir Phelim. They soon became only formidable to the unarmed and helpless. The horror diffused by their crimes, armed against them many who would willingly have remained inert, and drew from the Irish government, the English parliament, and the protestant gentry, efforts of opposition and resistance which soon effectually checked their advances. Of the wide spread scene of waste, disorder and danger amounting to the disruption of society, of which such a state of things was productive, an ample and striking description is contained in Borlase's account. Every private house seems to have been something in the condition of a besieged fortress—and a scene of protracted terror and watchfulness, or of heroic courage and constancy. "Great were the straits many of them were put unto, enduring all manner of extremities, subjecting themselves to all kind of dangers; not daunted with the multitude of rebels that lay about them, they in many places issued out, and lived only on the spoils they took from them, fighting continually for their daily bread, which they never wanted, so long as their enemies had it. The rebels were so undexterous in the management of their sieges, that they took very few places by force; in all their attempts, whether by mine, battery, or assault, they seldom prospered. The great engine by which they mastered any fort of the English was treachery; offers of safe conduct, and other conditions of honour and advantage, which might induce the besieged, sometimes reduced to the utmost extremities, to surrender their places into their hand; which though so solemnly sworn and signed, yet they seldom or never kept."† We forbear entering into the sanguinary recital of these flagrant atrocities, which we should be too glad to have it in our power to reject as the monsters of exaggeration and fear, but which are given upon the authority of depositions, that there is no fair ground for rejecting. Much of the sanguinary spirit manifested by the followers of the rebel chiefs is to be attributed to the irritating consciousness of failure, and the protracted resistance which they so often had to encounter, from seemingly inadequate opponents.

* Carte, i. 76, 77.

† Borlase.

It was in the month of December, 1641, that the rebels, encouraged more by the absence of any hostile demonstrations on the government side than by any successes of their own, came before Drogheda. They had neither the necessary materials for a siege, nor even for an encampment; and, therefore, they were compelled to take their quarters in the surrounding villages, and thus became more formidable to private persons living in the surrounding district than to the city; which was not, however, exempt either from danger or suffering. The numbers of the rebel army amounted to nearly twenty thousand, and they were thus enabled to blockade every avenue, and completely to intercept all supplies. Ill provided for a siege, the governor had still nearer ground for apprehension from the traitors who were suspected to be within his walls. On the night of December 20, the rebels attempted to surprise the city by a sudden and general assault, but were driven back with so much loss that they did not think it advisable to renew the attempt. They were, however, fully aware of the unprepared condition of the city, and the wants of the garrison; and having every reason to hope that they would meet with no interruption from abroad, they expected to obtain possession by starving the garrison.

Within, the condition of affairs was indeed low enough to warrant such expectations. The English became diseased from the effects of an unaccustomed and scanty diet, and were daily losing their strength and spirits: from this state of want and suffering many escaped over the walls. The officers wrote a letter to the duke of Ormonde, in the hope that the exertion of his influence might extract some relief from the supineness of the state. About the 11th of January, 1642, the lords-justices sent a scanty and poor supply of food and ammunition, saying that they were unwilling to send more until it should appear that the present supply could obtain entrance. The way was undoubtedly difficult, the entrance to the harbour being narrow, and obstructed by the precaution of the rebels, who had sunk a small vessel in the channel, and drawn a strong chain across from two large ships on either side. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the small and shallow vessels which brought the supply were enabled to pass over the chain, as well as a bar of sand, which, it was conceived, must have obstructed their entrance at low water.

The joy of the garrison at a relief so seasonable was nearly the cause of their ruin: indulging in a premature sense of security, their vigilance became relaxed as their fear abated. The governor, who did not participate in the forgetfulness of the occasion, saw the danger, and took strict care to have the guards visited more frequently during the night; but this did not prevent their sleeping on their posts, for they had been worn by toil and privation, and were, it may be assumed, oppressed with unwonted indulgence, and lulled by false security. Treason, too, had been at work. Sir Phelim had managed to secure an understanding with some of the inhabitants; and in the still hour of darkness, when all appeared to favour the unnoticed approach of an enemy, an old door-way, which had been walled up, was broken open, and admitted five hundred men picked from all the

companies of the rebel army without. The city lay in silence. The garrison and the people were asleep, and the guards, half asleep, did not look beyond their own immediate watches; all things favoured the attempt, and for half an hour Drogheda was in possession of the enemy. But their conduct was not answerable to the occasion, and was such as to indicate clearly the true character of Sir Phelim's army. There was nothing to prevent their seizing on a gate and admitting Sir Phelim and his forces; they could, without resistance, have seized the artillery on Millmount by which the town was commanded; the garrison could have offered but slight resistance while unprepared. But they never seem to have thought of any course of action; they trusted, probably, as all mobs will ever trust, to the fallacious confidence of numerical force, and supposed themselves to be in possession of the town because they had got in. Their triumph was however unsatisfactory, until it should be made known to their enemies within, and their friends abroad: it was evident that something was wanting to their dark and unknown victory. They manifested their possession of the town by a tremendous shout, which carried astonishment and alarm to every quarter of the town: the sentinels started to their posts, and the little garrison was roused from its dangerous slumber. Sir Henry Tichburne, hearing the rebel cheer, rushed out without waiting to arm, and caused a drum to beat to arms. Heading his own company, which chanced to be the main guard, he advanced to meet the rebel force, and falling in with them quickly, a short struggle took place, in which the rebels, though more numerous by six to one, and also picked men, had the disadvantage in arms and discipline, and were soon forced to retreat in confusion: in the mean time the governor had collected a party of musqueteers, and coming up while the rebels were in this state, by a volley of shot converted their disorder into a precipitate flight. They scattered several ways. About two hundred escaped by the concealed breach at which they had entered, many found concealment in private houses, two hundred fell in the streets. Of the English only three fell in the fight; a few were found slain in different quarters where they had been surprised or turned upon by the flying rebels. Another attempt of the same kind was made on the following night. It may be presumed that it was designed to avoid the errors of that which we have here related; but the vigilance of the garrison had been too well alarmed, and the enemy was beaten off with some loss.

The supply was insufficient, and the garrison of Drogheda soon fell into a condition of the utmost distress. Famine, and its sure attendant disease, more formidable than the enemy, took possession of the town; the men were enfeebled, their numbers thinned by fluxes and other complaints, and they were forced to live on horses, dogs, cats, and every loathsome resource of utter extremity. Sir Phelim saw their condition, and reckoned upon it not unreasonably: he saw that if he could collect a sufficient force, and obtain cannon to batter the walls, that the garrison were little likely to offer any effective resistance. With this view, he left his army and hurried away to the north, promising to return in eight days with eight cannon and a strong reinforcement—

a step which makes it very apparent to how great an extent the remissness of the government had become a matter of calculation.

Tichburne, on his part, was fully aware of his danger, and armed himself with heroic resolution. He sent captain Cadogan to Dublin to solicit the needful reinforcements and supplies; and expressed his resolution to hold the town against the enemy while the last morsel of horse-flesh remained, and then to cut his way to Dublin. In the interim he sent out small parties to endeavour to obtain whatever provisions could be thus found, within a short distance of the town. There were in consequence numerous skirmishes with the Irish, in which it was presently ascertained that their resistance was so little formidable, that Tichburne felt he might take more decided steps to supply the wants of his famishing garrison. He sent captain Trevor to a place four miles off, where he had been informed that there were eighty cows and two hundred sheep: the party was successful, and drove this fortunate acquisition without any resistance into the town, where they had for some weeks been without any wholesome aliment. They were thus enabled to hold out for several days; when, on the 20th of February, several ships appeared in the river, containing provisions and troops for their relief. Their approach had been guarded against by the precautions of the Irish army, who had, in the mean time, strengthened the impediments which had failed to obstruct the former supply. But the day before, a storm had broken the chain, and the sunken vessel had drifted away with the force of the impeded current; there was a spring-tide, and the winds, for many days contrary, had shifted in their favour, and blew fair from the south-east. The transport thus carried on by the combined advantage of wind and tide, passed rapidly from the fire which the Irish kept up, and entered the harbour with the loss of two killed and fourteen wounded. They brought a good supply of provision, and four companies of men.

It so fell out that Sir Phelim returned the same day; he brought two guns and seven hundred men. And disregarding every lesson which the previous incidents of the siege should have taught, he determined upon an assault. It was his plan to carry the walls by escalade, and in this absurd attempt his people were repulsed with such loss as to bring his army into entire contempt. Tichburne, who had hitherto rated his enemy above their real worth, having been all through deceived by numerical disparity, now determined to be no longer the defensive party. After this occurrence, he sallied forth every day with strong parties and looked for the enemy, whom, when found, he always dispersed with ease, so that a few days were sufficient to satisfy the Irish that they could only be cut to pieces in detail by remaining any longer, and they collected their force and marched away on the 5th of March.

Thus ended Sir Phelim's attempt for the capture of Drogheda. We have here related the incidents of this siege with more detail than its importance may appear to deserve, because they are illustrative of the comparative character of the forces employed on either side. It is curious to notice for how long a time their numerical disparity continued to impose on both; and it is evident that the events

which terminated the siege might have equally prevented its commencement, had Tichburne been aware of the true character of the enemy with whom he had to deal.

In the mean time Sir Phelim had been proclaimed a traitor: the ships, of which we have just mentioned the arrival, had brought copies of proclamations offering rewards for his head and that of several others; these were posted in the market-place. He now turned towards the north, the greater part of his army having scattered, and many of his friends being prisoners. A council of war, held by the duke of Ormonde, agreed in the expediency of following up these favourable occurrences with a considerable force now at their command; but the step was countermanded by the lords-justices, who seem to have thought more of goading the lords of the pale to desperation, than of terminating a rebellion to which they seemed to have entertained no objection, unless at intervals when it appeared to menace the existence of their own authority. The duke of Ormonde sent notice to lord Moore and Sir H. Tichburne of the constraint which had been imposed upon his movements, and these gentlemen expressed their astonishment, and "could not possibly conceive what motives could induce the lords-justices to send such orders." They sent a messenger to Dundalk, towards which town Sir Phelim had sent his cannon. This messenger brought back word, "that Sir Phelim O'Neile, and colonel Plunket, had been the day before at that place, and had got together about five hundred men; that they would fain have led them out towards Drogheda, but the men did not care to march; that with great difficulty, and after hanging two of the number, they at last got them out of the town, but as soon as the men found themselves out of the place, and at liberty, they threw down their arms and ran all away; that towards night Sir Phelim himself went away with Plunket, and left three field pieces behind him; and that there were not three gentlemen of quality left in the county of Louth."*

The report of the earl of Ormonde's approach had been sufficient to scatter the rebel force about Atherdee and Dundalk. His recall renewed their courage, and hearing the circumstance, they rallied their forces and resumed the posts they had abandoned. Lord Moore and Tichburne, after reducing the environs of Drogheda as well as their means admitted, directed their march towards Atherdee. About a mile from this town they came in collision with a strong party of nearly two thousand rebels, which they routed without suffering any loss; and, proceeding on their way, occupied the town. Having garrisoned a castle in the vicinity with one hundred and fifty men, to awe the county of Louth, they pursued their march to Dundalk, which Sir Phelim held with a force of eight hundred strong. Sir Henry Tichburne assaulted this town, and carried it by storm with the loss of only eighteen men. Sir Phelim escaped in the dusk of evening.

The state of the Ulster rebels was now become a case of desperation. The town of Newry had been taken by lord Conway, and a

* Carte's Ormonde, I. p. 288.

strong force of Scotch, under Munroe, which had been landed at Carrickfergus. Their encounters with the English troops had been little calculated to raise their hopes; they had received no assistance from Spain, and their means were reduced to the lowest. In the month of April, it is mentioned, Sir Phelim had not in his possession more than "one firkin and a half of powder left;" the people sent in petitions to be taken to mercy, and their leaders prepared to fly the country. Sir Phelim fled from Armagh, which he burned, to Dungannon, and from Dungannon to Charlemont, while his followers left him and scattered among the passes of Tyrone.

But Munroe had other views, or was not equal to the occasion. Prompt, stern, and peremptory in the assertion of a military control over all persons and places which were not able to resist, he seems to have been deficient in the most obvious and ordinary operations which his position in the face of an insurgent province required. With an army of two thousand five hundred brave and hardy soldiers he continued inert for two months, until Sir Phelim, who was not deficient in activity, once more contrived to rally his scattered friends and soldiers, and made his reappearance in arms. He was joined by Alexander MacDonell, known by the name of Colkitto, and a numerous force collected from Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Donegal, together with no inconsiderable remains of his former army. Relying upon this formidable body, and encouraged by the inactivity of the enemy, he marched to attack Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart, June 16. The action was better maintained than usual by the Irish, but in spite of their numbers and personal bravery, they were at length routed with a heavy loss.

It was at this period of the rebellion that colonel Owen O'Neile landed in Donegal with a large supply of arms and ammunition, and what was more wanting, officers and soldiers, and thus gave a very important impulse to the subsiding agitation; his arrival was no less efficient in impairing the authority of Sir Phelim, who had till this event been the chief military leader of the insurrection.

From this, a detail of the further events in which Sir Phelim was in any way a party, would lead us into notices which can be more appropriately pursued further on. He was excluded from any leading station by the distribution of the provinces to other commanders, but long continued to maintain a doubtful importance in the rebel councils, more from the influence of his father-in-law, general Preston, than from his own personal influence.

In 1652 he was tried for his life before the commission issued in Dublin, by the Commonwealth, for the trial of the offenders during the rebellion, and his end is more to his honour than any action of his previous life. He received an intimation that a pardon should be the reward of his evidence to prove that king Charles I. had authorised him to levy forces against his government in Ireland. Sir Phelim refused to save himself by a declaration so unwarranted and scandalous. He was accordingly tried and executed for the massacres committed by his authority in 1641.

Our next memoir is that of a partizan on the other side.

SIR CHARLES COOTE.

SLAIN A.D. 1642.

SIR CHARLES COOTE was descended from a French family of the same name; his ancestor, Sir John Coote, settled in Devonshire. The brave leader whom we have here to notice, came into Ireland at an early age. He served under Mountjoy, in the war against Hugh, earl of Tyrone, and was present at the siege of Kinsale, when he is said by Lodge to have commanded a company: the latter fact we doubt, as his name does not occur among the lists of captains, which Moryson gives; yet it seems to derive some confirmation from the fact of his having been appointed provost marshal of Connaught, by king James, in consideration of his services to queen Elizabeth. The appointment we should observe was but reversionary, and to take effect on the death of captain Wayman, who held the office at the time.

We must pass lightly over the incidents of a long period of Coote's life, which have no sufficient interest for detail. In 1613 he was made receiver of the king's composition-money in Connaught; 1616 he received the honour of knighthood, and the next year had a grant of a Saturday market and two fairs, on the festivals of St James and St Martin, at Fuerty near the town of Roscommon. In 1620 he was vice-president of Connaught; and was sworn of the privy council. In 1621 he was created a baronet of Ireland.* In addition it may be generally stated, that he had received large grants in different counties, and was much employed in various magisterial offices, of which the enumeration and the dates are to be found in all the peerage lists.

He was a colonel of foot in 1640. At the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, he was one of the earliest and most considerable sufferers. His linen works in Montrath were pillaged, and the entire of his property in that town was destroyed in December 1641. In the Queen's County, in Cavan, in Leitrim, and Sligo, his property every where met the same treatment, to the amount of many thousand pounds; and his estates were so injured as to remain nearly unprofitable till the end of the rebellion.

In 1641 he obtained a commission to raise a thousand men, which he speedily effected. It was during the investment of Drogheda, by a rebel army under Sir Phelim O'Neile, (as related in his life) that the lords-justices, alarmed by the near approach of rebellion in the border county of Wicklow, were compelled to cast aside their inefficiency for a moment; they detached Coote with a small party to the relief of the castle of Wicklow. Coote was no unwilling instrument: he was a man of that rough, stern, and inflammable temper which is easily wrought to fierce and extreme courses by the impatience of resentment. Had he met with no personal injuries, his fiery temper would have been sufficiently excited by his intolerance of disloyalty; but as always must happen, his own wrongs lent animosity to

* Lodge.

the natural indignation of the stern partisan, and his vindictive feelings were disguised under the pretext of a general cause, and the name of just retribution; for by this time the fiendlike atrocities of Sir Phelim O'Neile had excited general terror and pity. With his own implacable resentment burning in his heart, Sir Charles marched to avenge the victims of O'Neile's cruelty, and to strike terror into the rising spirit of insurrection.

The rebels had some days before surprised Cary's fort, Arklow and Chichester forts—had besieged the houses of all the English gentry in the surrounding country, and had committed great slaughter upon the inhabitants—and were actually on their march to Dublin. At the approach of Coote, they retired and scattered among the Wicklow mountains. He pursued his march to Wicklow, the rebels possessed the town and had invested the castle, which was in a condition of extreme distress. They did not wait to be attacked, but retired on the appearance of the English soldiers. Coote entered the town and caused numerous persons to be seized and executed as rebels; his party also had caught the angry spirit of their leader, and numerous acts of violence occurred. Historians of every party have agreed in their representations of this transaction, and it has left a stain on the memory of Coote. This we cannot pretend to efface; we are not inclined to make any concession to the exaggerations of the party historians on either side, but we equally revolt from the affectation of candour which compromises the truth, for the sake of preserving the appearance of fairness. Coote has been the scape-goat of impartiality. Leland, who is in general truth itself, in his historic details, and more free from bias than any historian of Ireland, mentions his conduct in terms of denunciation—which we should not advert to did they not involve some injustice. The following is Leland's statement: "this man was employed by the chief governors to drive some of the insurgents of Leinster from the castle of Wicklow which they had invested; he executed his commission, repelled the Irish to their mountains, and in revenge of their depredations committed such unprovoked, such ruthless, and indiscriminate carnage in the town, as rivalled the utmost extravagance of the northerns. This wanton cruelty, instead of terrifying, served to exasperate the rebels, and to provoke them to severe retaliation."

We perfectly agree with those who consider that no personal resentments, or no crimes committed by other rebels elsewhere, can be called a justification of the cruelties inflicted upon the people of Wicklow, if it be assumed that they were not involved in the offence. And even if they were, we must admit that the conduct of Coote was violent, sanguinary, and beyond the limits of justice and discretion; it was unquestionably vindictive, perhaps also (for we have not seen any minute detail) brutal and savage. But we are bound to repel the affirmation that it was *unprovoked*, and the assumption that the sufferers were unoffending persons executed to gratify private revenge. We cannot suffer even Sir Charles Coote to be painted in gratuitous blackness, to balance Sir Phelim O'Neile in the scale of candour. Wicklow town was at the time a nest of rebellion, and the retreat of every

discontented spirit in Leinster. The oppression and rapine of the iniquitous castle-party, the agents and dependents of the lords-justices, had filled the strong tribes of the Byrnes, the Kavanaghs, the Tooles, and all who lived in their circle with well-grounded hostility; and few at the time in the town of Wicklow were free from liability to suspicion. To what extent Coote received informations, true or false, on which he acted in the heat of the moment, cannot be ascertained; that such must have been numerous and grounded on the facts is not to be doubted. It was Coote's notion that the exigency of the crisis (for such it then appeared) demanded the display of severe and exemplary justice; we differ from this opinion, but see no reason to call it worse than error. He therefore resolved on a stern duty, which would, under the circumstances, have been revolting to a humane spirit; but which harmonized well with the "*sæva indignatio*" of Coote. That he "committed such unprovoked, such ruthless, and indiscriminate carnage in the town as rivalled the utmost extravagance of the Northerners" is a statement that yet requires to be proved: we deny the charge.

The defeat of the English at Julianstown bridge carried consternation to the government and inhabitants of Dublin. Coote was recalled from Wicklow to defend the metropolis; he obeyed the order. He had approached with his party within a few miles of Dublin, when his march was intercepted by Luke Toole, with a force generally supposed to amount to a thousand men. Coote's men amounted at most to four hundred, but the rebels were routed so quickly and with such slaughter that it is said, this incident made Coote an object of terror during the remainder of his life. He then resumed his march and was made governor of Dublin. He endeavoured to secure the city, a task attended with no small embarrassment, as the fortifications were in a state of utter dilapidation; the city wall had fallen into ruin, and having been built four hundred years before, was ill adapted to the altered state of military resources.

While thus engaged, Coote was frequently called out into the surrounding districts, to repel incursions or repress manifestations of insurrection. On these occasions he was uniformly effective, but acted, there is reason to believe, with the fierce and thorough-working decision of his character. On the 15th of December he was called out by the report that three hundred armed men had plundered a vessel from England at Clontarf, and deposited their plunder in the house of Mr King, where they took up their quarters. For some time before, there had been a considerable disposition to insurrectionary movement along the whole coast, from Clontarf to the county of Meath. Plunder and piracy had become frequent under the relaxation of local jurisdiction, consequent upon the general terror; and the fears of the government at last awakened them to a sense of the necessity of guarding against so near a danger. Several of the gentry also of these districts had committed themselves by acts of no doubtful character; and it was with their known sanction that strong parties of armed men were collected in Clontarf, Santry, Swords, Rathcoole, &c.: these parties committed numerous acts of violence and overawed the peaceful, while

they gave encouragement to the turbulent. The party here particularized was evidently under the sanction of Mr King, a gentleman of the popular party, in whose house they stored their plunder; they were in strict combination with the people of Clontarf, who had actually formed a part of their strength and joined them with their fishing boats. We mention these facts because the summary statement that Sir C. Coote expelled them from Clontarf, by burning both Mr King's house and the village, must otherwise place the act in a fallacious point of view. Coote acted in this as on every occasion with the sweeping severity of his harsh character; but the unpopularity of his character, and of the lords-justices to whom he was as an arm of defence, seems to have diverted the eye of history from the obvious fact, that in this, as upon many other occasions, he did no more than the emergency of the occasion called for.

It was but a few days after that he was compelled to march to the relief of Swords, which was occupied by 1400 men. They barricaded all the entrances. Coote forced these passages, and routed them with a slaughter of 200 men.

The known violence of Coote, while it made him the instrument of the government in many questionable acts and many acts of decided injustice, also exposed him to much calumny, the certain reward of unpopularity. Among other things, a report was spread, that he had at the council board expressed his opinion for a general massacre of the Roman catholics; this report was alleged as an excuse by the lords of that communion for refusing to trust themselves into the hands of the Irish government.* These noblemen had unquestionably real grounds for their distrust of the lords-justices, and thought it necessary to find some pretext for the prudent refusal. But they could not seriously have entertained a motion so revolting. The pretext, though perhaps too frivolous for the persons who used it, was, nevertheless, highly adapted for the further purpose of working upon the fear and anger of the multitude; who can be ignorant, that however self-interest and vicious passions may warp the hearts and understandings of the upper ranks, there is too much knowledge of right and wrong among them to permit of so open an outrage to humanity, among persons pretending to the dignity of the lords-justices and council. It is very likely that Coote, who was a rude soldier and an irritable man, used language which, used by a person of more sedateness of temper, would have borne a harsh construction; but we see no reason to admit that he either contemplated the crime described, or that any one present could have reasonably so reported his language. The lords-justices in reply to the letter of the lords of the pale, assured them that they never "did hear Sir Charles or any other, utter at the council board or elsewhere, any speeches tending to a purpose or resolution, to execute on those of their profession, or any other, a general massacre; nor was it ever in their thoughts to dishonour his Majesty or the state by so odious, impious, and detestable a

* Letter signed Fingal, Gormanstown, Slane, Dunsany, Netherville, Oliver, Louth, Trimleston.

thing. Giving them assurance of their safety if they would repair thither, the 17th of that month.”*

With such a reputation for violence and cruelty, it was unfortunate for Sir Charles Coote and for the country, that as military governor of the city, it devolved to him to try the prisoners then under the charge of rebellion in Dublin. He was an unfit instrument, and had neither the prudence nor temper for so delicate an occasion. To make the matter worse, it remains at best doubtful, whether the occasion demanded the substitution of martial law for the ordinary jurisdiction of the criminal courts. The ground assigned was the great accumulation of prisoners, and the impossibility of obtaining juries from the counties where the crimes were alleged to have been committed. Carte remarks on this, that they had juries from Meath, Wicklow, and Kildare, as well as from Dublin; and according to his statement of their conduct, we think it may be doubted whether the parties tried before them gained much by the preservation of form; for Meath, Wicklow, and Dublin, “within two days afterwards, bills of high treason were found against all the lords and prime gentlemen, as also against three hundred persons of quality and estate in the county of Kildare: among which were the old countess of Kildare, Sir Nicholas White, his son, captain White, who had never joined the rebels—so much expedition was used in this affair.”† To preserve the escheats of property, which had always a due share of consideration with the government, the persons of property were exempted from martial law, and it was easy to find juries to the extent required. The poor were ordered to be tried by the more expeditious and summary method. But we must here remark, that the *injustice* is not the real ground of objection to this course. The main part of the prisoners had been taken in arms, and at any time would have been amenable to martial law: but the act was cruel and imprudent, for the wholesale and summary conviction of a multitude of deluded peasants could answer no end. If it was not vindictive, which we cannot believe, it is chiefly to be censured as a shallow mistake: when the cruelty of punishment is more revolting than its justice is apparent, the indignation and sympathy of the multitude takes the place of submission and fear. The instrumentality of one so feared and so unpopular as Coote, cast an added shade of darkness upon this measure. Among the persons thus tried were several Roman catholic priests; and from this the exasperation of the populace was the more to be apprehended. These gentlemen were very generally accused of exciting the people to rebellion: how far such an accusation could be rigidly maintained, we cannot decide, but it is easy to feel the unhappy embarrassment under which such cases would be likely to present themselves to the feelings of a just and humane jury; for in very many such instances, where the priest has been the leader, his entire conduct has been directed to soften the horrors of rebellion, and to save its victims. The history of “ninety-eight” supplies examples enough. But father O’Higgins, the victim of 1641, was a “quiet, inoffensive, and pious man, much respected by those who knew him, who

* Borlase.

† Carte, I. 276, note.

officiated at Naas, and in the neighbourhood. He had distinguished himself in saving the English in those parts from slaughter and plunder, and had relieved several that had been stripped and robbed. The earl of Ormonde found him at Naas, took him under his protection, (he never having been concerned in any act of rebellion, nor guilty of any crime, nor liable to any objection, but the matter of his religion,) and brought him along with him to Dublin.* Some time after, while lord Ormonde was absent from town, the proceedings here described commenced, and the unfortunate O'Higgins was seized, condemned, and executed. This shameful act was near drawing on Coote the punishment which his inconsiderate violence deserved. The earl of Ormonde, who was lieutenant-general of the kingdom, was indignant when he heard of the fate of his protégé, and immediately insisted on the trial of Coote, as an offender against the laws of the land. The lords-justices were unwilling to give up the man on whose military talent and bravery they chiefly rested their trust, and who, they were conscious, was but their instrument in a station of the duties of which he was wholly ignorant. The earl of Ormonde expostulated with them in vain, and even threatened to throw up his office: they apologized, and temporized, and invented lame excuses, until it was plain that they were not to be persuaded by threats or entreaties: and Coote escaped. But the act which was thus made additionally notorious, produced a pernicious effect among the Roman catholic aristocracy and gentry, whose fears it appeared strongly to confirm.†

The next affair of any importance in which Coote is found engaged, occurred on the 3d February, when he accompanied the earl of Ormonde to Kilsalaghan, within seven miles of Dublin, against a strong army of rebels whom they drove from their entrenchments and routed completely: the particulars belong to our memoir of the earl of Ormonde.

In the beginning of March the earl of Ormonde left Dublin, to march against the rebels in the county of Kildare. During his march, detachments were sent out on various services, under the chief officers of his army. On the 10th April, Coote was sent with six troops of horse to the relief of Birr. On the way they came to a causeway which the rebels had broken up and fortified with a trench, which they occupied. The post was formidable, and the passage appeared quite impracticable to persons of ordinary nerve: Coote here nobly maintained his known character for decision and unflinching intrepidity, alighting from his horse, he selected forty of his troopers, with whom he proceeded on foot against the rebels. The smallness of his party threw them in some degree off their guard: they scorned to take the full advantages of their wooded and entrenched position against forty dismounted troops: but these troopers were soldiers, led by an officer of first rate proof

* Carte.

† It is here but just to state, that there were other causes likely to produce the same effect. The excesses of the rebels had by this time amounted to a frightful sum. The list of murders through the country was not less than 154,000 between the 23d October, 1642, and March, 1643.—*Dr Maxwell's Examination.*

and the coolest hardihood, whose presence doubled every man's strength. Without the loss of a single man, Coote and his brave party slew the captain of the rebels, with forty of his men: went on and relieved Birr, Borris, and Knocknamease, and after forty-eight hours' incessant riding and fighting, returned to the camp. "This," writes Cox, "was the prodigious passage through Montrath woods, which is indeed wonderful in many respects." From this adventure, the title of earl of Montrath was conferred afterwards on his son.

He was also soon after distinguished at the battle of Kilrush, between the forces under the earl of Ormonde, and the rebels commanded by the lord Mountgarret. There Coote led the foot, and had no small share in the signal victory of that day. We shall hereafter relate it at length.

Some time after, he joined lord Lisle, to relieve the castle of Geashill, where the lady Letitia Offaley had for some time been besieged by the rebels. This noble lady, a Geraldine, and grand-daughter of the earl of Kildare, though in her 64th year, shut her gates against the rebels, and, with the bravery of her race, prepared to defend her castle. She was summoned to surrender, with a threat from the rebels that, upon her refusal, they would burn the town, and massacre man, woman, and child. To this dastardly menace, the heroic lady replied, that she had always lived among them as a good neighbour and a loyal subject: that she would die innocently as she had lived, and if necessary, would endeavour to defend her town. Being however influenced by the humanity natural to her sex and rank, she remained on the defensive, and the rebels who were still collecting, might in the end have added another illustrious victim to the murders of this fatal year, when happily the party of lord Lisle and Coote came up, and relieved her from her peril.

The next place to be relieved was Philipstown. On this occasion a characteristic story is told of Coote. Having to march for that purpose through a difficult and dangerous country, the general called a council. The difficulties being strongly pressed, Coote, who was not of a temper to admit of difficulties, observed, that "if they made haste, they might easily pass the defiles and causeways before the enemy could get together to oppose them." This was admitted, but the question next proposed was, "how they should get back?" "I protest," answered Coote, "I never thought of that in my life; I always have considered how to do my business, and when that was done, I got home again as well as I could, and hitherto I have not missed of forcing my way."

The advice was taken, and the result thoroughly successful; but the time had come when Coote was himself to be deserted by his usual good fortune. They took Philipstown, and pursued their way to Trim, where a large party of rebels had drawn together. On their approach the rebels retired, and they took possession of the town. Lord Lisle immediately took his departure to Dublin to procure sufficient men to leave a garrison in the town. Night drew on, and all seemed still until midnight, when the rebels, to the number of three thousand, returned to attack the wearied party of troopers, who little expected such

an interruption to their well-earned rest. Cooté was too watchful to be caught asleep. On receiving the alarm from his sentinel, he collected seventeen troopers, and rushed out to take possession of the gate. Thus he was enabled to secure a retreat for his party, who quickly came up. They then issued from the gate, and charging the disorderly crowd, at once put them to flight in every direction. But a shot either from the flying crowd, or from the town, or as some historians appear to conjecture, from his own party, killed Sir Charles Cooté. This event occurred 7th May, 1642. The next day his body was sent to Dublin, under a strong guard.

In continuing the account of the phases of this first stage of the great rebellion, we pass to introduce, in a notice of a descendant of one of the most famous hero families of the conquest, its aspects in the distant province of Connaught.

MILES BOURKE, VISCOUNT MAYO.

DIED A. D. 1649.

OF the ancestral history of the family of Burke, Bourke, and de Burgo, common variations of the same illustrious name, we have said enough in these pages. The nobleman whom we are here to notice was the representative of the MacOughter branch. It is known to the reader, that near the middle of the 14th century, William de Burgo, earl of Ulster, was assassinated by his own people. His countess, with her infant daughter, took refuge in England. The possessions of the earl were left unprotected. In the north they were seized by the O'Neiles; in Connaught by two collateral descendants of the De Burgo race. To escape a future demand of restitution, these ancient gentlemen embraced the laws and manners of the surrounding septs of Irish, and assumed the names of MacWilliam Eighter and MacWilliam Oughter. Of these, the latter, and we suspect the other also, were descendants from the second son of Richard de Burgo, grandfather to the murdered earl.

The viscount of this family, whom we are now to notice, demands this distinction on account of the very peculiar and unfortunate circumstances of his history. He sat as viscount Mayo in the parliament of 1634. When the troubles of 1641 commenced, he was appointed governor of the county of Mayo, conjointly with viscount Dillon. By virtue of the authority with which he was thus intrusted, he raised six companies of foot, and during three months kept the county in a quiet state without any aid from government.

As, however, it was not long before the convulsions in England threw a cloud of uncertainty upon every question at issue between parties; the rebels were soon divided into factions, each of which contended, and was ready to fight for the shade of loyalty or of opinion maintained by itself. It is not easy now to settle with precision, by what strange course of previous politics, or from what reasons of right, real, or supposed, the lord Mayo acted in direct opposition to the

principles, on the understanding of which he had been employed. Many of the circumstances are such, indeed, as to ascertain a feeble, uncertain and complying character; and indicate a degree of timidity and subservience, which it is necessary to assume as the most merciful excuses for unprincipled compliances, of which the result must have been foreseen by a little common sense, and guarded against by an ordinary sense of duty.

The accounts of the dark and bloody transactions in which this nobleman's name has been implicated, have been considered worth re-statement by Lodge,* with a view to clear his memory from the unjust imputation of having been a party to their guilt. From such a stain, we can have no doubt in declaring him free; but our voice must be qualified by some weighty exceptions.

The approach of the rebellion was early felt among the remote and wild mountains and moors of the county of Mayo. The condition of the peasantry was poor, their manners barbarous, and their minds superstitious: their preparations for the coming strife were rude, and being under comparatively loose restraint, but little concealed. Early in the summer of 1641, their smiths were observed to be industrious in the manufacture of their knives or skeins, well known as an ancient weapon of the rudest Irish war. And these rude implements were soon to be employed. The time quickly came, and the work of plunder and destruction began. As the incident here to be related is one of the most memorable which disgrace the annals of this period, and has been made the subject of much comment with which we cannot concur, we shall preface it by a few brief remarks to recall to the reader's mind that the principle upon which we have hitherto endeavoured to frame our statements, has been to give the facts as they have occurred, with an entire disregard to all uses which have been made of them. If we admit that the crimes of lawless and ignorant barbarians, which is the unquestionable character of the lower classes of the 17th century, may indirectly be imputed to the *cause* of which they were the instrument, yet we do not assent to the further implication that those atrocities can be charged directly to the principles of that cause or, (unless in special cases), to its leaders and promoters. One distinction will be found to have a general application, and may be adopted to its full extent; the conduct of the actors in the multifarious and complicated maze of crime, suffering, and folly, which is to occupy the chief portion of this volume, will be observed to be conformable to the personal characters of the agents, and not to any abstract principles or special dogmas. In this we do not mean in any way to vindicate the soundness of these supposed opinions, but simply to maintain that so far as our assertion is applied, they are utterly unconcerned. We do not mean to say that they who could place the

* We are unwilling to find fault with Lodge, or indeed (knowing as we do the difficulties of our history) with any writer on the score of confusion. But on this as in many other instances, we have had reason to lament the perplexity of arrangement which renders it hard to mould a clear narrative from his statements. In the long note from which we have drawn the facts of this memoir, there is a disregard to the order of events, such as to give a strange confusion to a narrative written in clear and simple language, and full of strong facts.

assassin's knife in the hands of lawless men, for the purpose of maintaining any principle, are to be acquitted: the truth of God is in higher hands—than those of the assassin. But we are far from assenting to the zeal, which for the sake of effect, would charge the most erroneous tenets with the crimes of men who would have sinned in the defence of the best and truest: the impulse, in whatever principle it originates, is propagated from its centre by means of the natural love of adventure, spoil, and lawless indulgence, common to those who have nothing to lose, and little but the fear of law to constrain them. Whether the zeal of opinion, or party animosity, move the centre—whether the cause be righteous or unjust—if its partisans be low, rude, and unimpressed by moral restraint, it is but too sure to be maintained by demonstrations, by which the soundest cause would be dishonoured;—robbery, murder, and the wanton cruelty of the passions and lusts of the most base and depraved minds: for it is unhappily, these, that float uppermost in such times. On this, we are here anxious to be distinctly and emphatically understood: often as we are, and shall be compelled to repeat accounts, which have been as the battle-fields of parties, contending in rival misrepresentations, and anxious as we are to stand aloof from the feelings by which the narratives on either side are more or less tinged; and at the same time to state these facts which we regard as inductive examples in the history of man, fully, and as they appear to our indifferent reason: we find it expedient to accompany them with the precaution of our most guarded comment. We cannot agree with those writers, who have manifested their desire to be held liberal by useless attempts to qualify, misrepresent, and understate such facts as have an irritating tendency: neither do we concur with those bold and zealous assertors, who are desirous to make them bear more than their full weight of consequence. Had such been silent on either side, the truth would be an easy thing, and the comment straight and brief. We, for our part, reject the statements of the first, and the heated and precipitate inferences of the latter: so far as they are directed to convey reproach to the general character and principles of action of their antagonist party.* We cannot assent with some of our fellow-labourers in the mine of Irish history, (a mine of sad combustibles,) that the most fierce and inhuman outrages were not committed by the peasantry in the name of their church and creed; but we are just as far from imputing the murders and massacres of an ignorant and inflamed populace who knew no better, to any church or creed. The insane brutality of O'Neile, the fiend-like atrocity of MacMahon, are no more to be attributed to a religion (in which they had no faith,) than the monstrous and profligate crimes of Nero and Caligula are to be imputed to the religion of Brutus and Seneca. We do not here mean to deny, or in any way to advert to any direct charges against the church of Rome as a church: with its effects as a fanaticism we are also well acquainted. Neither of these form the *gravamen* of

* We do not mean to disclaim party opinion in our individual person. But as editor of these Lives, we are earnestly desirous to keep self out of view. Whatever we may *feel* under the influence of these excitements, of which the world is composed, it is our desire and study to repress it, in the discharge of a duty of which impartial justice is the end, and indifference the principle.

the alleged imputations: the massacres of 1641, committed, as crime is ever but too likely to be committed, under holy pretences, and in duty's name, were committed by miscreants, whose actual impulses were neither those of religion or duty. Moore committed neither robbery or murder: nor Mountgarret, nor any of the noble lords and gentlemen whose various motives led, or impelled them to take up arms in the same cause. But when the whole lives, the recorded declarations, the preserved correspondence, and the well-attested courses of conduct of the leaders in crime are viewed; and when the state of the people is considered, it will be easy to see that they would have done the same in the name of Jupiter as for the Pope; for the creed of Budha as for the church of Rome. One more last word, and we shall proceed: we would remind many of our humane and philosophical contemporaries, that nothing is gained by attempting the charge of exaggeration, when the statements do not very strongly justify such a qualification: if thirty were butchered, the crime was just the same in degree as if it had been a hundred—having been only limited by the number of the victims exposed to the mercy of popular fanaticism. The reader will we trust excuse these tedious distinctions, as a preface to facts that demand them.

The rebellion in the county of Mayo commenced with the robbery of a gentleman of the name of Perceval. He brought his complaint to lord Mayo, and sought that redress which was to be looked for from one of the governors of the county. Lord Mayo marched out to recover the property of this complainant, whose cattle had been driven away and lodged within a mill near Ballyhaunis. This building the robbers had fortified, and while his lordship was considering what to do, he was visited by messengers from an armed rabble, who had collected at a little distance, with the avowed design of supporting the robbers in the mill. Several messages passed between them, and we are compelled to assume, that his lordship, on due consideration of his forces, found himself not prepared for a more spirited course: he "granted them a protection," a proceeding which each of the parties seem to have understood in a very different way. The crowd on this came forward, and mingled among his lordship's followers, "with much shouting and joy on both sides;" and no more is said about the mili and the property of Mr Perceval. In the midst of this motley concourse, his lordship next moved on to the abbey of Ballyhaunis, where the whole were entertained for the night. The friars of this abbey had been deprived of their possessions in the former reign: and on the first eruption of disturbance in the kingdom, a party of friars of (we believe,) the order of St Augustine, had returned to take possession of an ancient mansion of their order, which the approaching revolution that they expected, would, they hoped, enable them to secure. Altogether different in principles, opinions, and public feelings, from the secular clergy of the church of Rome, these men had no home interest in the community, with whom they had no relations: they were the faithful and unquestioning instruments of a foreign policy, and if they had any individual or private object at heart, it was to secure their newly acquired possession. These were not the persons most likely to act as moderators in the outset of demonstrations on the

course of which their whole dependence lay. They are in general terms accused of taking the occasion to aggravate the impulse by the excitement of the people. We see no reason to dissent from this statement, but we think it fair to add that the deponent from whose testimony the accusation is made, was precisely under those circumstances of terror and alarm, when small incidents assume a magnified form, and reports exaggerated by alarm carry fallacious impressions. To this consideration we must refer the inference by which Mr Goldsmith seems to have connected the hospitality of the friars with the general increase of violence. By their instructions, affirms the deponent, Mr John Goldsmith, the people "then broke forth into all inhuman practices, barbarous cruelties, and open rebellion." It is however plain, that this incident was a consequence of the practices of which it is assumed to be a cause. The rebellion in its progress had reached them, and such was its beginning in that county. From this time the violence of the country people of the surrounding country became wild, unrestrained, and dangerous to all but those who were their counsellors and abettors.

Mr John Goldsmith, from whose deposition the following particulars are mainly drawn, was a protestant clergyman, the incumbent of the parish of Brashoule. From the disturbed state of the country, of which his narrative contains a frightful picture, he was early compelled to seek refuge under the roof of the noble lord here under notice. His statement, though neither as full or clear as we should desire, is especially valuable for the authentic insight which it affords into the character and true circumstances of his noble protector, and for the lively glimpse which it presents of the terror and distress, which the lawless state of the country impressed on every breast, and propagated into every circle. The interior view of the family of Belcarrow, may, we doubt not, stand for many a trembling family and home beleaguered by fear and apprehension. Lord Mayo is himself represented as "miserably perplexed in the night with anxious thoughts." His lordship was, we have every reason to infer, a man of honour and humanity, but of that unfixed principle and ductile temper that takes its tone from the reflected spirit, or the influence of harder and firmer minds. He had the misfortune to be drawn by opposite feelings and in different directions. The menaces, flatteries, reproaches, and representations of the crowd and of their leaders, had a strong effect on his naturally ductile and feeble mind: rebellion raged all round, and her thunders and gay promises, her lofty pretensions and high-breathing illusions, formed an atmosphere without his gates, and met him wherever he went: within the walls of his castle he was surrounded by a protestant family, who were zealous and earnest in their faith; his lady, like all true-hearted women, was thoroughly in earnest about her religion, and by her authority and influence maintained the same spirit in a large household. At the time that this narrative refers to, the family of Belcarrow was augmented by several protestant fugitives, of whom the principal were Mr Gilbert and Mr Goldsmith, both clergymen, with their wives and families, besides several of the protestants of the neighbouring country, who in their general alarm found at Belcarrow a compassionate host and hospitable board,

and the free exercise of their religion, at a time when, according to Mr Goldsmith, it had nearly disappeared from every other part of the county. Thus collected by fear, the situation of this family was one of the most anxious suspense; they lived under the excitement of daily rumours of the most terrifying description, and were harassed by frequent though vague alarms. Of these, an example is given by Mr Goldsmith. One night the family, thus prepared to draw alarming interpretations from every noise, or be terrified by some frightened visitor's report of the doubtful appearances of night—when fancy hears voices, and bushes can be mistaken for robbers—was thrown into a causeless fright, and every preparation was made against an immediate attack: his lordship marched out with his men to meet a force, which we are strongly inclined to think, he did not expect to meet. Such was happily the fact: his lordship had the honour of a soldier-like demonstration, and his good family were quit for the fear.

They had however to endure more substantial and anxious alarms. Every thing in his lordship's deportment was such as to suggest fears of the liveliest description to all those who had either honour, conscience, or safety at heart. It was wavering and undecided; his intercourse with the people betrayed the uncertainty of his mind, even to those without, and must have been but too evident to those who surrounded his board. To this company their noble protector often complained of the deserted condition in which he was left by the government, to whom he had, he said, appealed in vain. His lordship was at the time anxiously halting between two opinions, the rebels were looking for his adherence, and his family were nightly expecting an attack upon the castle: the people saw their strength, and said that he should side with them; negotiations were kept up, and still deluding himself with notions of duty, and with questionable compromises, this weak lord fluttered as a bird under the fascination of the serpent; and flirted with sedition till he fell into the snare.

Among the curious indications of this course of his lordship's mind, we are inclined to set down a proposal which he is stated by Mr Goldsmith to have discussed with himself and others of his own household: which was no less than to take the rebels into his protection; and as he was neglected by the state, avail himself of their services in behalf of his majesty: a policy afterwards under altered circumstances, adopted by wiser persons than lord Mayo. Against this singular method of resisting rebellion, Mr Goldsmith protested; and his lordship put the proposition in another form equally creditable to his statesmanship and knowledge of mankind; he expressed his design "to subdue those of Costilo by the men of Gallen, and those of Gallen by the rebels that lived in the Carragh." On this important design he sent to Sir Henry Bingham, and requested a conference at Castlebar. The state of the country did not permit the meeting, but lord Mayo sent his plan in writing, which was signed by Sir Henry and others: a fact which shows the state of alarm in which they must have been at the time.

It was immediately after this that the inmates of his lordship's house began to notice proceedings from which, the more natural results of such demonstrations were to be inferred. His lordship, no doubt desirous to

be right, could not help reversing the poet's reproof, "too fond of the right, to pursue the expedient;" he took the course which it would perhaps have required a stronger spirit to avoid; and while he talked of resistance and the king's service, was under such pretexts daily contracting deeper affinity with the parties who involved his path on every side with a well-spun entanglement of menace and flattery. At this time "Mr Goldsmith perceived motions towards popery in his lordship's house; popish books of controversy were sent him; and Laughlin Kelly, the titular archbishop of Tuam, came and reconciled his lordship to the Roman church."

In the midst of his compliances, which were too evidently the result of feebleness and fear, lord Mayo evidently preserved some sense of what was due to his rank and the cause he had thus abandoned. It was, perhaps, the delusion with which he flattered himself, that the influence he should thus acquire over the people might enable him the better to protect the protestants, and the members of his own family: the illusion was humane and amiable, and may be set down to his credit. In this he was destined to be sadly undeceived.

It was while the protestant family of lord Mayo were in this state of harassing uncertainty, and the circumvallations of fear and artifice were daily drawn closer round their walls, that his lordship heard of the shocking and brutal abuse which Dr John Maxwell had received from a rebel leader, into whose hands he had been betrayed by a treacherous convoy. Lord Mayo, on learning of the circumstances, wrote a reproachful letter to the rebel, whose name was Edmund Bourke: and gave him to understand, that he would treat him as an enemy if he should hesitate to deal fairly with the bishop who was put into his hands under the pretence of conveying him on with his company, of whom several were the clergy of his diocese. On this, Bourke, who had no notion of leaving his own purposes for the bishop, brought him with his family, and left him within sight of lord Mayo's castle. He was taken in and treated with all the care and hospitality which was to be expected from the persons, and under the circumstances, and for a few days Dr Maxwell found himself among friends and fellow-christians: he had with him his wife, three children, five or six clergymen, and a numerous train of domestics, which the habits of the day required, and the apprehensions of danger perhaps increased. They remained ten days. Of course the bishop must have been anxious to reach home, and must have felt a natural reluctance to task the kindness of his host much longer with so heavy an addition. But it was now become a matter of serious danger to cross the country in the state in which it was known to be.

In this embarrassment, it seems natural that any occasion would be seized upon to forward the bishop's wishes: and an occasion was soon found. Edmund Bourke was still besieging Castlebar, when a letter from Sir H. Bingham caused lord Mayo to march out against him with all the men he could command. Bourke, whose object was not a battle with armed men, and his lordship, who was perhaps no less prudent, came to an agreement, that Bourke should give up his designs upon Castlebar, and agree to convoy the garrison, with the bishop and his party safe to Galway. Bourke agreed, and the matter was soon

arranged. The parties to be thus convoyed, had to be collected from Castlebar, Kinturk, and from his lordship's castle, and were to be brought together to the village of Shrulc, from which they were as soon as convenient to be delivered up to the safeguard of Edmund Bourke, to escort them to Galway. Lord Mayo, with his son, the unfortunate Sir Theobald Bourke, at the head of his lordship's five companies, accompanied them from their several quarters to the village of Shrulc, and did not leave them during their stay in that place. Lord Mayo cannot indeed, on this occasion, be accused of the wilful neglect of any precaution or care: he not only remained in the village, and slept with the bishop, but obtained from the titular archbishop of Tuam a strong promise to send with the convoy a letter of protection, and several priests and friars to see them safe in Galway.

It was on the evening of Saturday the 12th of February, 1641, that his lordship, with the bishop's family, occupied the house of serjeant Lambert at this village. The village was filled with their companions, the several parties and his lordship's soldiers, and felt heavily the burthen of providing for such numbers. So that, though the following day was Sunday, a strong entreaty was made that they should travel on, by the principal persons of the surrounding barony. Lord Mayo now dismissed his companies, and made such preparations as he could for the ease and security of the travellers: he made his son and others of the party dismount, and left his own servant, Edmund Dooney, a five pound note for the bishop, to be delivered when he should part with them at Galway fort. The convoy, commanded by Murrough na Doe O'Flaherty, and Ulick Bourke of Castlehacket, awaited the party a mile from Shrulc, at a place called Killemanagh: and thither they now set out, accompanied by a party of lord Mayo's men, but commanded at the moment by Edmund Bourke, who was brother to the actual captain. The hour was far advanced towards noon, when Bourke and his men had come out from mass, and all were ready to start. The way to the nearest halting-place was ten miles, and Bourke earnestly pressed them to get forward.

Lord Mayo was hardly out of sight, and the travellers had but cleared the bridge of Shrulc, when a sudden and violent assault was made upon them by their perfidious guards. There was no struggle except to fly, and that was too confused to be successful; nor, in the hurried and random tumult of the slaughter, where every individual was compelled to mind himself or what was nearest where he stood, was it possible for any one to carry away a precise description of the scene of butchery which then took place. From the depositions of individuals a few incidents are collected, and these probably describe the remainder. When the bridge was just passed, a shot was fired from between the bushes, whereupon Edmund Bourke drew his sword, and the examinant rode back to the bridge with the bishop's child behind him, when he was charged with pikemen, but was rescued by Walter Bourke MacRichard MacThomas MacRoe, who drew his sword and made way for him. "Some," to use the language of depositions, "were shot, some stabbed with skeins, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned; and the women that were stripped naked, lying on their husbands to save them, were run

through with pikes, so that very few escaped.* The bishop was wounded in the head, the clergymen in his company were slain, except one, a Mr Crowd who was so severely beaten that he shortly died. The number slain is stated to have been sixty-five, and we see no reason to doubt this statement. In such cases, it is to be granted that exaggeration is to be suspected, but it is as likely at least on the side of those who seek to extenuate a crime, as on the part of those who stand in the place of accusers. And we should observe, that although the loss of one life more or less, must practically be a matter of most serious moment, nothing is gained in the point of extenuation; the crime of murder does not increase and diminish by numerical proportion. The point is frivolous; but it is fair to state that the Roman catholic gentry of the surrounding district, affirmed that the number slain was not above thirty. It is more satisfactory to us to be enabled to state, that the Roman catholic gentry of the country came forward to the aid of the few who escaped from that hideous scene, and that they brought them to their homes. Among the charitable persons who distinguished themselves in this pious work, none deserved a more grateful commemoration than "Bryan Kilkenny, the guardian of the neighbouring abbey of Ross, who, though an aged man, was one of the first that made haste to the rescue, and brought the bishop's wife and children, and many others, to his monastery, where they were hospitably entertained, to the best of the friar's ability, for several nights."†

Lord Mayo, when he proceeded on his way, rode towards Conge; the house of his son, Sir Tibbot, and about six miles from Shruloe. On the way he stopped at the house of a Mr Andrew Lynch, intending there to await the arrival of Sir Tibbot. He was about to dismount from his horse, when a horseman came up at full speed and gave him the information of this disastrous event. Lord Mayo, overpowered with horror and indignation, retired to a chamber, where he gave expression to the most frantic exclamations of his vexation and grief; he "then wept bitterly, pulling off his hair, and refusing to hear any manner of persuasion or comfort." While he was in this state, his son, who had barely escaped with his life, arrived, and "with tears related the tragedy, but could not certainly tell who was killed or who escaped; but being demanded by his father why he would ever come away, but either have preserved their lives, or have died with them; answered, that when they began the slaughter, they charged him (having his sword drawn against them) with their pikes and muskets, and would have killed him, but that John Garvy, the sheriff of the county of Mayo, (who was brother-in-law to Edmund Bourke, the principal murderer,) came in betwixt him and them, took him in his arms, and, by the assistance of others, forcibly carried him over the bridge." The deposition from which this extract is taken goes on to say, that lord Mayo having proceeded to Conge, took his bed for some days, after which he went, on the third day, to the house of the titular archbishop, where he conformed to the church of Rome—and heard mass. In two days more he attended a great meeting

* Deposition, Lodge.

† Dublin Penny Journal, vol. i. p. 258.

of "the county," we presume a meeting of the Roman catholic gentry and priesthood, at Mayo, and was "for ever after," says the deposition, "under the command of the Romish clergy." All the English in the county of Mayo followed his lordship's example, with the exception of his own household; who are enumerated, on the authority of Mr Goldsmith, by Lodge as follows: "the viscountess Mayo, the lady Bourke, Mrs Burley, Mr Tarbock, Mr Hanmec, Owen the butler, Alice the cookmaid, Mr and Mrs Goldsmith, and Grace, their child's nurse." The condition of these can be conceived. Mr Goldsmith was, by his lordship's permission, and by the lady's desire, allowed to minister to the spiritual wants of this small congregation, "shut in by fear on every side." As this gentleman appears under these circumstances to have exercised great zeal and boldness in resisting the new opinions which were attempted every hour to be pressed upon the family, he soon became the cause of remonstrance and reproach against his protector. Lord Mayo was reproved by the titular archbishop, already mentioned, for suffering him to exercise his ministry, and insisted that he should "deliver him up to them." "What will ye do with him?" says my lord. "We will send him," said the bishop, "to his friends." "You will," said my lord, "send him to Shrute to be slain, as you did others; but if you will give me six of your priests to be bound body for body for his safe conveying to his friends, I will deliver him to you." The bishop must have thought his six priests something more than lawful change for one protestant divine, and perhaps rated rather lowly the orthodoxy of his noble convert; he refused the compromise, and prevailed with lord Mayo so far, that Mr Goldsmith was compelled to be confined to a private part of the house, and kept in daily fear of being murdered. On Sundays he was allowed to officiate clandestinely for the servants, till at last lady Mayo summoned up firmness to insist that he should be allowed openly to read prayers and preach to the few protestants who remained.

Lord Mayo was appointed governor of the county of Mayo, and admitted as one of their body by the supreme council of Kilkenny. In this new dignity his lordship did no harm, and performed some good services to humanity. On one occasion he interfered effectually to prevent one of those frightful massacres of unresisting victims which is the disgrace of that period. "The clan Jordans, the clan Steevens, and clan Donells, came to Strade and Ballysahan, and gathered together all the British they found there, closed them up in a house, (in the same manner as had been done at Sligo, when a butcher with his axe slew forty in one night) with an intent that night to murder them; but notice thereof having been given to the lord Mayo, he prevented their wickedness, and preserved the poor innocent people from slaughter." At last lord Mayo discovered that the councils of rebellion could not continue to be participated in by the timid, the honourable, or the humane; that none could endure the spirit of atrocity that had been roused into action but those who shared its influence; and that without this recommendation, it was not possible to escape the suspicion and dislike of those who had themselves abandoned all the ties of civilization: he had not contaminated his conscience by partici-



pating in any voluntary act of rebellion, and at length he found resolution to break the sanguinary and degrading trammel, and made his escape in 1644 from the supreme council.

Lord Mayo died in 1649; but his son, Sir Tibbot, or Theobald, Burke, was, in a few years after, tried, and sentenced to be shot, upon a most flagrantly unjust and iniquitous charge of having been concerned in the massacre at Shrute. It is mentioned by Lodge, that the soldiers appointed to shoot him, missed him three times; "but at last a corporal, blind of an eye, hit him. His property of fifty thousand acres was forfeited by his attainder, and that of his father, who was at the time dead. And his son was, by the charitable consideration of the government, on his petition, sent to a free school in Dublin; and would probably, had his own spirit and the affection of his relations permitted, in course of time been apprenticed out to some handicraft. He was, however, in some time sent for by his mother's relations, and lived to be restored to his rank and paternal acres.

This branch of the Bourke family is, we believe, extinct. The title has been revived in another line of the same name and race.

OWEN O'NEILE

DIED A. D. 1648.

AT the commencement of the rebellion the Irish administration was without energy, authority, wisdom, or resource; it was wholly inadequate to the occasion, timid, self-interested, feeble and stained with numerous imputations, of which many were too true not to give a colour to all: the nobility and gentry whose interests lay in the preservation of peace and social order, were forced into the rebel councils either from the want of defence or the fear of injustice; the foreign rivals and enemies of England, watching over the progress of the strife and waiting the favourable moment to throw their sword and gold into the scale: but more than all together, for all this were nothing, England divided against herself, and incapable of that effectual interposition which alone could overrule the tumultuary outbreaks of Irish insurrection. For a time the question of rebellion became doubtful; for not only was there no power to quell its brawling, murdering, and plundering factions, but the claim of allegiance and the authority of laws and institutions appeared to be lost. The social convention which imposes a due subordination on the better sense of mankind, was broken up in the conflict between the fundamental authorities; and it soon became a question easier to ask than answer, which was the government, and which the object of allegiance—the parliament or the king; and how far a people who had their own peculiar interests, and who under existing circumstances could be assisted or controlled by neither, were at liberty to take their own part. We do not, it is true, believe that external accidents, such as we have stated here, can alter the true moral character of the intents, or of the agencies at work in that disjointed period. We do not think the justification of the rebel parties which we are to trace through

their several courses, at all commensurate with the excuses thus afforded by *after events*. But it is to our more decided purpose to observe that by the vast and general confusion of rights and authorities, to which we have adverted, the rebels gained a great accession of strength. Many in whom it was virtue, honour, and loyalty, to be faithful to king Charles, were led to connect his cause with the prosperity of rebellion; and many, on the other hand, whose aims were inconsistent with the royal cause, found support in the adoption of the specious pretext of loyalty. Thus throughout this lengthened interval, the fate of all the brawling commotions which harassed the country was prolonged into a lingering existence, by the state of affairs in England. Agitated to the centre by her own troubles, England was not in a condition to detach any effectual force on either side; and the insurgent parties were thus left to brawl and battle as they might, among themselves. As every reflecting reader will anticipate, various designs occupied the leading spirits of disorganization, and they soon began to neutralize each other, with contending passions and opposed ambition. And this was the second act of the drama. Then last came, as usual, the event of popular revolutions and tragedies; the gathering retribution of eight long years of crime and infatuation, was poured out upon this most hapless country; and the last act is closed with more than poetical justice, by the crushing and indiscriminate hand of Cromwell and his iron associates. Such is the outline of the remainder of this volume.

The events from which we are now to start are of a character to demand, as we have apprized the reader, considerable detail. The rebellion was about to subside, from the experience which was beginning to be felt of the utter inefficiency of the troops which its leaders could bring into the field: they were discovering that their undisciplined and tumultuary mobs were more fit for the work of massacre and plunder than to face an enemy in the field; and the defeats they had sustained from Stewart, Ormonde, Coote, and other government leaders with comparatively small forces, had so discouraged Sir Phelim O'Neile and his confederates, that they had begun to prepare for their escape from the country; when other concurrent causes long in preparation, arrested their meditated desertion and gave new animation to the contest. Leland mentions the arrival of Owen O'Neile, as the main incident which renewed the subsiding zeal of the rebels; and undoubtedly from his arrival in the moment of deepest distress, when the chiefs were on the point of flight, they must have derived new energy and hope. But from our perusal of many of Leland's authorities and even from himself, we are inclined to date this renovation from a few months earlier; when the certainty of his coming and the accession of foreign supplies must have been foreknown. Owen O'Neile landed in July; early in March the Irish prelates, who had with little exception hitherto held back from any countenance of the rebels, came forward with open declarations in their favour. As Carte, quoting a letter* of Sir C. Coote, observes "the Romish clergy who (as the lords-justices say) had hitherto walked somewhat invisibly in all these works of darkness,

* Carte, L. p. 316.

now began openly to justify that rebellion, which they were before supposed underhand to promote." That the Roman catholic prelates must have desired the success of this rebellion, may be regarded as a matter of course; and, considering their peculiar position and class of duties, it is less an imputation to this body to make this affirmation, than it is their just praise to have withheld their personal sanction from the revolting and mischievous atrocity by which it had been characterized. And if it be just to suspect that they had entertained the favourable sentiment assumed, it is certainly due to fairness to observe, that there should be strong circumstantial ground for accusing them of the infamous participation supposed in Sir C. Coote's letter. It cannot for a moment be believed, that a body of men so intelligent, whose main occupation was the administration of the interests of the Christian religion, under any form, could allow themselves to imagine a cause which they deemed sacred, to be connected with the fiendlike atrocities and the superstitious blasphemies of a deluded peasantry; whose conduct, injurious most of all to the religion whose name their ignorance abused, is rather to be attributed to their utter ignorance than to their creed. Of this there are indeed too many, and too obvious proofs. The prelates, unquestionably desirous for the advancement of their church to the ascendancy which they deemed to belong to her by right, would have considered such an event as a full compensation for the horrors of such a rebellion; if we were to assent to their principle, we should easily arrive at the same inference. And when they saw the turn which events were likely to take, and were encouraged in their consistent duty, by the assurance of large succours from abroad, they necessarily stepped forward to extract what they considered to be good from that which they knew to be evil. The best that can be said is to be found in the consideration, that with some exceptions the Roman catholic clergy had strenuously resisted the crimes of their deluded congregations; and the conduct of one of the body may be mentioned, as indicative at least that their convention in Kilkenny was no long concerted movement, but a change of purpose on the demand of occasion. The titular bishop of Meath had throughout, from the beginning, exerted himself strenuously and efficaciously in opposition to the rebellion, which he declared to be groundless and unjust; and by his remonstrances prevailed with many noblemen and gentry of that diocese to be still. The same resistance which he offered to the rebels, he afterwards offered to the prelates. And this it may be supposed was not permitted without censure. The rebels complained aloud: and the synod of Kells commanded the dissentient prelate who refused to attend their meeting, to retract on pain of having a complaint made to the Pope.

It was probably at the synod of Kells called by Hugh O'Neile titular of Armagh, that the general synod of the Irish prelates at Kilkenny was projected and resolved. At this latter on the 10th May, 1642, the titular archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam, with six other bishops, the proxies of five more, with other dignitaries of the church of Rome, assembled and declared the war just and lawful.* To avoid the risk

* Carte.

of misstating or omitting any of the more peculiar and distinguishing resolutions of this meeting, we shall here offer a few extracts from its own acts; important, as best manifesting the feelings and the political character of Ireland, in the time of which we write. As they would occupy many pages if given in *extenso*, we select all that is in any way to our purpose; as stated in

"Acts agreed upon, ordained and concluded in the general congregation held at Kilkenny, the 10th, 11th and 13th days of May, 1642, by those prelates whose names are subscribed, the proctors of such other prelates as then were absent being present, together with the superiors of the regulars, and many other dignitaries and learned men, as well in divine, as in common law, with divers pastors and others of the catholick clergy of all Ireland, whose names are likewise hereafter set down.

"1st. Whereas the war which now in Ireland the catholicks do maintain against sectaries, and chiefly against puritans, for the defence of the catholick religion, for the maintenance of the prerogative and the royal rights of our gracious king Charles, for our gracious queen so unworthily abused by the puritans, for the honour, safety and health of their royal issue, for to avert and refrain the injuries done unto them, for the conversion of the just, and lawful safeguard, liberties and rights of Ireland; and lastly, for the defence of their own lives, fortunes, lands and possessions: whereas I said this war is by the catholicks undertaken for the foresaid causes against unlawful usurpers, oppressors and their enemies, chiefly puritans; and that hereof we are informed as well by divers and true remonstrances of divers provinces, counties and noblemen, as also by the unanimous consent and agreement of almost the whole kingdom in this war and union: We therefore declare that war openly catholick, to be lawful and just, in which war if some of the catholicks be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust title, covetousness, cruelty, revenge or hatred, or any such unlawful private intentions, we declare them therein grievously to sin, and therefore worthy to be punished, and refrained with ecclesiastical censures, if, advised thereof, they do not amend.

"2d. Whereas the adversaries do spread divers rumours, do write divers letters, and under the king's name do print proclamations, which are not the king's, by which means divers plots and dangers may ensue unto our nation; we therefore, to stop the way of untruth and forgeries of the political adversaries, do will and command, that no such rumours, letters, or proclamations, may have place or belief, until it be known in a national council whether they truly proceed from the king, left to his own freedom, and until agents of this kingdom hereafter to be appointed by the national council, have free passage to his majesty, whereby the kingdom may be certainly informed of his majesty's intention and will.

"3d. Whereas no family, city, commonwealth, much less kingdom may stand without union and concord, without which this kingdom for the present standeth in most danger, we think it therefore necessary that all Irish peers, magistrates, noblemen, cities, and pro-

vinces, may be tied together with the holy bond of union and concord, and that they frame an oath of union and agreement which they shall devoutly, and christianly take, and faithfully observe. And for the conservation and exercise of this union, we have thought fit to ordain the ensuing points.

"4th. We straightly command all our inferiours, as well churchmen as laymen, to make no distinction at all between the old and ancient Irish, and no alienation, comparison, or difference, between provinces, cities, towns or families; and lastly, not to begin, or forward any emulations, or comparisons whatsoever.

"5th. That in every province of Ireland there be a council made up both of clergy and nobility, in which council shall be so many persons at least as are counties in the province; and out of every city or notable town two persons.

"6th. Let one general council of the whole kingdom be made, both of the clergy, nobility, cities, and notable towns; in which council there shall be three out of every province, and out of every city one, or where cities are not, out of the chiefest towns. To this council the provincial councils shall have subordination; and from thence to it may be appealed, until this national council have opportunity to sit together. Again if any thing of great importance do occur, or be conceived in one province, which by a negative vote is rejected in the council of one province, let it be sent to the councils of other provinces; except it be such a matter as cannot be delayed, and which doth not pertain to the weal-publick of the other provinces.

"7th. Embassage sent from one province to foreign nations shall be held as made from the rest of the provinces, and the fruit or benefit thereof shall be imparted and divided between the provinces and cities which have more need thereof, chiefly such helps and fruits as proceed from the bountiful liberality of foreign princes, states, prelates, or others whatsoever; provided always that the charge and damage be proportionably recompensed.

"9th. Let a faithful inventory be made in every province of the murthers, burnings, and other cruelties which are permitted by the puritan enemies, with a quotation of the place, day, cause, manner, and persons, and other circumstances, subscribed by one of publick authority.

"17th. Whereas diverse persons do diversely carry themselves towards this cause; some with helps and supplies do assist the adversaries; others with victuals and arms; others with their advice and authority, supporting as it were the contrary cause; some also as neuters behaving themselves; and others, lastly, neglecting their oath, do forsake the catholick union and cause; we do therefore declare and judge all and every such as do forsake this union, do fight for our enemies, accompany them in their war, defend or in any other way assist them, as giving them weapons, victuals, council or favour, to be excommunicated, and by these presents do excommunicate them; provided that this present decree shall be first published in every diocese respectively, and having received admonition beforehand, which shall supply the treble admonition otherwise requisite, and we do hereby declare, so it be made in the place where it may easily come to the

knowledge of those whom it toucheth. But as touching judgment and punishment of the neuters, we leave it to the ordinaries of every place respectively, so that the ordinaries themselves be not contrary to the judgment and opinion of this congregation; in which cause we commit power to the metropolitans or archbishops to proceed against such ordinaries, according to the common course of law, wherein they are to be very careful and speedy; and if the metropolitans be found herein careless or guilty, let them be liable to such punishment as is ordained by the holy canons, and let them be accused to the see apostolick.

"18th. We ordain a decree that at all and every such as from the beginning of this present war, have invaded the possessions of goods as well moveable as unmoveable, spiritual or temporal of any catholick, whether Irish or English, or also of any Irish protestant being not adversary of this cause, and to detain any such goods, shall be excommunicated.

"20th. We will and declare all those that murder, dismember, or grievously strike, all thieves, unlawful spoilers, robbers of any goods, extorters, together with all such as favour, receive, or any ways assist them, to be excommunicated, and so to remain, until they completely amend, and satisfy no less than if they were namely proclaimed excommunicated, and for satisfaction of such crimes hitherto committed to be enjoined, we leave to the discretion of the ordinaries and confessors how to absolve them.

"21st. Tradesmen for making weapons, or powder brought into this country, or hereafter to be brought in, shall be free from all taxations or customs; as also all merchants as shall transport into this country such wares as are profitable for the catholick cause, as arms and powder, may lawfully traffick without paying any custom, for commodities brought out of this kingdom, or transported hither of that kind; and let this be proclaimed in all provinces, cities, and towns.

"22d. We think it convenient, that in the next national congregation, some be appointed out of the nobility and clergy, as ambassadors to be sent in the behalf of the whole kingdom, unto the kings of France and Spain, to the Emperor, and his Holiness, and those to be of the church prelates, or one of the nobility and a lawyer."

In addition to these resolutions, which present a fair view of the political opinions and general character of the party from whom they came, a further view is to be obtained of their more immediate and personal object, from certain propositions specified in an oath of association framed at this meeting, and designed to be taken by all confederates of their party. In this are stated as objects to be maintained by the swearer, that the Roman catholic religion was to be restored to its full splendour and lustre, as it was in the reign of Henry VII. That all penal and restrictive laws were to be annulled—and that "all primates, archbishops, bishops, ordinaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons, chancellors, treasurers, chaunters, provosts, wardens of collegiate churches, prebendaries, and other dignitaries, parsons, vicars, and other pastors of the Roman catholick secular clergy, and their respective successors, shall, have, hold, and enjoy, all the churches and church-livings, in as large and ample manner, as the late protestant

clergy respectively enjoyed the same on the 1st day of October, in the year of our Lord 1641; together with all the profits, emoluments, perquisites, liberties, and the rights to their respective sees and churches, belonging as well in all places, now in the possession of the confederate catholicks, as also in all other places that shall be recovered by the said confederate catholicks from the adverse party, within this kingdom, saving to the Roman catholic laity their rights, according to the law of the land."

The assembly of the lords and deputies from the counties was the immediate result of the arrangements made by the congregation of prelates; in conformity with the intent of their summoners they proceeded to pass resolutions to maintain the rights of the church of Rome. They adopted the common law of England and Irish statutes, so far as they were agreeable to their religion, and not contrary to Irish liberty; they confirmed the authority of the king, but declared against that of his Irish government. They then entered into arrangements for the government of the country by their own authority, for then each county was to have its council of twelve, which was to decide all civil causes and to nominate all public officers with the exception of sheriffs. From these councils there lay an appeal to the provincial council, composed of two deputies from each county, to sit four times in the year; and lastly, this council might be appealed from, to the supreme council of twenty-four, elected by the general assembly. This last was to govern the country and conduct the war. It is only material here to add, that in the very first constitution there is to be discerned an important element of the strong party divisions among the confederates, which are presently to occupy our attention; in adopting the oath of association, which the clerical assembly had prepared for themselves and their party, they rejected the clause already quoted, by which the person swearing was bound not to consent to any peace, until the Roman catholic church should be reinstated in its full splendour. Instead of this, they were content to stipulate for the freedom of their worship. The disposition thus indicated, was quickly shown in the long-continued negotiation for peace and in the cessation, which was presently discussed and settled; but prevented from coming to a definitive settlement by the strenuous and successful manœuvres of the nuncio Rinuncini with the aid of Owen O'Neile.

We come now to Owen O'Neile. He was more indebted to his high reputation, obtained in a long course of foreign service, than to the claim of descent, for the anxious earnestness with which his coming had been sought and his arrival welcomed by his countrymen. In point of lineal pretension to the rank of the O'Neile, to which he for some time appeared to have pretended, his claim was more than balanced by that of Sir Phelim, whose descent, though not derived from the last possessor, was unadulterated by illegitimacy, which affects the line of Colonel Owen at three successive steps, from Con Boccagh to his father Art. While Sir Phelim derived from Owen the grandfather to the same Con Boccagh.

Con, created earl of Tyrone by Henry VII., had, as the reader knows, two sons—the notorious Shane already noticed, and Matthew.

a bastard, who was created baron of Dungannon and appointed his successor, but slain at the instigation of Shane. This Matthew left several illegitimate sons, of whom one died, leaving an illegitimate son of his own name, to whom Philip IV. of Spain gave his father's regiment and letters of legitimation, which, however, were to no purpose, sought to be confirmed at Rome. This therefore would seem to be the nearest claim to the representation of the baron of Dungannon. But this person had either too little activity or too much good sense, to prosecute a claim so likely to be productive of more buffets than acres; and died without any effort to regain the honours of his race. Another son of the baron of Dungannon, also illegitimate, had lived to transmit his name by the same questionable title to a son, Art O'Neile, who we are left to presume, broke the custom of the family by leaving a family of sons, born in wedlock; of these Owen was the youngest.*

Owen served in the Spanish army and obtained early promotion. He was a person of very considerable experience and ability; well versed in the ways of men, brave, cautious, skilful in war, and possessing the manners and habits of a foreign gentleman. Having passed through all the subordinate ranks he was made a colonel, and obtained very distinguished reputation, by his successful defence of Arras, against the French in 1640.

After the violence of the first irregular outbreak was subdued, more by the separate efforts of individuals than by the councils or resources of the government, the insurrection began to subside as suddenly as it had commenced. There was no real strength, or with the exception of those who were the depositaries of a foreign design, no real inclination to continue a strife, of which the loss of life and property had been so severely felt on either side.

The state of the rebel chiefs in Ulster was at the point of desperation, when a fresh impulse was given to their hopes, by the news of the arrival of colonel Owen O'Neile, who in the middle of July, landed in Donegal, with arms and ammunition, and one hundred officers. The general effect thus produced was immediate and extensive, and the courage and hopes of the rebels were universally revived. This result was confirmed both by the conduct of Owen O'Neile, and the coincidence of other favourable circumstances; other formidable armaments and supplies, began to crowd in, in rapid succession from foreign ports. Of these, two ships arrived in the harbour of Wexford with military stores, and colonel Thomas Preston followed with a ship of the line and two frigates, with a train of artillery, a company of engineers, and five hundred officers. Twelve other vessels soon after arrived with further stores, officers, and men, sent by Richelieu, and disciplined in continental war. The character and consistency of the rebel force was thus at once raised to a military footing; while the English had deteriorated in an equal degree. The increasing dissensions between the king and parliament were on the point of kindling into war; the powers on either side were collecting into a state of anxious and watchful concentration; neither men nor money could be spared. nor was there a thought to be bestowed on Ireland farther than, as it

* Carte, L. 349.

might in any way be the excuse for preparation, or the pretext for levies. The Irish government, and the commanders, who had hitherto kept a superiority under all disadvantages in the field, had exhausted their efforts, and were quite unprepared for this fresh infusion of vigour in the rebel party. The rebels, besides being well supplied, commanded the channel, seized the supplies, and cut off the trade of Dublin and every other port within the reach of their cruisers.

O'Neile had the double advantage of caution and decision, he wasted no time in inactivity, but at once proceeded to take advantage of these favourable circumstances. He was "a man of clear head and good judgment, sober, moderate, silent, excellent in disguising his sentiments, and well versed in the arts and intrigues of courts."* On his arrival a meeting was held at Kinard, the castle of Sir Phelim, where he was unanimously declared their head by the rebel gentry of Ulster, a post soon confirmed by the council of Kilkenny. The first step he took was creditable to him, but must have been galling to the pride of Sir Phelim. He publicly declared his horror and detestation of the robberies and massacres, which till then had been the main conduct of the rebellion, and most of all of Sir Phelim. Colonel O'Neile told his sanguinary and brutal kinsman, that, he deserved to receive himself the cruelties he had inflicted; he burned the houses of several of the notorious murderers at Kinard, where Sir Phelim had collected a ruffian vicinity around his house, stained as it was by every detestable outrage against the laws of God and man. He next addressed himself to fortify Charlemont fort, against an expected siege. When describing the reduced condition of the government, and the destitution of the English of all present means of resistance, we should perhaps not have omitted to estimate the large force of general Monroe, who at the head of ten thousand Scots, occupied a strong position in Carrickfergus, and held the command of Ulster; but the reasons for this omission will presently appear. Monroe had his own objects independent of the settlement of Irish affairs, or he had his orders from those who had an opposite purpose; without this allowance his conduct was such as to betray no small incapacity for offensive warfare. He avoided all direct interference when it might have been of decisive avail, and contented himself with the seizure of such forts and castles as might be effected without any risk; and we cannot doubt that, the agreement by which they were thus put into possession of the strongest and most important province of this island, was altogether designed to circumvent and embarrass the king, to overrule any circumstances from which he might hope to derive an advantage, and to occupy the ground for the future designs of the parliamentary leaders. True to this convention, Monroe steadily resisted the demonstrations in favour of the royal cause, seized on the known adherents of the king, refused all aid to the government leaders, and let the rebels do as they pleased, so long as this course was compatible with his own safety and the designs of his real party, the parliamentarians of England.

In the month of August he was joined by lord Leven, with

* Carte.

the remainder of the stipulated army from Scotland. Lord Leven addressed a letter to O'Neile, in which he expressed his astonishment that one of his rank and respectable reputation should have come to Ireland to support a cause so bad. O'Neile replied, that he had a better right to defend his own country, than his lordship to march into England against his king.

Lord Leven's exploits were limited to this effort of diplomacy, he returned to Scotland, having assured Monroe that he would be defeated if once O'Neile should get an army together. Before his departure he refused to permit the removal of the government stores from Carrickfergus. This act of opposition, with the continued inaction of the Scotch under Monroe, was perhaps correctly interpreted by the Irish when they assumed, that there was nothing to be apprehended from Monroe, with his ten thousand Scots and an equal force of English and Irish troops; he lay still, and suffered O'Neile to make all his arrangements, and to collect and discipline his army till the following spring. In the mean time the army under Monroe was not improving in its condition. The parliament, which merely designed to overawe the country and to hold it in occupation, were sparing in their supplies: the regiments of Stewart, Cole, &c., who had commanded in the king's name, were altogether excluded from the commission of parliament, and received no pay during that year, in which their nearly unsupported efforts had actually suppressed the rebellion. The rebels were better provided for by the continual supplies from abroad: on the 20th of October, two thousand muskets came from the Pope to Wexford, of which five hundred were sent by the council of Kilkenny to O'Neile.

In this general state of things, the remainder of the year 1642 passed away. The rebels were obtaining strength in most quarters; and the English officers, who have already appeared in many severe toils and brave achievements, were with their own unsupported and impoverished resources, maintaining a doubtful, but brave and skilful resistance, about the counties of the ancient pale. Efforts such as they made to obtain money, were met by promises which were not kept. The parliament which had no wish either to part with means or to end the rebellion, artfully directed applications to the king, which were brought forward by their own adherents, in the obvious hope of inducing him to waste his means on the rebellion, as well as to compromise himself on one side or the other. For the rebels had assumed the place of loyalists, and a little backwardness on the part of his majesty might be interpreted into a formidable accusation, while the contrary course must have the effect of involving him in fresh hostility, and a ruinous division of his resources. Of these incidents we shall have to bring forward large details.

Monroe lay still till the next May; but, finding his resources fast diminishing, and feeling himself pressed by approaching necessities, while the growth of a formidable enemy was beginning to control his motions, he was at length incited to effort. He had wasted and impoverished the country round Carrickfergus, and now hoped to obtain relief by the surprise of O'Neile; with this purpose he marched his army with fast and secret expedition into Armagh. Owen O'Neile

occupied a position in which Charlemont fort was included, with a small body of about four hundred men. His antagonist had conducted his approach with successful caution; and, little dreaming of an enemy, he was out hunting when his sight was arrested by a gleam of weapons, and the rapid advance of a large host, which his experienced eye recognised for an enemy. Without an instant's hesitation he spurred at full speed to his fortress. He was late to escape a disadvantageous, because very unequal collision, but the inequality of force was more than balanced by the clear head and cool resolution with which he availed himself of his knowledge of the ground. For an hour he resisted the utmost efforts of Monroe's men, in a lane thickly enclosed with copses, and at last succeeded in withdrawing into the fort without the loss of a man. Monroe, thinking to forage through the surrounding country seized on every pass, and collected a considerable supply of cattle; but on the following day, he was attacked by colonel Sandford, and routed with great loss.

O'Neile was next menaced by a small army under the command of lord Montgomery and colonel Chichester. He soon ascertained that they merely came to look for spoil, and wisely resolving not to throw away his resources, he was content to foil their purpose by causing the cattle to be driven away. He then pursued his way towards Leitrim, but in passing through the county of Monaghan, he had the ill fortune to meet a small body of regular soldiers under the command of Sir Robert Stewart and his brother, at Clonish, on the borders of Fermanagh. The results of this incident we have already had occasion to describe. The force of Stewart was about half that of O'Neile, but owing to the great numbers of cattle and of country people under his escort, the latter commander was only enabled to bring 1600 men to the encounter. In this respect they were therefore equal. O'Neile had, however, the advantage of a strong position guarded by a difficult pass. In despite of this advantage, which must of itself have been decisive, with troops of equal efficiency, Stewart forced the pass, and defeated Owen O'Neile with prodigious slaughter.

Owen O'Neile, who had in this affair a very narrow escape from being slain in an encounter with captain Stewart, after the fight escaped back to Charlemont, from whence after a few days, according to his previous intention, he made his way to Leitrim. There he continued for the purpose of recruiting his forces, and watching for an effective occasion to come forward again; and such was his expedition and popularity, that twelve days had not elapsed when he was enabled again to move on into Westmeath, as strong as ever in men.

Some time previous to the battle of Clonish, the marquess of Ormonde had the king's directions to enter into treaty with the rebels; the condition of his affairs made him look to Ireland as a last resource; and about the time that O'Neile was on his flight to Charlemont fort, the marquess was opening a negotiation with the council of Kilkenny. Of this, we reserve the detail for a more appropriate place. This negotiation was protracted and interrupted during its course by the designs of the several parties engaged on either side. It will be here enough to mention, that the national assembly was composed of two parties, wholly distinct in their objects. The moderate lay party, who were

earnestly desirous to bring matters to a pacific termination, such as to secure their properties and personal immunities; and the ecclesiastical party, which, supported both by the court of Rome and by the popular sense, were for pushing their real or supposed advantages, and resisting all treaty short of a full and entire reduction of the country to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Roman see. In this divided state of the rebel party, the negotiation was rendered additionally precarious by the hostile demonstrations of Owen O'Neile and of Preston, who were more immediately under the influence of the ecclesiastical party; nor was it less the desire of the marquess of Ormonde to avail himself of these warlike demonstrations, if possible to obtain in the mean time some decided advantage in the field. Another consideration rendered this desirable; both O'Neile and Preston were endeavouring to place themselves under circumstances such that in case of a cessation of arms they would be enabled to extend their position, and organize efficiently along the borders of the pale, an army by which on the first violation of the treaty, or on its termination, they would have a command over these counties. And this was the more to be apprehended, as the resources of the government parties in Ireland, (also twofold, royal and parliamentary,) were likely during any cessation to be absorbed by the English rebellion. Such is a summary sketch of the state of affairs, at the time of O'Neile's advance to Mullingar, about the 24th of June, 1643.

Under these circumstances, every effort to bring together any efficient body of men commanded by a competent leader, against the strong armies of O'Neile and Preston, amounting to upwards of 12,000 men, was found quite impracticable. The king, engaged in a treaty with the rebels, was more anxious to obtain than able to afford means for resistance; the parliament were as little willing to waste a penny on a contest of little direct importance. There was therefore no effective force in the field against the rebels; and while lord Castlehaven was taking possession of the forts in Wicklow and the Queen's County, and Preston with 7000 men securing the harvests of Meath, Owen O'Neile with upwards of 5000 foot and 700 good cavalry, entered Westmeath with the same design; nor did he stop, till he had stripped the country "from the county of Cavan to the barony of Slane."* He was then joined by an army under Sir James Dillon, and with him took the castles of Killallan, Balratty, Ballibeg, Beckliffe, Balsonne, and Ardsallagh, and laid siege to Athboy, with the intention to take all the places of strength in Meath. The Irish government in Dublin had to no purpose endeavoured to oppose these advances, by drawing a portion of the only efficient force in their possession, and then under the command of Monroe in Ulster. To this Monroe objected, and refused to part with any portion of the army under his orders. It was while O'Neile was engaged in the siege of Athboy, that he was attacked by a small party under lord Moore, who, as we have already related, lost his life by a cannon shot. The government force were not enabled, however, to keep the field long

* Carie.

enough to offer any effectual check, and the Irish confederates went on taking castles without any resistance, until the treaty conducted by the marquess of Ormonde ended in a cessation, concluded on the 15th September, between the marquess and the commissioners.

During the continuance of this cessation, many occurrences both civil and military, in both countries, were working to complicate the position of the several parties. They may for the present, be summed in the two facts, that the affairs of the king were becoming more urgent and desperate, and those of the parliament more ascendant. In Ireland one strong party continued to labour successfully to prevent any accommodation of a permanent nature between the king and the rebels. This party the king on his part endeavoured to conciliate by manoeuvres (which we shall hereafter relate) of lamentable perverseness and duplicity. The parliament, anxious to prevent his obtaining aid from this country, resenting the assistance he had already received after the Cessation, and also apprehending the result of a further treaty, which might end in placing Ormonde at the head of the moderate party of the confederates, entered into a nearer understanding with Monroe and the army of Ulster, to whom they sent an immediate supply, at the same time ordering them to commence certain hostile movements, at the same time that their faithful officer Coote in the west, was directed to reduce Sligo.

The Scotch, who had been latterly wavering and on the point of coming to an understanding with Ormonde, were happy to close with terms so desirable; and active hostilities were thus commencing while a dilatory treaty of peace was arriving at its conclusion. We are now brought to the year 1645, in which these combinations reached their effective results. At this time, the cabinet of Rome alarmed by the reports of a peace in which the confederates were to abandon the cause of the church, and to be united under a leader not in its interests, sent over the nuncio Rinuncini, with a view still more effectually to arrest in their progress proceedings so ungrateful to the policy of his court. Rinuncini had received for the purpose of his mission £12,000 from the pope, of which he expended the half in arms and military stores, and remitted the remainder to Ireland. After considerable delays in France, where it was attempted by the queen of England and her friends to cajole him from all his purposes, he reached this country in July, and lost no time in protesting against any peace not framed at Rome, or in any way opposed to the interests of the pope. He objected to any treaty with the marquess of Ormonde, recommended union and the strenuous prosecution of war, without regard to the king or any thought of peace. He urged the expediency and necessity of looking to the pope as their only support and head; but as there was a very strong party opposed to these views, and as the general sense of the confederates was in favour of the course against which he thus declared, it became necessary to look for some other force to counterbalance this temper, and to overawe the Irish laity into compliance: and for this he had recourse to O'Neile.

We have thus arrived (by a forced march,) to the year 1645, when Monroe, with the army under his orders, had been induced to decide for the parliament. Owen O'Neile was especially recommended to

the nuncio by many considerations. He was not alone a leader of tried ability commanding a strong force, but he was disconcerted with a treaty of which the conclusion was to be also the end of his own expectations; his interest was the prolongation of a war, which, under the name of a restoration, would put him into possession of lands, once the property of his ancestors. The force he had collected was composed of a most dissolute class of persons, who had no home or means of subsistence, and chiefly maintained themselves by irregular service, either as soldiers or robbers, as occasion served; they were zealous for the continuance of war, which afforded their subsistence, and only desired to avail themselves to the fullest of its opportunities for plunder. These were easily collected, and were the more adapted to the immediate views of the nuncio, as they were deeply incensed against the moderate party, who were then preponderant in the council, and had been so provoked by their atrocities that they had ordered them to be resisted by force of arms. To their leader, therefore, Rinuncini addressed himself, and assured him that his entire means should be employed for the support of his army; and, in earnest of this promise, he gave him a considerable sum. With such strong inducements, O'Neile advanced toward Armagh.

On receiving intelligence of this, Monroe prepared to repel an advance which he felt to be an encroachment on his limits, and of which the permission must be hazardous to his further expectation of maintaining his own position of authority. He marched towards the city of Armagh, and learned on his way that the troops of Owen O'Neile were encamped at Benburb, a place nearly six miles from Armagh, and memorable for the bloody battles of which, in earlier times, it had been the scene: thither Monroe directed his march on the following morning.

O'Neile was advantageously posted between two hills, with a wood on his rear and the Blackwater on his right. He had drawn out his cavalry upon one of the hills by which his position was flanked, when he saw the forces of Monroe, about 6000 strong, marching on the other side of the river. He had also heard of a reinforcement which was coming up to their aid from Coleraine. As the Blackwater was considered difficult to pass, O'Neile considered an immediate attack not to be expected, and that he might therefore detach a strong party to meet George Monroe, who was bringing the expected companies to join his brother. G. Monroe was advancing from Dungannon, when he saw the Irish cavalry on the approach; he was at the instant fortunately near some strongly fenced fields, in which he drew out his men so advantageously that the cavalry could not charge them. A detachment of foot was yet coming up at a distance, and it was hard to say what might be the result of their arrival; but other incidents had meanwhile occurred, a cannonade was heard in the direction of the main army, and the approaching detachment turning at the sound, hurried back upon their way.

Contrary to the expectation of Owen O'Neile, the Scotch had contrived to ford the river at a place called Battle Bridge, near Kinard, and were soon rapidly advancing in his front. To retard their approach, O'Neile sent a regiment to occupy a pass on the way, a brisk fire

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from Monroe's artillery dislodged them, and they returned in good order. It was yet, in the strong and guarded position which he possessed, easy for O'Neile to prevent an immediate attack, and he resolved on delaying this event for some hours. He observed, that the sun would towards evening be on his rear, and as it sunk towards the forest, present a disadvantage of the most formidable nature to the Scots, by casting its glare upon their faces. Nor indeed is it easy to conceive a circumstance more likely to decide a fight. With this view, Owen O'Neile exerted no inconsiderable skill for four hours in keeping up a succession of skirmishes, and baffling the attention of his enemy by manœuvres adapted to keep him engaged without any decided step towards a general attack. He was also in expectation of a strong party which was on its march to join him. It was near sunset when this expected reinforcement came up: Monroe had mistaken them for his brother's party, and experienced no slight vexation when he saw them join the enemy. He also saw that it was impossible now to commence the battle unless under great disadvantages, and there was even much to be apprehended should his antagonist assume the offensive. He very injudiciously ordered a retreat—than which under the circumstances described, no movement could be so certain to bring on an attack and to throw every advantage into the hands of O'Neile. The two armies were but a few hundred paces asunder, and the Scottish lines were beginning their retrogressive movement, when just as their order was irrecoverable, the Irish came rushing impetuously but in excellent order down the hill, horse and foot, and were instantaneously charging through the broken lines of Monroe's army. To render the charge more decisive, Owen had commanded them to reserve their fire until they were within a few pikes' length of the Scots, an order which they executed with perfect accuracy. Under this unexpected and terrific attack, the Scots confounded, separated, and dazzled by a nearly horizontal sun, could not of course have any hope of resistance. Their native sturdiness of character, and their habits of discipline which rendered them reluctant to fly before an enemy which they despised, much aggravated the slaughter; for scattered into groups and confused masses, they were slain in detail and without the power of resistance. Some of their parties were more fortunate than others, in being enabled to act together, but with little avail, for they were isolated, nor was there any considerable body of Monroe's army enabled to act in concert. Among the most desperate instances of protracted resistance, was that of lord Blaney, who fought at the head of his regiment of English, until he with most of his men left their bodies on the spot. Lord Montgomery was taken with 21 officers and 150 men, and 3248 of Monroe's army were reckoned on the field which was covered with the dead, while numbers more were next day killed in pursuit.* Owen O'Neile had but 70 killed and 200 wounded, a fact which if duly considered confirms this statement, and clearly indicates the absence of any regular resistance.

To render this advantage the more decisive, O'Neile became possessed of the arms of the enemy, including four good cannons, with the entire of their tents, baggage, and stores, along with 1500 draught

* *Carta.*

horses, and two months provisions. Monroe left his coat and wig to augment the spoil, and fled for his life to Lisnagarvey.* The consternation was great and universal through the north, and not without substantial grounds: the army of O'Neile was not quite so formidable for its military character, or for the skill of its leader, as for the dissolute character of the lawless desperadoes of which it was composed. O'Neile too had after some time appeared to have divested himself of much of the more civilized habits of European warfare, and to manifest a temper not altogether unsuited to the composition of his army. He soon felt the influence of disappointment, in finding that he was compelled to act either subordinately or in opposition to those whom he had hoped to command with the power of a dictator. He had come over to take the place and secure the rank and property of the O'Niall; but the body of the confederacy looked for a peace fatal to his hopes and looked upon him with distrust and fear; his policy was opposed by Preston, whose means and army were superior to his own, and he was reduced to be the mercenary instrument of the arrogant and shallow Rinuncini, at the beck of whose authority he was now in the moment of success compelled to abandon the inviting prospect which lay before his march. Immediately after the battle of Benburb, he received a message from the nuncio to congratulate him on the victory, and desire his presence in the vicinity of Kilkenny for the purpose of aiding him in breaking off the treaty of peace.

Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the parties opposed to it, the voice of the better and larger class of the confederates for a moment prevailed. The peace was concluded, but the herald by whom it was proclaimed, in many of the towns which he had to visit in this discharge of his office, received violent ill treatment from the mob, which was every where under the influence of the belligerent faction. No sooner did the event reach the nuncio's ears, than he sent £4000 with a supply of gunpowder to Owen O'Neile, and called a meeting at Waterford of the prelates whom he had under his more immediate control, for the purpose of taking the most violent measures to interrupt a proceeding opposed to the views of his mission. They discharged this office with a decision and violence far beyond the cautious and tempered policy of the court of Rome. Interdicts and excommunications were decreed against all who should consent to the treaty. The priests, secular and regular, who should presume to raise their voices in behalf of peace were to be suspended. The council of Kilkenny was to be deprived of all authority, and their orders were to be disobeyed under pain of excommunication.

But Rinuncini had, as we have said, overacted his part, and erred in opposite directions from his instructions. He first received a reprimand for acting contrary to the order by which he had been commanded, that in case of peace being made he should not act in any way further. In reply, Rinuncini sent over to Rome the copy of a speech which he had made to the council of Kilkenny; this brought upon him a reprimand still more severe from cardinal Pamphilio, in whose letter of May 6, 1646, he is told, "for that See would never by any positive

* Carte.

act approve the civil allegiance which catholic subjects pay to an heretical prince." From this maxim of theirs had arisen the great difficulties and disputes in England, about the oath of allegiance, since the time of Henry VIII., and the displeasure of the Pope was the greater, because the nuncio had left a copy of his speech with the council, which, if it came to be published, would furnish heretics with arguments against the papal authority over heretical princes, when the Pope's own minister should exhort catholics to be faithful to such a king. The nuncio was directed to "get back the original of that speech, and all copies thereof which had been spread abroad, and to take greater care for the future never to indulge such a way of talking in publick conferences." This reprimand did not altogether effect the purpose of restraining the meddling and incautions temper of the nuncio, and he soon drew upon himself a further reproof, by entering too hastily into the policy of the Irish ecclesiastics, which although subservient to their Church, yet had necessarily in it some alloy of expediency. These prelates could not so abstract themselves from all the prejudices of public feeling, or from all ideas of justice and national expediency, as to act with a single and exclusive reference to the policy of the Roman See. They drew up a protest against the peace, in which they refused their consent "unless secure conditions were made, according to the oath of association, for religion, the king and the country."* For signing this, the nuncio received another instructive reproof. He was informed in a letter from cardinal Pamphilio, "that it had been the constant and uninterrupted practice of the see of Rome, never to allow her ministers to make or consent to publick edicts of even catholick subjects, for the defence of the crown and person of an heretical prince; and that this conduct of his furnished pretence to her adversaries, to reflect upon her deviating from those maxims and rules to which she had ever yet adhered. The pope knew very well how difficult it was in such assemblies, to separate the rights of religion from those which relate to the obedience professed by the catholicks to the king, and would therefore be satisfied if he did not show by any public act, that he either knew or consented to such public protestations of that allegiance, which for political considerations the catholicks were either forced or willing to make."

The nuncio made his apology, and rested his defence on the consideration, that the oath "was sworn to by all the bishops without any scruple; and it was so thoroughly rooted in the minds of all the Irish, even the clergy, that if he had in the least opposed it, he would presently have been suspected of having other views besides those of a mere nunciature; which without any such handle had been already charged upon him by the disaffected."

Rinuncini did what he could to repair errors so offensive to his court, prevailing over the minds of the prelates and clergy, who were (the latter especially) inclined to more moderate views. He launched on every side the threats and thunders of the papal see; and the minds of the people were soon controlled or conciliated by the power of such effective appeals. The effect on the upper classes was different; they

* Carte, from the nuncio's narrative.

did not relinquish their anxious purpose to conclude the peace, but were in some measure compelled to yield to the storm and pursue their design with added caution. They drew up an appeal from the censures of the Italian and the bishops who supported him, but they were deterred from its publication, and subsided into inaction; they were indeed without the means for any effective proceeding—their unpaid soldiers were little disposed to obey them in opposition to their priests, and the magistrates who depended upon these for authority and in some measure for protection, were not more acquiescent. Unable to enforce by authority they endeavoured to gain their opponents by treaty, and thus, without obtaining the slightest concession they betrayed the dangerous secret of their own weakness: the entire control of the army and the conduct of the war were the least of the demands, which they received in reply from their clerical adversaries. This indeed was daily becoming less a matter at their discretion; for not only Owen O'Neile rejected their authority, but Preston had also assumed an independent tone, and made it generally doubtful with whom he meant to side. Under these circumstances an effort was made by the marquess of Ormonde to gain O'Neile, to whom he sent a relation Daniel O'Neile, to offer him the confirmation of his present commands and the custodiam of such lands of "O'Neilan," as were held by persons opposed to the king, upon the condition of his joining to bring about the peace. Owen O'Neile rejected these offers, he could not do less, he had received large sums from the nuncio, whose lavish liberality reached beyond his own means, and had already compelled him to borrow largely from the Spanish ambassador. From this liberal paymaster O'Neile had received £9000.

The marquess of Ormonde himself visited Kilkenny, in the hope to expedite by his presence the conclusion of the treaty. But he had scarcely arrived when intelligence came from several quarters of the approach of O'Neile, and it soon became sufficiently apparent, that Owen's object was to intercept his return to the capital, or to surprise him in Kilkenny. The troops of Ormonde were but a few companies, those of O'Neile were at the lowest statement 12,000 men, and daily increasing. His designs were only to be inferred from his line of march, as he was remarkable for the reserve with which he guarded the secret of his designs; but the priests who accompanied his march had communicated the fact that his course was for Kilkenny; and it was further affirmed on the same authority, that "if the lord-lieutenant would not admit of Glamorgan's peace,* they would treat him in a manner too scandalous to be mentioned, and prevent his return to Dublin; that they should be 20,000 strong within a fortnight, and would in their turn plunder all places that should not join them against the peace."

On receiving these accounts the marquess hastily returned to Dublin, and had little time to spare, for he had not gone far when he received a visit from lord Castlehaven, who apprized him that both Preston and O'Neile were in league to intercept him, and were then mak-

* This refers to the secret instructions from the king to the earl of Glamorgan, to concede the utmost demands of the papal party; it is not as yet essential to the general history of events, and we shall fully state it hereafter.

ing rapid marches for that purpose. On this he pressed his march towards Leighlin bridge, that he might place the Barrow between his little company and so formidable an enemy. O'Neile pressed on to Kilcullen, and the march of the English under the command of Willoughby was for some time harassed with anxious apprehension of a surprise, for which they were but ill prepared. Among other disadvantages it was accidentally discovered that the powder which had been distributed to the soldiers, was useless and refused to explode. On inquiry it was found to be a portion of the ammunition which the Irish had been allowed to supply as part payment of the sum agreed on for the king in the articles of the cessation.

Owen O'Neile now turned towards Kilkenny, whither his employer was anxious to return in power. In common with Rinuncini, Owen had an earnest wish for vindictive retaliation, upon those by whom his own authority had been set at nought and his service rejected; and the occasion was gladly seized for such a triumph—more dear to each than any advantage over their common adversaries. On the 17th Sept., 1646, O'Neile took Roscrea; and displayed by his conduct the reality or else the deterioration of his character, by the indiscriminate butchery of man, woman, and child; lady Hamilton, sister to the marquess of Ormonde, and a few gentlemen of prominent respectability, he reserved as prisoners. He took the castle of Kilkenny on the 16th, and on the 18th Rinuncini entered the city in solemn procession. His first act was to imprison the members of the supreme council, with the exception of Darcy and Plunket. With them, such of the surrounding gentry as had favoured the peace were at the same time ordered to be arrested by Preston.

Through this favourable turn of circumstances, and supported by the devoted services of his powerful retainer O'Neile, the nuncio now found himself apparently at the height of his ambition; he appointed a council of four bishops, in whom with a few select laymen the government was declared to be vested; of these he assumed the presidency both in spiritual and temporal concerns, and in the fulness of his satisfaction, thus addressed his master, "this age has never seen so unexpected and wonderful a change, and if I was writing not a relation, but a history to your holiness, I should compare it to the most famous success in Europe, and show how true it is that every part of the world is capable of noble events, though all have not the talents necessary to bring them about. The clergy of Ireland so much despised by the Ormondists, were in the twinkling of an eye masters of the kingdom: soldiers, officers, and generals strove who should fight for the clergy, drawn partly by a custom of following the strongest side; and at last the supreme council being deprived of all authority, and confounded with amazement to see obedience denied them, all the power and authority of the confederates devolved upon the clergy."*

In the exultation of his heart, the nuncio thought himself master of the kingdom, and among other ambitious arrangements which occupied his heated fancy, he wrote to consult the pope on the adjustment of ceremonies between himself and the person whom he should place at the

* Carta.

head of the civil government. To obtain possession of Dublin, became now the great object of his wishes. It was his desire to employ Owen O'Neile in the sole command of this important enterprise, but his counsellors knew better than he could know the danger of such a preference over Preston, who held by appointment the military command of Leinster, and would not fail to show his resentment by deserting their cause. The nuncio was made sensible of this risk and yielded: but gratified his preference by giving 9000 dollars to O'Neile, while he only gave £150 to Preston. Both these generals drew towards the metropolis. On the way many incidents took place, which strongly excited their sense of rivalry, and for a time it was a matter undecided whether they should attack each other or join their arms in the common cause.

Many circumstances which we shall have to state in detail in our memoir of the duke of Ormonde, were at the same time occurring to prevent this enterprise against Dublin from being carried to any issue. We shall here, therefore, relate so much as more immediately appertains to the rebel camps. Owen O'Neile on his march to Dublin took many towns and places of strength in the Queen's county: but conducted himself in such a manner as to excite the resentment of the Leinster gentry. In consequence, they rose in arms, and joined the ranks of his rival Preston, who was generally known to have a strong leaning to the king and the duke of Ormonde, and a decided hatred to Owen O'Neile, who both hated and despised him in return. It then was for some days discussed, between Preston and his friends, whether he might not have a good chance of defeating his rival in the field. He even entered on a treaty with lord Digby, and offered, if he "might have reasonable security for his religion,"* that he would obey the marquess of Ormonde, and join his forces against O'Neile.

While this treaty was under discussion, the two armies were advancing toward Dublin. On the 9th November Preston reached Lucan, and on the 11th Owen O'Neile arrived with the nuncio. The two generals thus brought together, present a combination not unsuited for the purposes of romance: their separate views, their opposite characters, their mutual hate, and their common cause and position, offer the varied threads of moral and incidental interest, which admit of being pursued and interwoven into a many-coloured web of incident and passion. The nuncio Rinuncini, with all the strong lines of national temperament—the part he had to act—the character in which he stood: ambitious, zealous, crafty, shallow, over-reaching and deceived, confident in his real ignorance of those he had to deal with, and deceived by every surrounding indication amongst a people he could not understand, yet, not without reason, looking with contempt on their ignorance and barbarism—affords a figure not unsuited for the foreground, and for striking contrast and deep shadow of plot, scene, or group. The combinations of moral fiction are but faithful to reality: the difference is little more than that between the unrecorded incidents which pass away only to be remembered by the actors, and

* Carta.

those which are brought before the eye of the world: and romance itself when true to nature, is no more than the result of incidents which are always occurring. The two Irish leaders who then occupied the town of Lucan, doubtful whether they were to attack each other in the mutual and bloody strife for pre-eminence, or march together in a common cause, about which neither of them cared, were watched by the Italian with an anxious and apprehensive eye. Seeing the mutual temper which they took little pains to disguise, he laboured to reconcile them, and to infuse a common spirit for the service which he only looked upon as the prime object of regard. "O'Neile," says Carte, "was a man of few words, phlegmatic in his proceedings, an admirable concealer of his own sentiments, and very jealous of the designs of others. Preston was very choleric, and so unguarded in his passion, that he openly declared all his resentments, and broke out even in councils of war, into rash expressions of which he had frequently cause to repent."* To reconcile these jarring opposites, was too much for the craft of Rinuncini, and the danger from their dissension seemed so great, that he saw no better resource against the consequence than to imprison Preston. But this was opposed by the secret council which he brought together to advise with on the question: they thought that by such an act, the province of Leinster would be offended, and that the army of Preston also would be likely to become outrageous in their resentment. While this matter was under discussion, O'Neile was himself in a state of no small apprehension, from the suspected designs of Preston, whose heat of temper made it more to be feared, that he might adopt some decided step. Preston was no less distrustful of the dark and brooding enmity of O'Neile; and thus while Rinuncini was labouring to reconcile them, they took more pains to guard against each others' designs, than to adopt means of offence or defence against the enemy. In this interval was anxiously discussed the lord-lieutenant's proposals for a peace, made through the earl of Clanricarde, who came forward at the desire of Preston. He offered a repeal of all penalties against the members of the church of Rome; that no alteration should be made in the possession of churches, until the king's pleasure should be made known in a general settlement; that these articles should be confirmed by the queen and prince and guaranteed by the king of France. These terms fell far short of the aims of Rinuncini, and were equally unsatisfactory, though for different reasons: to Owen O'Neile. The nuncio desired nothing short of the complete subjection, temporal and spiritual, of the island to his master; Owen desired neither more nor less than the acquisition of the estates of the O'Neiles of Tyrone.

This anxious and manifold game of diplomacy, discussion, and undermining, continued from the 11th to the 16th. On this day they were met in council, and the debate ran high, when a messenger came to the door and told them, that the English forces were landed and received into Dublin.† The thread of argument was cut short, and the cobweb of intrigue broken, by a sentence—fear, and hate, and design, and ambition, stood paralyzed by the unexpected intelligence.

* Carte's Ormonde, page 589.

† Carte's Ormonde.

An instant of silence followed, in which it is probable all looked at each other, and each considered what was best for himself. Owen O'Neile started on his feet and left the room—his example was followed by Preston, and in the course of one minute from the messenger's appearance, the room was empty.

Owen O'Neile called together his troops by a cannon shot, and put them in motion, they crossed the Liffey at Leixlip, on a bridge hastily put together from the timber of houses, and marched through Meath into the Queen's county. The nuncio returned to Kilkenny. Preston signed a peace for himself; but acted so inconsistently, that it was hard to say to which side he belonged. O'Neile had now many disadvantages to encounter. Besides the danger to be apprehended from the junction of his enemy Preston, with the king's party, he had damped considerably the zeal of many of his own confederates, by the arrogance of his bearing, and by the exorbitant pretensions which had latterly begun to display themselves. His claims to the dignity and estates of the O'Neiles were offensive to Sir Phelim, as well as to Alexander Macdonell, whose regiments were ready to desert.* The nuncio too was himself beginning to entertain fears of the vast and inordinate pretensions of his favourite general; while generally the character of the native Ulster men, by whom he was supported, was such as to convey suspicion and fear into the breast of every one of English descent. It began to be fully comprehended, that while religious creeds were made the pretext and the blind, the main object of the lower classes engaged in rebellion, as well as of their leaders, was a war of the Irish against the English, and that plunder was its real and main object. Above all the growing sense of his character and known designs had made O'Neile an object of terror to the gentry of every party: he was in possession of several counties of Leinster, where he was thoroughly feared and disliked; and the nuncio was with difficulty enabled to keep Kilkenny from his grasp.

The assembly convened in Kilkenny, to treat upon the conditions of peace, met in the beginning of 1647. We shall not need to enter here upon the questions which they entertained, or the terms which they generally agreed upon. The result was the rejection of the peace: and the marquis finding all his efforts frustrated, came at length to the decision, to give up the further management of the kingdom into the hands of the English parliament, as the last hope for the safety of the protestants and of the upper classes. A treaty with parliament was the consequence, during which the national assembly were awed into a more conceding temper, both by their apprehension of the consequences of such a result, and also by a formidable demonstration of force, under their enemy lord Inchiquin, in Munster. Thus influenced they renewed their treaty with Ormonde, whom they offered to join against the parliament—but added, that they should insist upon the terms already proposed in the late assembly. To guard against the danger of any movement of lord Inchiquin, they were compelled to have recourse to Preston, as Owen O'Neile had now thrown off all authority, and come to the resolution of adopting no cause but his own.

* Carta.

The truth is probably, that he had found the resources of the nuncio beginning to run dry: and though he still found an object in calling his army the "Pope's army," he kept an exclusive eye to the one point, of strengthening himself, and maintaining his forces by the most shameless plunder.

On the 28th July, 1647, the marquess of Ormonde having concluded his treaty with the parliament, left the kingdom. The supreme council had transferred their sittings to Clonmel, the forces under their authority were placed under the command of the earl of Antrim, and were in a state of disunion not to be suppressed by the terrors of lord Inchiquin, who was in the mean time wasting the country. An intrigue of the earl of Antrim, to set aside lord Muskerry from his share in the command, ended in the triumph of the latter, and lord Antrim was (to the nuncio's great vexation,) himself deprived of the command, which was given to his rival. This army and the gentry of Munster became at the same time so much alarmed by the conduct of Owen O'Neile, that they presented a remonstrance to the council, in which they expressed themselves strongly, affording clear ideas, at least, of the nature of the fears which he excited; for this reason we here give the passage extracted from this remonstrance by Carte. They represented "that he aimed at the absolute command of all Ireland; that he had his partisans in all the provinces; that he had levied a vast army above the kingdom's force, to execute his ambitious views; that he had obeyed no orders, either of the assembly or council, but what he pleased; that he had slighted their commands, particularly in the affair of Athlone, and in several other instances; that Terence O'Bryen was, under pretence of his authority, actually raising forces in breach of the express orders of the council, and others were doing the like in other places; that since the tumult at Clonmel, messengers had been sent by those who made it, to invite him and his army to their assistance; that his forces acted as enemies, interrupting husbandry, plundering all before them, and leaving nothing behind them but desolation and misery; that Kilkenny and the neighbouring counties had been ruined by the incursions of his forces, who gave out terrible threats of extirpating the English Irish; and their clergy (whose army they boasted themselves to be,) talked after the same manner; that having complained to the nuncio of the friars, who to pave the way for O'Neile and his partisans to be masters of the kingdom, had sowed discontent and sedition in the army, and thrown unjust and groundless suspicions and scandals upon the designs and actions of well-affected persons, no punishment had yet been inflicted, nor any mark of ignominy put upon them to deter others from the like licentiousness."* On this occasion, the gentry of Munster declared that while they adhered firmly to their church, yet that they would prefer joining Ormonde, Clanricarde, or the Grand Turk,† to the risk of being plundered and oppressed by O'Neile and his army. Under this apprehension, they entreated that their province should be put into a state of defence against the intrusion of that army, and that O'Neile should be strictly enjoined not to enter on its confines, and

* Carte, vol. II. p. 3.

† Ibid.

declared a rebel if he should disobey the injunction. They were with some difficulty appeased by the council.

In the province of Leinster, the same terror of O'Neile existed. His character which had developed itself under the influence of growing ambition, and in the use of evil means for evil ends, was beginning to be felt; his virtues were lost to public apprehension, in the cloud of atrocity which surrounded his motions; his objects were misunderstood and his infirmities aggravated. He held Leinster with 12,000 foot and 1200 cavalry, a numerous band of robbers and murderers of every class, and there was a strong apprehension that he would be joined by the septs in Wexford and Wicklow. Against this fear, the great security to which all eyes in the province of Leinster had turned was the wisdom, influence, and active efficiency of Ormonde, and his departure occasioned the most general and anxious alarm in every quarter.

While thus formidably encountered by the suspicions and complaints of his nominal confederates, Owen, whom they had a little before nominated to the command of Connaught, followed, at leisure and in entire indifference, his own objects. He had the satisfaction in August to learn of a decisive defeat sustained by his enemy and rival Preston, from the parliamentary commander, colonel Jones, and laughed in his exultation, at the folly of Preston in exposing himself to such a risk. To add to his satisfaction, he was further strengthened by 2000 men from his rival's army, sent him by the direction of the council with their order, (or we should presume entreaty,) that he would march from Connaught to their protection.

The council, though then chiefly filled with adherents of Rinuncini, was strongly influenced by the force of circumstances to act in opposition to his desires; by this, the ties between him and O'Neile were for a moment restored, though Owen was an object of fear and dislike to most of the confederates. The incident here chiefly adverted to, is mentioned by Carte: a book entitled, "*Disputatio Apologetica, de jure regni Hiberniæ pro Catholicis Hibernis Adversus Hæreticos Anglos,*" had been published in Portugal, by Cornelius Mahony, an Irish Jesuit, and widely circulated through Ireland. Its design and the effect it was adapted to produce, may be estimated from an extract in which the subject of the argument is stated, "That the kings of England never had any right to Ireland; that supposing they once had, they had forfeited it by turning heretics, and not observing the condition of pope Adrian's grant; that the old Irish natives might by force of arms recover the lands and goods taken from their ancestors upon the conquest by usurpers of English or other foreign extraction; that they should kill not only all the protestants, but all the Roman catholics in Ireland that stood for the crown of England, choose an Irish native for their king, and throw off at once the yoke both of heretics and foreigners."* This book was supported by the nuncio, and very generally understood to turn the eyes of the lower classes upon Owen O'Neile, as the most likely object of election to the crown. But it was so directly opposed to the principles recognised in the oath of the confederates, as well as to the feelings and interests of all but the merest

* From Carte, II. p. 17.

rabble, (yet not much above the lowest point of barbarism,) that the conduct of the confederates could not be less than decisive, and they condemned the book to be burned by the hangman in Kilkenny. This, with many such incidents, gave a strong turn to the sense of this party, and with the impression already made by the general conduct of O'Neile, together with the declarations of his friends and favourers, had much effect in rendering them the more accessible to proposals of peace.

Against this favourable disposition, the nuncio exerted all his influence and authority, and he was certainly not wanting to himself in the employment of such means as remained in his possession. His pecuniary resources had been entirely drained, but his native audacity and craft were not exhausted, and he endeavoured to obtain a preponderance in council by the creation of ten new bishops; the council objected that they had not been consecrated, and the nuncio proposed to consecrate them, but fearful that this might not be approved of in Rome, he contented himself with sending them to take their seats as spiritual peers, and thus obtained a formidable accession to his party.

The discussion of the peace was continued, and while the nuncio and the friends of O'Neile were violent in their opposition, the strong majority was in its favour. An amusing effort was made to turn the odds upon this question, by claiming for nine Ulster delegates the partisans of O'Neile, sixty-three votes, on the ground that this was the number necessary to represent Ulster, while on account of the war, nine only could be found to attend;—a curious oversight and not unlike that amusing species of Irish humour which has by a common error been stigmatized by the name of blunder. The scheme was unsuccessful, and the only obstacle recognised by the assembly was to be found in the entire want of any authorized party to treat with. The council agreed that peace alone could save the country from ruin, and it was at last decided to send agents to France, Spain, and Rome. Into the particulars of this mission, it is not necessary to enter: all the parties had their private objects, and were prepared with their ostensible commissions; their journey was to little purpose. But the nuncio still continued the most strenuous and unremitting efforts to suppress or neutralize every proceeding which had for its object any treaty of peace unless on the terms proposed by himself, and in his eagerness to attain the object of his ultimate ambition, the cardinal's hat, he continually pressed beyond the line of discretion strictly marked out in his instructions, so that his chance of success was by no means improving in either respect. Without gaining the approbation of the pope, he was daily losing the respect of his own party; the court of Rome desirous to avoid embroiling itself with the other courts of Europe, disapproved of the indiscreet exposition of its policy thus afforded on so public a stage, and would have recalled their nuncio long before, but for the violent misrepresentations which led them to overrate the prospects of ultimate success. The Irish nobles, gentry, priests and prelates, were, with the exceptions always to be found in large constituent bodies, all sensible of the folly, ignorance and danger of his counsels, and of the entire futility of his hopes. The council was beginning to meet his remonstrances with indifference, and when he failed in his efforts to induce that body to declare against the Ces-

sation which he was so anxious to break, as the last hope of preventing the conclusion of peace, he stole out of the town to join O'Neile at Maryborough.

The council sent messengers to invite him back, and with an offer which it is difficult to regard as sincere, they proposed to break off the treaty and invest Dublin, if he would send them £20,000; while they must have been aware that he was bankrupt in resources long since, and had already gone to the extent of his credit by large and frequent loans. But it is also evident that his conjunction with Owen O'Neile was the most mischievous proceeding that at the moment could well be conceived, and must have excited their utmost apprehension. The nuncio, with the pertinacity of his character replied, "that the generals of the Leinster and Munster armies should be displaced; that the Ulster army should be regularly paid, and assigned good quarters; that the clergy and their adherents in Munster should have satisfaction given them as to the civil government; that all governors and military officers should take an oath, neither to move, do, or agree to any thing that might be deemed to their prejudice, without leave from the clergy; and that the council should swear they would not suffer any peace to be made, but such an one as agreed with the instructions given to the agents sent to Rome." On receiving this message, the council saw the inutility of temporizing further, and signed a confirmation of the Cessation to be observed until the conclusion of the treaty of peace.

The nuncio had recourse to his usual methods, and when his declaration against their proceedings were taken down, and the prelates themselves resisted his menaces and entreaties, he brought together the titulars of Ross, Cork, and Down, who still adhered to him, and launched an excommunication against all persons, and an interdict against the towns which should receive the Cessation. The council appealed from his censures, and were joined by two archbishops, twelve bishops, and all the secular clergy in their dioceses. They were even supported by the whole orders of Jesuits and Carmelites, and considerable numbers of other orders in the province. On the former occasion already related, he had been as zealously joined by the clergy of his persuasion, as he was now firmly and unanimously resisted; these persons, zealous for the interests of their order but clear-sighted and humane, had begun to see the folly of their blind and hot-headed leader, the hopelessness of the cause, and the mischief of its further present prosecution. These defections might have made a wiser and cooler headed man sensible that he had gone too far; but the nuncio was little accessible to the warning of circumstances, and insensible to all considerations but those of ambition, pride, and resentment which engrossed his heart. The difficulties of his position were daily increasing—his coffer was empty, the Spanish agent was suing him for 100,000 crowns taken by his ship from a Spanish vessel in the Bay of Biscay, under the pretext of its being English property, instead of which it was sent by the Spanish court for the payment of the army in Flanders. The leaders also of troops in the interest of the confederates had provided against excommunication, by the precaution of collecting those who were indifferent about it.

Under these circumstances, O'Neile retired into Connaught, and

thence to Ulster, to collect his men, and recruit their numbers. He had been abandoned by Sir Phelim, by lords Iveagh, and Alexander Macdonell, and now turned out of his way to attack them in Birr which they garrisoned. But general Preston marched against him, on which he raised the siege and retired. The nuncio meanwhile, endeavoured to effect in Connaught those purposes which had so entirely failed in the provinces of Munster and Leinster. Here too he was doomed to be signally disappointed; for, though joined everywhere by the populace, who were (as they ever are) actuated by the love of change and of tumult, the clergy manifested no disposition to enter into his views. He summoned them to a meeting in Galway, but a prohibition from the council was enough to prevent a compliance; he was openly opposed by the titular bishop of Tuam: and the marquess of Clanricarde, after remonstrating with him on the vanity and wickedness of the headlong course he pursued, regularly besieged him in Galway, where he had as usual made a strong but low party among those on whom his misrepresentations could impose; but thus besieged, the Galway citizens soon came to a just understanding of this vain man, and consented to renounce him and proclaim the Cessation. The nuncio thus foiled by Clanricarde, met also with a fresh proof of the contempt into which he was fallen among the confederacy; his Galway declaration, to which he had in vain solicited the consent of the clergy, was condemned as "wicked, malicious, and traitorous, repugnant to all laws, human and divine, and tending to the utter subversion of government both in church and state." At the same time, they publicly proclaimed Owen O'Neile a traitor, and set a price on his head.

Notwithstanding these unfavourable changes, Owen O'Neile was still as strong as ever, nor could the nuncio be altogether deprived of hope, while supported by so powerful an adherent. Making a truce with Jones and the Scots, for the purpose of saving the families of his soldiers in the north and west, he was thus enabled to march into Leinster; there he hoped to regain the ascendancy which had been wrested from his grasp, and to subdue or crush the council of Kilkenny. It was his design to surprise Kilkenny, and a conspiracy was formed in that city, to betray it on his appearance, but the letters between the parties were intercepted. Thus disappointed, Owen satisfied his resentment by wasting the lands of lord Mountgarret, and being invited into Thomond, he took the castle of Nenagh, and surprised Banagher. From this he besieged Athy, but the appearance of Preston forced him to retire. The places he had taken were recovered by the earl of Inchiquin, and having encamped at a pass in Ballaghnon, ("since called Owen Roe's pass"),* to cut off the provisions from Inchiquin's camp; the two armies lay for a fortnight in sight of each other, and Owen narrowly escaped a defeat, on which he stole away in the night and left an empty camp to his enemies.

We have in this memoir hitherto endeavoured to follow the course of the events mainly affecting the fortunes of Owen O'Neile, and of the nuncio Rinuncini, with whom he was throughout connected, considering that thus we should take the most appropriate occasion to

* Carta.

offer a more distinct account of a person so conspicuous for the part he acted in this eventful juncture. The union between these two remarkable persons was now approaching its close. The marquess of Ormonde at last returned once more to Ireland, to urge forward the treaty for peace, and it was concluded on January 17th, 1649. The death of the king was followed by the proclamation of his son, through all the towns in Ireland; and Rinuncini, who had exhausted all his resources and all his arts, and still lingered hoping against hope, and though defeated still returning to the vain trial—at last began in these decisive events to perceive the inutility of a further struggle against the strong current, and resolved to depart until he should be enabled to enter the field with fresh resources and increased authority. Leaving his last instructions to Owen O'Neile to be firm and faithful, and to hold out for the Pope till his return, he embarked in his own ship in Galway, and on the 2d March landed in Normandy.

The history of O'Neile may now be briefly pursued to its termination. Only desirous to preserve the armed posture on which all his prospects were dependent, and ready to join with all parties whose views tended to war, and might sustain his military importance, he formed an alliance with Jones the general of the independents; and by this step, contrived to preserve his affairs for some time, and to maintain a large body of men at the expense of the parliamentary general. In this position he was courted by both parties, and in turn listened and consented to each. Owen continued for some time to co-operate with the parliamentary generals; but after having performed considerable services in the north, he soon discovered that he was held in contempt by his new allies, who purchased his assistance from necessity alone. In consideration of 2000 cows, he raised the siege of Londonderry, where Coote, who held that city for the parliament, was besieged.* The alliance between these leaders and their Irish mercenary was explicitly censured by the parliament, which refused to confirm the articles of their treaty with him. He was compelled to retire, and presently received proposals from the marquess of Ormonde, to declare for the king; he consented, and soon after came to an agreement to act with that nobleman against his late ungrateful patrons.

So early as February 20th, 1649, letters of credence had been signed by him, by the bishop of Clogher, and by general Farrel, empowering F. Nugent, a capuchin, to assure the king of his submission upon the condition of their being included in the act of oblivion, of enjoying liberty of conscience, and of O'Neile's commanding an army under his majesty's authority, provided for in the same manner as the rest of his majesty's forces, and being advanced to the dignity of an earl.† So far he was at length seemingly in view of the main object of all his labours. In the mean time, his engagement with the parliamentary leaders had taken place; and it was not till the affront, here mentioned, exposed the vanity of all expectations from the independents, that he returned to a party which his natural sagacity must have perceived to be the weaker. On the 12th October, he signed

* Borlase.

† Carte.

articles with Ormonde, by which he engaged to bring an army to his assistance

His death saved him from a sad and rapid reverse, and in all probability from a disgraceful end. From the parliamentary leaders who were so soon to change the current of events, he could not even expect the poor compromise of being allowed to live. His character seems to have been vastly overrated by his countrymen: nor have we been enabled to find ground for unqualified praise even on this least questionable pretension, that of military talent. He was assuredly discreet and sagacious; and if he was not free from the excitement of the vindictive passions, they did not at least carry him so far as in any instance to lose sight of interest or safety. Of any of the higher principles of action, which govern and dignify the deeds of great men, he was utterly devoid; a consistent and steady adoption of every friendship and every party which manifested the power and will to promote his own personal ends, was the virtue of his life—a virtue, only to be so named in a very enlarged acceptation of the term, as it implies nothing either honourable or good. Of the sincerity of his religious professions we cannot form any estimate, and must presume them sincere, though his religion had no power to elevate his conduct, he was not less disinterested or less beneficent in the ends for which he acted, or the means by which he sought them, than his spiritual patron and confederate, the Abbe Rinuncini. If upon his first appearance upon the scene of Irish affairs, his character appears to some advantage, this advantage is due to contrast with those who were less unprincipled, but more rude, barbarous, and violent than himself. The habits of a gentleman, and the manners contracted in foreign camps and courts, are, unhappily, not inconsistent with selfishness, cruelty, and vice; but they materially smooth the outward front and gestures of those deep and indelible faults of human character. The knowledge of good and evil, the fear of opinion, and the necessity of being first injured to any decided course of evil, all tend to repress superfluous outrage and retard the career of crime. Knowledge, fortunately indeed, though its power is little to “mend the heart,” has yet a strong power to repress those evil impulses of which it can unfold the consequences and point out the disgrace; yet such considerations apply only with much qualification to the actors of the time actually under review; and when by chance our pen betrays us into such distinctions, we soon must recollect that we are wandering from our purpose.

O’Neile did not live to fulfil his part of the articles last mentioned. In the beginning of December, he died at Cloghater castle, in the county of Cavan.

Having brought our readers to the development of the second act of the great rebellion, and exhibited the conflicting motives and the singular divisions and combinations of the various parties and actors engaged therein, we make a brief pause to introduce another of those families which adorn the biographies of Ireland, placing before them the third and closing act, in which one of its members bore a prominent part. We refer to those members of the Boyle family, better known in history as lords Broghill, earls of Orrery and earls of Cork.

THE BOYLES.

RICHARD BOYLE, FIRST EARL OF CORK.

BORN A. D. 1566—DIED A. D. 1648.

AMONG the many illustrious persons, who by their valour or prudence laid the foundations of the most noble families of this country, none can be named more deserving of the record of history than the first earl of Cork. By his prudence and well directed sagacity, he showed the first example of that method of improvement which was afterwards carried into more extended operation in the plantation of Ulster. Nor is posterity less indebted to his name, for the many illustrious warriors, statesmen, and philosophers, whose names are among the noblest ornaments of their generation.

The family of Boyle is of ancient and almost immemorial antiquity. Budgel, who has written their history, mentions that the ancestor from whom they are descended, was "Sir Philip Boyle, a knight of Arragon, who signalized himself at a tournament," in England, in the reign of Henry VI. But the heralds trace the family in the county of Hereford, so far back as Henry III., and as they confirm their deductions by the full details of personal history, we think it fair to acquiesce in their account.

In the reign of Henry VI., Ludovic Boyle, of Bidney, in Herefordshire, left two sons, John and Roger. The second of these left four sons, of whom one, Michael, was afterwards bishop of Waterford, and another, Roger, was father to the illustrious person whose life we are here to relate. In the discharge of this task, our labour is lightened by the existence of a memoir of himself, which the earl has left. This document has, of course, found a place in every notice of the Boyle family; but we do not for this reason think it can properly be omitted. It follows at full length :—"My father, Mr Roger Boyle, was born in Herefordshire; my mother Joan Naylor, daughter of Robert Naylor, of Canterbury, in the county of Kent, Esq., was born there, 15th of October, 1529; and my father and mother were married in Canterbury, 16th of October, 1564; my father died at Preston, near Feversham in Kent, 24th March, 1576; my mother never married again, but lived ten years a widow, and then departed this life at Feversham, aforesaid 20th March, 1586; and they are both buried in one grave, in the upper end of the chancel of the parish church of Preston. In memory of which, my deceased and worthy parents, I their second son, have, in anno 1629, erected a fair alabaster tomb over the place where they were buried, with an iron grate before it, for the better preservation thereof.

"I was born in the city of Canterbury, (as I find it written by my father's own hand) 3d October, 1566. After the decease of my father and mother, I being the second son of a younger brother, having been a scholar in Bennet's College, Cambridge, and a student in the Middle Temple; finding my means unable to support me to study the

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laws in the Inns of Court, put myself into the service of Sir Richard Manwood, knight, lord chief baron of her majesty's court of exchequer, where I served as one of his clerks; and perceiving that my employment would not raise a fortune, I resolved to travel into foreign kingdoms, and to gain learning, knowledge, and experience, abroad in the world. And it pleased the Almighty, by his Divine Providence to take me I may say, just as it were by the hand, and lead me into Ireland, where I happily arrived at Dublin on Midsummer eve, the 23d of June, 1588.

"I was married at Limerick to Mrs Joan Apsley, one of the two daughters, and co-heirs of William Apsley of Limerick, Esq., (one of the council to the first president of the province of Munster,) 6th Nov., 1595, who brought me £500 lands the year, which I still enjoy, it being the beginning and foundation of my fortune; and she died at Moyallow, 14th Dec., 1599, in travail of her first child, which was born a dead son, and both of them were buried in Buttevant church.

"When I arrived at Dublin, all my wealth was then £27 3s. in money and two tokens, which my mother had formerly given me, viz. a diamond ring, which I have ever since, and still do wear; and a bracelet of gold, worth about £10; a taffety doublet, cut with and upon taffety; a pair of black velvet breeches, laced; a new MILAN fustian suit laced and cut upon taffety; two cloaks; competent linen and necessities; with my rapier and dagger. And 23d of June, 1632, I have served my God, queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles, full forty-four years in Ireland, and so long after as it shall please God to enable me.

When God had blessed me with a reasonable fortune and estate, Sir Henry Wallop, treasurer at war; Sir Robert Gardiner, chief justice of the king's bench; Sir Robert Dillon, chief justice of the common pleas; Sir Richard Bingham, chief commissioner of Connaught; being displeased for some purchases which I had made in the province, they all joined together, and by their letters complained against me to queen Elizabeth, expressing, 'That I came over a young man, without any estate or fortune; and that I had made so many purchases, as it was not possible to do it without some foreign prince's purse to supply me with money; that I had acquired divers castles and abbies on the sea side, fit to receive and entertain Spaniards; that I kept in my abbies fraternities, and convents of friars in their habits, who said mass continually; and that I was suspected in my religion, with divers other malicious suggestions.' Whereof having some secret notice, I resolved to go into Munster, and so into England to justify myself; but before I could take shipping, the general rebellion in Munster broke forth. All my lands were wasted, as I could not say that I had one penny of certain revenue left me to the unspeakable danger and hazard of my life; yet God so preserved me, as I recovered Dingle, and got shipping there, which transported me to Bristol, from whence I travelled to London, and betook myself to my former chamber in the middle temple, intending to renew my studies in the laws till the rebellion was passed over.

"Then Robert, earl of Essex, was designed for the government of this kingdom, unto whose service I was recommended by Mr Anthony

Bacon; whereupon his lordship very nobly received me, and used me with favour and grace, in employing me in suing out his patent and commission for the government of Ireland; whereof Sir Henry Wallop having notice utterly to suppress me, renewed his former complaint to the queen's majesty against me; whereupon by her majesty's special directions, I was suddenly attacked and conveyed close prisoner to the gate-house; all my papers seized and searched; and, although nothing could appear to my prejudice, yet my close constraint was continued till the earl of Essex was gone to Ireland, and two months afterwards; at which time, with much suit, I obtained of her sacred majesty the favour to be present at my answers; where I so fully answered, and cleared all their objections, and delivered such full and evident justifications of my own acquittal, as it pleased the queen to use these words: 'By God's death, all these are but inventions against this young man, and all his sufferings are for being able to do us service, and these complaints urged to forestall him therein: but we find him a man fit to be employed by ourselves, and we will employ him in our service; and Wallop and his adherents shall know that it shall not be in the power of any of them to wrong him, neither shall Wallop be our treasurer any longer.' And, arising from council, gave order not only for my present enlargement, but also discharging all my charges and fees during my restraint, gave me her royal hand to kiss, which I did heartily; humbly thanking God for that great deliverance.

"Being commanded by her majesty to attend at court, it was not many days before her highness was pleased to bestow upon me the office of clerk of the council of Munster,* and to commend me over to Sir George Carew (after earl of Totness), and then lord-president of Munster; whereupon I bought of Sir Walter Raleigh his ship, called 'the Pilgrim,' into which I took a freight of ammunition and victuals, and came in her myself by long sea, and arrived at Carrigfoile in Kerry, where the lord-president and the army were then at the siege of that castle; which, when we had taken, I was there sworn clerk of the council of Munster; and presently after made a justice of peace and quorum throughout all that province. And this was the second rise that God gave to my fortunes.

"Then as clerk of the council, I attended the lord-president in all his employments; waited on him (who assisted lord-deputy Mountjoy) at the whole siege of Kingsale, and was employed by his lordship to her majesty with the news of the happy victory (obtained over the Irish under the earl of Tyrone and the Spaniards, 24th of December, 1601); in which employment I made a speedy expedition to the court; for I left my lord-president at Shandon castle, near Cork, on Monday morning about two of the clock, and the next day delivered my packet, and supped with Sir Robert Cecil, being then principal secretary, at his house in the Strand; who, after supper, held me in discourse till two of the clock in the morning; and by seven that morning called upon me to attend him to the court, where he presented me to her majesty

* Lodovic Briskett surrendered that office 31st March, 1600, to the intent the queen might give it to Mr Boyle, together with the custody of the signet for the province whereof he had a grant by patent, dated 8th of May following.

in her bedchamber; who remembered me, calling me by my name, and giving me her hand to kiss, telling me, that *she was glad that I was the happy man to bring the first news of the glorious victory*. And after her majesty had interrogated with me upon sundry questions very punctually, and that therein I had given her full satisfaction in every particular, she gave me again her hand to kiss, and commanded my dispatch for Ireland, and so dismissed me with grace and favour.

"At my return into Ireland, I found my lord-president ready to march to the siege of Beerhaven castle, then fortified and possessed by the Spaniards and some Irish rebels, which after battering we had made assailable, entered, and put all to the sword. His lordship then fell to reducing these western parts of the province to subjection and obedience to her majesty's laws; and, having placed garrisons and wards in all places of importance, made his return to Cork; and in the way homewards acquainted me with his resolution to employ me presently into England, to obtain license from her majesty for his repair to her royal presence; at which time he propounded unto me the purchase of all Sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Munster, which, by his assistance, and the mediation of Sir Robert Cecil, was perfected, and this was a third addition and rise to my estate.

"Then I returned into Ireland with my lord-president's licence to repair to court; and by his recommendation was married, 25th July, 1603, to my second wife, Miss Catherine Fenton, the only daughter of Sir Jeffray Fenton, principal secretary of state, and privy counsellor, in Ireland, on which day I was knighted by Sir George Carew, lord-deputy of Ireland, at St Mary's abbey, near Dublin."

This memoir is said to have been written in the year 1632, when the noble writer had reached his 67th year; he was at the time lord Boyle, baron Youghall, viscount Dungarvon, earl of Cork, and lord high treasurer of Ireland.

In 1603 he was, as this memoir states, married to his second wife, Miss Catherine Fenton. Of this marriage the following curious origin is mentioned by some writers, on the authority of the countess of Warwick, in whose life it has been inserted. While yet a widower, Sir Richard Boyle, had, according to this story, occasion to pay a visit of business to Sir Geoffry Fenton, master of the rolls. Sir Geoffry was engaged, and Boyle was detained for a long time; during which he amused himself by playing with Sir Geoffry's little daughter, then about two years old. When Sir Geoffry came, he apologized for having detained Mr Boyle so long; but was answered by Mr Boyle, that he had been courting his little daughter, with the design to make her his wife. Fenton took up the jest, and the conversation ended in a serious engagement, that the match should be concluded when the young lady should attain a marriageable age.* And, as the tale runs, they both fulfilled their promises. Of this account, there is no reason to reject so much as merely involves a common play of speech; the rest is not admitted as correct by Lodge; nor is it reconcileable with the dates

* Postscript appended to Budgel's Memoir. The assertion of the countess of Warwick goes farther still, "that he was a widower when his lady, by whom he had a numerous issue, was in her nurse's arms."

given by the earl himself, in the narrative already cited; as his first wife's death occurred in 1599, and his second marriage in 1603.

In March 12, 1606, he was sworn privy counsellor for the province of Munster; and on 15th February following, for all Ireland. After several other lesser advancements and changes, he was, on 6th September, 1616, created lord Boyle, baron of Youghall. Of this promotion, the reasons assigned are not merely those military services enumerated in most of the patents we have hitherto had occasion to notice. Boyle is commended for the judicious erection of forts and castles, and the establishment of colonies at his own cost, and it may be added, for his own great advantage, without questioning the further asseverations of the record, which proceeds to say, that all those districts surrounding his properties were, by his prudence and industry, become more civilized, wealthy, and obedient to the law.

In 1620, lord Boyle was advanced to the dignities of viscount Dungarvon, and earl of Cork.

In 1629, his lordship and lord chancellor Loftus were sworn lords-justices. In 1631, he was appointed lord-treasurer, and continued in the government till the arrival of lord Strafford.

Of lord Strafford we have already expressed our opinions; the principle of his general policy was just and comprehensive: but it must be allowed to have been harsh, unbending, and often unjust to individuals. If in the prosecution of his public aims, he was incorrupt and no respecter of persons; he was arrogant, domineering, and heedless of every consideration, by which more scrupulous minds are controlled. Such a disposition was, as we have endeavoured to show, not unsuited to the actual condition of the country, at the time; and had the irrespective principle of his policy been thoroughly maintained, there would have been less reason to complain. But this he found impracticable; and in yielding to influences and to circumstances which he could not control, his stern and overbearing temper became tyrannical to a party, and oppressive to individuals. In abandoning a portion of his extreme and rigorous course, he gave a triumph to the popular party, and diffused terror among its opponents. To the leaders of the protestant party, such a line of conduct could not fail to be offensive, as it was alarming: to these his hostility was early shown by the arrogance of his deportment to many of the most influential and distinguished of the Irish aristocracy. To the earl of Cork, his conduct was insolent, oppressive, and illegal. This earl had commenced a suit at law, to which Strafford thought fit to interpose his authority, and commanded that the earl of Cork should call in his writs, "or if you will not, I will clap you in the castle; for I tell you, I will not have my orders disputed by law nor lawyers," such was the intolerable mandate of this despotic minister. This incident derives some added importance from the fact, that not long after, when Strafford was tried for his life before the lords, it was brought forward against him; and the earl of Cork summoned over to England to give his testimony. The earl was a man unquestionably of a noble and manly nature; but generosity was not among the virtues of that day of rapine, intrigue, and political baseness; and it will perhaps be no wrong to him to say, that he must have felt, on that occasion, the triumph of his party, in

giving his testimony against the most formidable oppressor they had then had to encounter.

The rebellion broke out in 1641; and though long expected by every class, spread terror and dismay through the country; hatred, distrust, and terror, seized the public mind; havoc and desolation began their well-known progress, with far more than their wonted fury. But such had been the effect of the earl's care, skill, and liberality in the extensive plantations he had made, that the waves of popular frenzy were retarded in their approaches to the county of Cork. On this occasion he fortified his castle of Lismore, which he garrisoned with an hundred horse and an hundred foot, and placed under the charge of his son, lord Broghill. His son lord Kynalmeaky, he placed in the command of Bandon bridge, a town erected by himself, and of which the walling and fortifying cost him fourteen thousand pounds, where he maintained a hundred horse and four hundred foot. The earl himself, at the earnest entreaty of the lord-lieutenant, took upon him the defence of the important town of Youghall, which was the only retreat left for the protestants in that part of the kingdom. There the earl, with his son, lord Dungarvon, his troop of cavalry, and two hundred of his own tenants, took his dangerous position; which he thus describes in a letter to lord Goring, "encompassed with an innumerable company of enemies, and have neither men, money, or munition. We are now at the last gasp; and, therefore, if the state of England do not speedily supply us, we are all buried alive. The God of heaven guide the hearts of the house of parliament to send us speedy succours; for if they come not speedily they will come too late."* We here give another extract from the same letter, as it affords a very distinct view of the general alarm of that appalling time. "This came last night about midnight, from my son, Broghill, who hath the guard of my house at Lismore; whereby you will truly understand the great danger my son, house, and all that ever I had, in effect, is in; whom I beseech God to bless and defend; for the enemies are many, and he not above a hundred foot and threescore horse in my house to guard the same. All the English about us are fled, save such as have drawn themselves into castles, but are but few in effect, and they very fearful. All the natives that are papists, (the rest being few or none) are in open action and rebellion. Except the lord Barrimore, who behaves himself most loyally and valiantly. But alas! what is he with his forces amongst so many, when the whole kingdom is out."†

At this time Kilkenny had been taken without a blow by the rebel lord Mountgarret, and the countess of Ormonde made a prisoner in her husband's castle; Cashel and Ferrers had surrendered; the protestant inhabitants in all these towns were stripped and turned out naked by the captors, "in such a barbarous manner as is not to be believed."‡ Clonmel threw open her gates, "and let in the rebels to despoil the English," &c.

The earl soon made himself especially an object of attack by his vigilant and efficient activity and prudence. A letter, which he

* Letters of the Earl of Cork, among the State Letters of Roger Earl of Orrery.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

addressed to the speaker of the English house of commons, will not only give a just notion of the weakness of the enemy, but affords a strong confirmation of some remarks which we have already offered as to the cause. "Sir, I pray you give me leave to present unto yourself and that honourable house, that this great and general rebellion broke forth in October last, at the very instant I landed here out of England; and though it appeared first at Ulster, yet I (who am threescore and sixteen years of age, and have eaten the most part of my bread in Ireland, these four and fifty years) and by reason of my several employments and commands in the government of this province and kingdom, could not but apprehend that the infection and contagion was general and would by degrees quickly creep into this province as forthwith it did. And for that I found to my great grief, that by the courses the late earl of Strafford had taken, all, or the greatest part of the English and protestants in this province were deprived of their arms, and debarred from having any powder in their houses, and the king's magazines here being so weakly furnished, as in a manner they were empty; I without delay furnished all my castles in these two counties, with such ammunition as my poor armoury did afford, and sent £300 sterling into England to be bestowed on ammunition for myself and tenants," &c., &c.*

We shall here pass the further notices contained in this correspondence, of which we shall make further use hereafter. The earl lost his son, lord Kinalmeaky, in these wars; he was slain at the head of his troop in the battle of Liscarrol, in which three of his brothers were at the same time engaged, lord Dungarvon, and Broghill, and Francis Boyle.

In July, 1642, the earl was empowered and commissioned as Custos Rotulorum of the county of Cork, to hold quarter sessions for the trial of the rebels for high treason, at which eleven hundred were indicted.

The earl had, in the course of these two years, exhausted his means, and reduced himself to the lowest condition of distress, by his free and liberal contributions to the war. His estates were nevertheless the most thriving in the kingdom; his improvements were the most extensive, costly, and in their character the most well planned and public spirited; his churches, hospitals, schools, bridges, castles, and towns, would require pages to enumerate, so as to convey any adequate idea to the reader. Cromwell's remark is well known, and considering the speaker, conveys more than the most detailed enumeration. "That if there had been an earl of Cork in every province, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion."[†] A remark elicited by his astonishment on seeing the prodigious improvements effected by the earl in the county of Cork.

The earl did not long survive these troubles, or live to see the end of this long and disastrous war; he attained the mature age of 77, but his period may perhaps have been abridged by the fatigues, anxieties, and afflictions attendant on the last two years previous to his death. This event occurred in 1643, in the month of September, at Youghall. He was interred in his chapel within the parish church.

* State Letters, &c.

† Cox.

ROGER, EARL OF ORREERY.

BORN A. D. 1621.

THIS distinguished nobleman was the third son of Richard Boyle, the first earl of Cork, commemorated in the preceding pages. At the age of fifteen, we are informed, he entered the university of Dublin, from which he was in a few years sent by his father, to travel on the continent—then, when the means of acquiring a knowledge of the world from any means short of actual observation, were far less than in later times, the only resource for the accomplishment of a man of the world.

Under the care of a Mr Markham, he made the tour of France and Italy, and profited so much by the extended means of intercourse and communication thus afforded, that his appearance at the English court was greeted by general admiration and respect: nor was employment slow in following. The earl of Northumberland gave him the command of his own troop in the expedition against Scotland; while, by the interest of the earl of Strafford, whose regard is of itself a high testimony of desert, he was created baron Broghill, 28th February, 1627.

During his long sojourn in England, he married the lady Margaret Howard, sister to the earl of Suffolk; and with her arrived in Ireland on the opening of the troubles of 1641, and proceeded with his lady to his father's castle of Lismore, which they gained without any alarm, as the breaking out of rebellion was not yet known in Munster.

A few days after, he was invited by the earl of Barrymore, his brother-in-law, to dine at Castlelyons, where he met his father, the earl of Cork, lord Muskerry, and other neighbouring gentry. On this occasion it was that a messenger, arriving just before dinner, brought intelligence to the earl of Cork, that the Irish were in rebellion, and had taken possession of the entire country through which he had come. All scattered to their respective homes to prepare for defence, or to meditate the course they were to follow. The immediately succeeding events we have already told in more than one memoir, but more especially in that of the earl of Cork. In these lord Broghill bore his full share, and conducted himself so as to have acquired increased reputation for courage, sagacity, and military talent.

During the progress of the ensuing protracted struggle, in which, for a time, it became a question of difficulty to decide between the respective claims of the several parties who were contending in arms on the pretext of loyalty, or in the name of government, lord Broghill's straight-forward common sense easily disentangled him from the perplexity of a sanction, which, on the one side, was false and fraudulent; and on the other had lost its vitality. He readily saw that the king's authority could not be supported, that his cause was not maintained; and that, while his friends were compelled to keep up a vain struggle against every impediment, the rebels, who had assumed the pretext of his name, were overwhelming with imputation a cause for which

they had little solicitude: the better interests of the country would be meanwhile destroyed by a ruinous and wasteful continuation of a warfare, which was not decided by soldiers on the field, but by the rival plunderings, burnings, and devastations of those vast mobs, which, under the name of armies, acted the part of locusts. This hapless condition of the country was daily becoming more apparent, and its real consequences more clearly visible: the marquess of Ormonde, whose strong zeal, and firm will had throughout endeavoured to stem the rush of coming ruin, at last retired from a post which he had to the last moment of possibility held with strong fidelity; and the most devoted sacrifice of self. The parliament now sent over their commissioners to conduct the war. Of their power to crush rebellion, and restore the country to the repose which was become necessary to its existence, there could be no doubt: although to those who were most fully aware of the spirit in which they acted, it was perhaps known that they were in no hurry to effect such an object, nor likely to take any very effectual step until they should first have obtained the completion of their ends at home.

By lord Broghill, still a very young man, and not versed in the secret of their policy, it was naturally expected that as they had shown some desire to assume the control of the war in Ireland, that they would act with their known resource and vigour to reduce the country to quiet. Accordingly, lord Broghill, as well as many other of the royalist lords, acted for some time under the parliamentary commanders.

On the trial and execution of king Charles, the zealous loyalty of lord Broghill was too violently shocked to admit of compromise with his murderers, on any ground of expediency. He left the service, and abandoning the country, retired to Marston, his seat in Somersetshire, where he remained in quiet, and free from all public concerns, for some time.

At last, like every active-minded man, he grew weary of repose: he had also frequently reflected upon the heavy loss of his Irish estate; and probably, though with less reason, thought the time arrived when some effort in favour of the young king might be attended with success. By whatever motives he was actuated, he came to the decided resolution to see the King himself, and to obtain his commission to raise forces in Ireland in his behalf; and, as his biographer adds, "to recover his own estate." With this intent he raised as large a sum of money as he could command, and applied to the earl of Warwick, whose interest stood high, to obtain for him a passport to Spa, as he wished to go abroad for the benefit of his health.

Full of this intention, he went home to make the preparations necessary for his voyage; but he had not been many days there when he was somewhat startled by a visit from a strange gentleman who came from Cromwell, to say that he wished to visit lord Broghill, and desired to know when it would be most convenient to his lordship to receive him. Lord Broghill, in great surprise, at first expressed his opinion that there must be some mistake, as he was quite unknown to the lord-general, and had not for a long time been engaged in any public concern. Upon being convinced however that there could be no mistake, he returned a message that he would himself attend the general whenever he should desire. The gentleman retired, and lord Broghill was

left alone to consider what course would be most prudent to adopt—whether to await a further communication from a person whose acts were known to be so prompt and decided, or in the interval to proceed while yet free upon his way. He was not however allowed to decide for himself. He was yet wrapped in the perplexity of his situation, when his meditations were once more interrupted by the sudden entry of Cromwell. The lord-general then informed him, that “the committee of state were apprised of his design of going over and applying to Charles Stewart for a commission to raise forces in Ireland: and that they were determined to make an example of him, if he himself had not diverted them from that resolution.”* Lord Broghill was endeavouring to evade the necessity of admitting the accusation, and trying to impose on the general by protestations of a very general nature, when Cromwell drew from his pocket a parcel of papers, which he silently put into his hand: on looking at these lord Broghill was astonished to perceive that they were copies of his own letters to different persons to whom he had confided his purpose. On this, lord Broghill saw that it was useless any longer to persist in the attempt to baffle the general, and confessed the whole, thanking Cromwell for his protection. Cromwell assured him that though, till then, unacquainted with him personally, he was no stranger to the high reputation he had earned in the Irish wars; and that as he was himself now appointed by the parliament to command in Ireland, he had obtained leave from the committee to offer his lordship the command of a general, if he would serve in that war; “and that he should have no oaths or engagements imposed upon him, nor be obliged to draw his sword against any but Irish rebels.”† An instant’s consideration was perhaps enough to show lord Broghill that nothing could be more favourable to his own interest; nor, considering the actual state of affairs, could there be a more useful or honourable direction given to his activity and talent. Yet the sense of party feeling was to be overcome, and lord Broghill asked for time. Cromwell told him that he must decide at the moment, as the committee, which was yet sitting, awaited his return, and on hearing of lord Broghill’s hesitation, would instantly commit him to the Tower. Lord Broghill then gave way, and assured Cromwell that he would faithfully serve him against the Irish rebels. He was then desired to proceed to Bristol, and there await the troops which should follow, with transports sufficient to convey them across the channel. Cromwell assured him further, that he would himself speedily follow.

Lord Broghill followed these directions, and every thing having been quickly provided, according to Cromwell’s promise, he was soon once more in Ireland. Here his reputation was high, and he was quickly enabled to add materially to the few soldiers he had brought over: a troop of cavalry, entirely composed of gentlemen, and fifteen hundred well appointed infantry, enabled him to present a formidable appearance; till on the 15th August, 1649, Cromwell landed in Wexford, with an army of eight thousand foot and four thousand cavalry, two hundred thousand pounds in money, and an abundant store of all

* *Budgel’s Memoirs of the Boyle Family.*

† *Budgell.*

military materials; and thus commenced the *last* scene of this deep drama of blood.

The landing of Cromwell put an end to all hopes on the part of those who separated from the rebels as from the parliamentarians, had till then hoped, by winning over some of the more moderate, and availing themselves of that general desire for peace which was beginning to pervade the better classes, to be enabled to gain a party in favour of the king. By the appearance of Cromwell's army, such hopes were soon banished from the land with those who held them. The earl of Ormonde, still resolving to hold on to the last extremity, but having no resources left after the wreck of many brave and devoted efforts, now rested his last hope in the endeavour to protract matters for a time; in order to give discipline and confidence to his handful of men; he was not also without a hope that the strong parties, not more hostile to his cause than they were to each other, might in some degree balance and check others in the field, when a single blow might place no small advantage in his power. He justly considered that Drogheda would be likely to be the first object of Cromwell's attention, and prudently took measures to have it put in a defensible condition with the utmost haste. He committed it to Sir Arthur Aston, a most experienced and gallant officer, with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, all chosen men: he also supplied him with such provisions and ammunition as he desired. Having taken these precautions, the marquis retired to Portlester, to be in readiness for the event. It was generally expected that Drogheda would make a long and vigorous defence; and in the mean time lord Inchiquin was sent for to come from Munster to his aid. Before the message had reached its destination, Cromwell was before the walls of Drogheda.

This event occurred on the 3d September, 1649. He lay still before the town for a week—he had perhaps some expectation that the garrison might be terrified into a surrender; they on their part were far enough from fear, for Drogheda had hitherto baffled all attempts made during the last three years previous, and was thought by the Irish generally to be impregnable, unless by treachery or famine. On Sunday, the 9th of September, Cromwell sent in his summons, and on receiving Aston's refusal to surrender, opened his batteries upon the walls: from that moment a hot fire was kept up, till Tuesday at four in the afternoon, when a breach was made in St Mary's wall, which Cromwell judged sufficient for the purpose of an assault. His men were twice repulsed. The account which follows is in some degree hard to believe, but it stands upon authority* too creditable to be rejected. In the third assault, the brave soldiers who defended the town were disheartened by the fall of their leader, colonel Wall, who was killed fighting at their head. Seeing them waver, the soldiers of Cromwell assured them of quarter, and were thus admitted without further opposition. The same delusive proceeding was adopted while a single corner was to be won, and the appearance of the most humane forbearance kept up towards all who laid down their arms. But so soon as the town was secured, Cromwell was (it is affirmed,) told by Jones that

* Carte.

the flower of the Irish army was there, upon which he immediately commanded that no quarter should be given. On this a most dreadful massacre commenced, and continued while a soldier of the garrison remained. The soldiers of Cromwell are said to have shown great and manifest reluctance to execute the barbarous command; but the rigid and immovable temper of the lord-general was not one to be turned by the relentings of the multitude. The horror of this atrocious deed was increased, and its guilt aggravated, by the murder of the gallant Aston, the governor, with his officers. This frightful incident is described by the marquess of Ormonde, in a letter to the king, in which he writes, that "On this occasion Cromwell exceeded himself, and anything he had ever heard of, in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity; the cruelties exercised there for five days after the town was taken, would make as many several pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the book of Martyrs, or in the relation of Amboyna."* Nothing can justify the deed here related, but some reasonable deductions may be made on the consideration of time and place: at the time, Ireland had been, for an interval of eight years, the scene of every atrocious crime by which human history has ever been disgraced—the ordinary social state had become one of lawless and indiscriminate war, depredation, robbery, and murder, on every scale, and on every pretence; and though to a person, during that period, intimately conversant with the country, and versed in the complex relations of its party oppositions and affinities, it might have been possible to make just distinctions, and ascertain the precise limits of right and wrong; it is well known how in the neighbouring country report confuses and exaggerates: how misrepresentations on either side, meeting with indifferent ears, combine and blacken all with mutual accusations; and while it is easy and not unpleasant to those who are at a safe distance to believe the worst, the pleas of justice or of excuse are mostly too local, personal, or limited, in character, to find their way, or to win the indolent attention of those not personally interested. In England, the acts and sufferings of Ireland were heard as the uproar of a barbarous island drunk with an insupportable mania of murderous frenzy: and the vague horror of such an impression was heightened by the prejudices of political and religious animosity. Cromwell was too sagacious to be altogether deluded by the impression of popular ignorance, but it coloured his thoughts, and gave a direction to his policy, as regarded the affairs of a country to which but little of his mind had ever been given. It was his interest, no less than the task he had undertaken, to quell without delay the pertinacious and clinging element of destruction which must have seemed inextinguishably mixed with the very life-blood of the people. And as he perhaps was impressed with the sense, that languid operations and campaigns without result had been the main cause in protracting the state of war, in which the impunity of resistance had encouraged the aggregation of mob armies, and the reorganization of the defeated—he was not without some reason convinced of the necessity of proceeding by terror. To carry on a protracted war with the hosts of half-armed creaghts, who would scatter and reappear like mists,

* Carte.

while his resources were consuming, and flux and fever wasting away his force, were little consistent either with the probable pacification of Ireland, or his own ambitious projects. And though the course he took was an outrage upon humanity, it was not only effectual, but it may be doubted whether less rough means could have settled a country so thoroughly disorganized. The real effect of this cruel butchery upon the public mind was different from that which it would now produce on a humane age—the congenial spirit of O'Neile was rather impressed with the vigour and skill of the storm than by the atrocity of the succeeding day's work—he is represented to have sworn, "that if Cromwell had taken Drogheda by storm, if he should storm hell he would take that too!" Carte observes, that "this was certainly an execrable policy of the regicide, but it had the effect he proposed. It spread abroad the terror of his name—it cut off the best body of Irish troops, and disheartened the rest to such a degree that it was a greater loss in itself, and much more fatal in its consequences than the rout at Rathmines." To the same rough dealing Cromwell was not long after mainly indebted for his unimpeded march to Dublin, when obstacles sufficient to waste many months, and attended with numberless risks, were removed by the voluntary surrender of the towns and garrisons in his way. We must now return to lord Broghill. After Cromwell had proceeded south and obtained quiet possession of Cork, Kinsale, Bandon and Youghall, he sat down before Clonmel. Here Hugh O'Neile had collected 1200 chosen Ulster men, and as lord Fermoy was also known to have sent a large army of several thousand men to relieve this city, Cromwell detached lord Broghill to intercept them. Lord Broghill marched in quest of this enemy, and soon encountering a body of between four and five thousand men, he gave them a complete rout. The battle was hardly over when an express from Cromwell brought the information that he was in a most miserable condition before Clonmel, where his army was sinking under the bloody flux, and had in their exhausted condition met two severe repulses from the brave garrison. He therefore was enjoined to lose not a moment, but to lead his men to assist the lord-general in this pressing strait. Lord Broghill sent back word "that by the blessing of God he had just defeated the enemy, and would not fail to be with him in three days." He kept his word, and was received with acclamations by the besieging army; Cromwell embraced him and congratulated him upon his victory. With this reinforcement the siege was pressed on with fresh alacrity and the town was soon compelled to surrender. The garrison had been secretly withdrawn by O'Neile on the failure of provisions, and the citizens were allowed to surrender upon honourable terms.

Some time previous to the termination of the siege, which had lasted for two months, Cromwell had been recalled by the parliament, as the want of his presence was felt elsewhere. On the capitulation, he took his departure leaving Ireton as his deputy, and lord Broghill in command of a "flying camp in Munster." In this command the distinction he soon acquired was so great, and such was the general influence gained with all parties by his good sense, moderation and popular manners, that it soon became suspected that Ireton was either

envious of his reputation or doubtful of his fidelity. As these notions found tongues enough they were quickly conveyed to the ears of lord Broghill; he is indeed said to have received a letter from a Mr Lammas, who was Ireton's chaplain, advising him to take care of himself, for Ireton, notwithstanding his professions of friendship and letters of congratulation on his successes, had privately determined to destroy him. On this Mr Morrice, the authority for this statement, mentions that lord Broghill satisfied by so authoritative a warning, kept away from Ireton as long as he could; he was however under the necessity of joining him at Limerick.

The condition of the other party, if such an appellation is not inconsistent with its complex constituency, is at least characteristic of the people. While the storm that was to crush them was gradually rolling together over their heads, and the necessity of a resistance more systematic and concerted than was hitherto resorted to, was felt by every one, the efforts of Clanricarde and Castlehaven, were encumbered, retarded, and rendered inoperative, by the factious intrigues of those, who seemed more inclined to fight among themselves about questions, and play the old destructive game of civil intrigue—than to resist the common enemy. They were men who wrangled over a paltry game, while their leaky pinnacle was running into the whirlpool of destruction. Sir Charles Coote had taken Athlone and entered Connaught, and while the earl of Clanricarde was vainly endeavouring to collect an army to resist his progress, the archbishop of Armagh convened a synod, to receive father Anthony Geoghegan, who was arrived with instructions from the congregation *de Propaganda*, in Rome: their first decree was an order that no bishop should be admitted to sit in the general assembly, until he should be absolved from the nuncio's censures; they declared the duke of Lorraine protector of the kingdom, and with all the experience of ten years of social disorganization, yet impressed in traces of desolation on every side, they only thought of beginning again with the infatuation of 1642. Their immediate object was to revive the confederacy, and to this purpose their entire means, talents, and industry, were directed. Clanricarde at this time invested with the royal authority and the sole support against the parliamentary general, they considered as the great obstruction to their designs; and thus while they impeded all his efforts, they prepared for themselves and their miserable supporters the retribution that was to follow. The chief means by which this dissension was fatal, was by intriguing with the inferior leaders to induce them to desert their posts and break their appointments; so that when Clanricarde and Castlehaven had concerted the movements immediately necessary, and fixed upon the position essential for the counteraction of their opponent, the orders were not carried into execution, and their best concerted operations were always frustrated by some traitorous disappointment. Such is a summary of the obstacles to the efforts of the royalist party, previous to the siege of Limerick by Ireton: we now come to the particulars more immediately preceding that event.

It was the object of Ireton to pass the Shannon, in order to commence the meditated attack. Having failed in the attempt to build a bridge at Castleconnel, he was on his march to Athlone, the nearest

place where he could then hope to pass. To resist his progress Clanricarde had an army of 7,000 foot, and 1,800 horse, with which he intended to fight the parliamentary army. With this view he sent to Castlehaven, to join him at a pass where he hoped to meet and check its further advance. Castlehaven left the passes of Shannon guarded, and marched to the rendezvous: but after about three hours' march, a brisk report of continued firing came from the quarter he had left, and he was presently surprised to see approaching a troop of cavalry, which he had left as a guard at Brian's Bridge: they came on in the disorder of flight, though they were not pursued. On inquiry he now learned that the parliamentarians had come on the other side of the river, and sending a few boats of musketeers across, the castle of Brian's Bridge was treacherously betrayed to them by the captain who commanded. As lord Castlehaven hurried back to arrest this threatened passage, and recover the castle, news came of the further defection of the colonel to whom he had committed the pass at Killaloe, who with all his men had fled into Limerick. The effect of this intelligence was fatal: Castlehaven's army melted away in a few hours from 4,000 to 40 horsemen, with which he himself was constrained to make his way to the lord-deputy; who finding his weakness, and the entire inefficacy of the worthless army, on which he had relied too far, retreated: and Ireton was master of the Shannon.

There was now, therefore, no obstacle to the siege of Limerick, which he at once commenced: and while he conducted his operations with progressive regularity, there was within the walls no adequate sense of the danger. Clanricarde, with the devoted gallantry of his character, offered to take the command, and share the fortune of the city: he was refused, and Hugh O'Neile appointed governor, but without more than a nominal authority; the citizens, like the ecclesiastics, thought more of protecting their own interests and immunities, than of the common and imminent danger which was collecting round their walls. There was thus little command, and no pervading authority: a laxity of discipline favoured division of councils and the intrigues of private fear and self-interest. A free correspondence with the surrounding country, was permitted, and the enemy were not suffered to be perplexed by any want of full intelligence of the councils and condition of affairs within.

While the parliamentary troops lay round the walls, an account reached them, that lord Muskerry was approaching at the head of 4,000 men, to the relief of the city. To check his approach lord Broghill was detached with 600 foot, and 400 horse, and soon came in sight of his enemy. At first Muskerry contrived by his movements to impress the notion, that he had no design to approach Limerick, and lord Broghill contented himself with a close observation of his demonstrations. At last on the 22d June, towards evening, he received intelligence, that Muskerry had sent a detachment to seize on Castliskien, a strong place, directly on the way to Limerick. On this he ordered out his men, and about midnight, in the midst of a violent storm of rain and wind, attacked their camp, driving in the out-posts, and raising such consternation that the whole army made its escape on the opposite side, and was at some distance before morning, from

the place where it had encamped. Lord Broghill availed himself of this, by securing the way to Limerick, and then followed his enemy over the Blackwater, which they passed in the interval.

Lord Broghill soon found them drawn up to receive him, and divided his little party into three commands. Lord Muskerry's men took their ground with a degree of resolution and steadiness, then quite unusual among the Irish troops, a fact partly to be accounted for by the absence of their ordinary resources for retreat: as they generally contrived to meet their enemy on the edge of some great wood or morass, or near the defiles of some mountain pass. Lord Muskerry's men had likewise been animated by the paltry appearance of their antagonists, whom they easily surrounded: and evidently considered the victory in their hands. They offered lord Broghill quarter, who refused it for himself and his men; and a desperate fight commenced. Lord Broghill animated his men by his presence and example, and was the most exposed where danger was the hottest; at last there was a cry among the Irish, to "kill the fellow in the gold-laced coat," and a determined rush was made from which his lordship could hardly have escaped, but by the prompt aid of a lieutenant of his own troop, who, before he succeeded in disentangling his lordship from the press, received two shots in his body, and had his horse killed under him. The situation of the English was desperate, and they fought with desperation added to their wonted valour. The effect of this was soon felt among lord Muskerry's ranks, and they at last after sustaining a tremendous slaughter wavered, and gave way on every side, before the fury of the parliamentary force. Six hundred fell and numerous prisoners were taken.*

In the mean time, the citizens of Limerick were engaged in discussion on the expediency of a capitulation. On the 23d October a meeting was held in the Town House, by several officers and leading citizens, who agreed in favour of a treaty of surrender, and proposed to send commissioners next day to "*the rebels*." The bishops of Limerick and Emly came to the assembly and menaced them with excommunication, if they proceeded with a design which they characterised as delivering up their prelates to slaughter. The menace was disregarded—the excommunication with an interdict followed publicly, and had no effect. The citizens were eager (and wisely) to save themselves, and it had been throughout a matter of difficulty to repress the clamorous importunity of the people for surrender. Hugh O'Neile wished to hold out, but his power went no further than to set the watch, while the mayor kept the key.†

These dissensions seem to have risen to a dangerous height: colonel Fennel, who sided with the mayor, took possession of Johnsgate and Cluam Towers, and drove out the soldiers of O'Neile. O'Neile summoned him to a council of war: he refused to attend, and being supplied with ammunition by the mayor, he turned the cannon on the town, and declared that he would not leave his post until a surrender should be agreed to. To enforce this declaration, he admitted two hundred of Ireton's men, and a surrender was speedily settled, and

* Budgell. Borlase.

† Carte.

concluded on the 27th. Twenty-four persons were exempted from mercy. Of these, the bishop of Limerick escaped in a soldier's dress, and found his way to lord Muskerry: the bishop of Emly, Fennel who had been instrumental in letting in the enemy, the mayor, who gave up the keys, and most of the other excepted persons were hanged by Ireton's order.

A few days after Ireton died in Limerick; and the progress of the campaign was checked by uncertainty as to the officer who should take the command. We shall here follow lord Broghill's fortune, and leave the thread of Irish history to be taken up elsewhere. The king had landed in Scotland—a rising in his favour under the conduct of Lesley had been effected, and the command of the parliamentary troops had been transferred from Fairfax to Cromwell, who was sent against the Scots. By the subsequent progress of events, he arrived, as the reader knows, at the highest station in the kingdom; and, under the title of lord Protector, acquired a power beyond that of which his unfortunate predecessor had been deprived after ten years outpouring of English blood. Thus raised, Cromwell acted with a degree of wisdom and efficient vigour, which has gone far to counterbalance the means by which he attained his eminent position; and it must be regarded as a high testimony to lord Broghill's merit, that this profound and keen observer and judicious statesman, should have sent for him, as one on whose conduct, prudence, and valour, he relied; and, if true, the fact, mentioned by Budgell, confers no less distinction—that he took “visible pleasure” in the conversation of lord Broghill, Mr Waller, and Milton. Such is the testimony which makes lord Broghill the selection of the most judicious, and associates him with the greatest and noblest spirit of his age.

Nor was the preference of Cromwell such as terminates in favourable regard, as it is mentioned by all of his biographers, that lord Broghill was sent to Scotland as the fittest person to conciliate and suppress the rough government of general Monk. He felt great and natural reluctance to accept of this commission, but suffered himself to be persuaded, with a stipulation for his recall in one year. After which he remained in England, using his influence with Cromwell, so as to protect the royalists. One day Cromwell told him in a playful tone and manner, that an old friend of his was just come to town; and to lord Broghill's inquiry as to the person, informed him it was the marquess of Ormonde. On this, lord Broghill protested his ignorance of the fact, and was answered, “I know that well enough; however, if you have a mind to preserve your old acquaintance, let him know that I am not ignorant where he is, or what he is doing.” He then let him know the place where the marquess lodged; and lord Broghill lost no time in making the important communication to the marquess, who availed himself of it, to make his escape without delay.

Very shortly after, his lordship had an opportunity of standing between the same noble family and the suspicions of the lord protector. Cromwell received information that the marchioness of Ormonde, to whom his own conduct had been generous and considerate, was engaged in forwarding the plots of his opponents and enemies in London, where she lived under his protection, with an allowance of £2000 a-year

Lord Broghill denied the probability of such an accusation, on which Cromwell, who was then bitterly angry, threw him some letters, which he told him had been taken from her cabinet, and desired him to read. On looking at these, lord Broghill fortunately recognised the handwriting of the lady Isabella Thynne, between whom, and the marquess, there had been a correspondence of the kind suspected by Cromwell. When lord Broghill assured him that the letters were written by that lady, Cromwell demanded his proof. The demand was promptly met by the production of other letters from the same lady, "of whom," writes Budgell, "he told two or three stories so pleasant, as made Cromwell lose all his resentment in a hearty laugh."

It is mentioned by the same writer, that when Cromwell's parliament was about to pass some very severe resolutions against Clanricarde, lord Broghill interposed, and made statements so creditable to lord Clanricarde's character, that the resolutions were not brought to a vote.

The death of Oliver Cromwell was followed by the transient protectorship of his feeble son, Richard. The general respect which the strong character of his father had impressed, secured his unquestioned succession: the turbulent and heterogeneous composition of the government, army, and parliament—the unprincipled ambition of some, and the fanaticism of others, quickly made his seat uneasy. A few persons, who, by their rank and elevated principles of conduct, were alien from the party with which they moved; but who had, partly from necessity, partly from gratitude, partly too from a just sense of public expediency, served under the late protector, now continued faithful to his son, when the crowd, whose motive is ever sordid, was falling away from him. On his father's death, Richard Cromwell chose lord Broghill, Dr Wilkins and colonel Philips to be his advisers: and the position was one which brings into a strong light the tact and sagacity of this lord. At the first meeting of his parliament a military faction entered into one of those intrigues, which hitherto had been found successful as a means to enable a few soldiers to control the government, and dictate terms to parliament. All the fanatics, intriguers, and malcontents, rallied round Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambart and other general officers, and formed a cabal, which, from the place of Fleetwood's residence, where they daily met, was called the "cabal of Wallingford house:" they prevailed on the protector to sanction their meeting as a general council, to inquire into the grievances of the army, and petition for their redress. They were no sooner met than they voted a "remonstrance," in which they lamented the neglect of the "good old cause," for which the army had fought and bled; and proposed that the military power of the kingdom should be vested in some person whom they could trust.

Richard Cromwell's friends were alarmed, they were all with one exception peaceful men, whose habits unfitted them to cope with such spirits; but Broghill was more than equal to the emergency. Having asked the fear-struck protector whether he had really consented to the meeting; Richard replied that he had. "I fear," said Broghill, "that

• Budgell.

your highness will soon repent it." The protector answered that he hoped his lordship would do what he could to prevent the mischief; to this Broghill simply answered, "that as a general officer, he had a right to be present, and would see what they were doing." He at the same time turned to lord Howard and Falconbridge, who were present, and expressed his expectation of their assistance, which "they faithfully promised." On the meeting of the military council, these lords, with lord Broghill, repaired to Wallingford house, where they found five hundred officers assembled. After a prayer from Dr Owen, Desborough made a long speech, in which, among other topics of the same nature, he expressed his apprehensions of the departure of their prosperity, from the circumstance that many "*sons of Belial*" had latterly been creeping in among them. To remedy this, he proposed "to purge the army:" as the most expedient method by which this might be effected, he advised a test oath, by which every one in the army should swear that "he did believe in his conscience, that the putting to death of the late king Charles Stewart was lawful and just." This proposal was received with a loud tumult of approbation; and the whole assembly seemed so eager to have it adopted, that lords Howard and Falconbridge, considering themselves a miserable minority to outface five hundred persons, got up and went to give the protector a sad account of this affair. But when the assembly became silent, lord Broghill rose and declared his dissent from the last speaker; he said, that "he was against the imposition of a test upon the army, as a grievance of which they had felt the effects, and against which they had repeatedly declared. That if they once began to put tests upon themselves, they would soon have them put upon them by others, and there would be an end to that liberty of conscience for which they had so often fought. To the particular test proposed, he objected, that it was unjust and unreasonable to require men to swear to the lawfulness of an action, the circumstances of which they were unacquainted with. If, however, they would persist in desiring a test to purge the army, he had as good a right to propose a test as any one, and would take the liberty to offer one, which he hoped would be more reasonable than that proposed by the noble lord who went before him. He then proposed, that any one should be turned out of the army, who would not swear to defend the established government under the protector and the parliament." Among other arguments for this, he told them, that "if that test should have the ill-fortune to be rejected in that council, he would move it the next day in the house of commons, where he was confident, it would meet with a better reception." This proposal was yet more warmly received than the former; and, while the assembly was yet in a state of noise and confusion, Broghill found his way to another place between two very influential persons, colonels Whalley and Gough, two "hot men," and persuaded them to take the same part, which each of them did. In the mean time, Fleetwood and Desborough, with some of their friends, retired to consult; and having returned, declared that they had not before considered all the disadvantages of tests, but they were now convinced so fully by the arguments of lord Broghill, that they proposed to have both the tests withdrawn. Lord Broghill consented, and the blow was parried for the

time. Lord Broghill then represented to the protector, whom he found in consternation, from the account of lords Howard and Falconbridge, that this council would infallibly do mischief if they should be suffered to hold their sittings. He advised their immediate dissolution. Richard Cromwell acceded, but desired to know how this was to be managed. Lord Broghill proposed to draw up a short speech for him, which he was to deliver next day after sitting among them for an hour. This being agreed to, Broghill prepared the speech, and at ten next morning, Richard Cromwell astonished the council by his unexpected appearance; and, having taken his seat in a chair of state, he sat for an hour listening to their debate. He then rose up, and addressed them as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—I thankfully accept of your services. I have considered your grievances; and think the properest method to redress what is amiss amongst you is to do it in the parliament now sitting, and where I will take care that you shall have justice done you. I therefore declare my commission for holding this assembly to be void; and that this general council is now dissolved; and I desire, that such of you as are not members of parliament, will repair forthwith to your respective commands."

This speech produced the intended effect of disconcerting the conspirators, and frustrating their immediate design. But they were at no loss to conjecture the source from which the blow proceeded, and their anger against lord Broghill was vehement. They immediately endeavoured to excite the irritation of that weathercock machine of democratic impulse, a republican house of commons. Some one of them the next day moved, that "an address should be presented to his highness the protector, to know who had advised him to dissolve the council of war, without the consent or knowledge of his parliament." On this, Budgell says, it is hard to credit such absurdities, that some of lord Broghill's friends advised him to retire. Lord Broghill sat still until his enemies had made their speeches, and then addressed the speaker to this effect:—"I am not against presenting this address; but humbly move, that another may be presented to the protector at the same time, to know who advised the calling of a general council of officers, without the consent or knowledge of the parliament; for surely that man is guilty, who durst advise his highness to call such a council, without either the knowledge or consent of his parliament."

Now the majority of those present, not belonging to the military council, were ready to take alarm at the overbearing demonstrations of a power, of which, the effect had been repeatedly felt by this very parliament. The speech of lord Broghill at once called up this general sense to his rescue; it was a well-timed appeal both to the fear and pride of the commons; it was warmly received and the faction of Fleetwood was again discomfited. But though the council of officers had been thus dissolved, they continued to hold private meetings and to concentrate the power which they held in their hands. It was evident that their designs were not to be defeated by votes and the forms of civil authority; lord Broghill and those who acted with him, apprized the protector of the danger of his position, and expressed their opinion that nothing could save him, but the same vigorous and direct recourse to

strong measures which always characterized the policy and ensured the success of his father. They volunteered to act for him, and pledged themselves to the success of the course they recommended. But Richard Cromwell was mild, amiable and averse from all harsh and violent proceedings, he felt himself to be unequal to the dangers and difficulties, and to the cruel and arbitrary resources necessary in such contests, and he recoiled from the suggestions of his firm and spirited advisers. "He thanked them for their friendship, but he had neither done nor would do any person any harm, and rather than a drop of blood should be spilt on his account, he would lay down that greatness which was but a burthen to him."

From this his friends came to the conclusion that he could not be supported with any success, or to any useful end. They remitted in their efforts and consulted their own interests. Lord Broghill repaired to Munster, of which at that time, he was president; on his way he had to encounter the ambushes and snares of Fleetwood and Desborough, who would willingly be freed from the risk of again having to encounter one so able and so honest. It was at this time that lord Broghill came to the resolution to exert himself for the restoration of the royal family. It had indeed become plain to every observant and considerate mind, that it was the last resource against the utter dissolution of all civil order in the clash of parties, of whom none looked beyond the object of private interest, pursued by means inconsistent with any settled state of things, or any respect to constitutional rights. With this impression lord Broghill retired to Ireland, to act as occasion might offer means: he was pursued by the suspicion of his enemies. Acting with an energy which the feeble Richard Cromwell was quite unequal to resist, his military tyrants now compelled him to dissolve the parliament, and took the reins of power into their own hands. He signed his abdication, they restored the *long parliament*, and the country was at their mercy. To Ireland, they sent their commissioners and gave them a special charge to have "a particular eye to lord Broghill, and if possible to take some means to confine him." In pursuance of this, these officials sent a summons to lord Broghill, to appear before them in the castle of Dublin. He consulted his friends, and was by them advised not to place himself in the power of his enemies. He however, determined to outface them, for the refusal would be equivalent to a direct defiance, which he did not yet consider himself able to maintain, as alone it could be maintained, by a demonstration of military resistance. He therefore took his own troop and repaired to Dublin; and on his arrival, leaving his men without the town he presented himself before the commissioners. They told him that the state had been induced to suspect that he had designs against their government, and had given them directions to confine him, unless he could give sufficient security for his peaceable conduct. Lord Broghill demanded what security they desired; they proposed that he should enter into an engagement under penalty of estate and life, that there should be no commotion in Munster; he asked for time to consider, it was refused; he then desired to be satisfied on one point, "if they intended to put the whole power of Munster into his hands, if such was their intention he was ready to enter into the en-

gement they required, if not he must appeal to the world on the cruelty and unreasonableness of expecting, that he would answer for people over whom he had no control." The commissioners were embarrassed and ordered him to withdraw, and had a long discussion as to the most expedient proceeding; one of them, who was the lord chancellor of Ireland, declared that "even the honest party in Ireland would think it hard to see a man clapped up in prison who had done such signal service to the protestants; but that on the other hand, he could never consent to an increase of lord Broghill's power, which the state was apprehensive might be one day employed against them. He for these reasons proposed, that they for the present should not take any steps but contrive to send lord Broghill in good humour back to his command, to continue there till they should be further instructed." The board agreed—lord Broghill was called in, received with compliments and smiles, and invited to dine with the commissioners, whom he understood very well and repaid in their own coin.

Returning to Munster he proceeded steadily in the prosecution of his design; first securing his own officers, he also made a friend and confederate of the governor of Limerick where there was a garrison of 2000 men, and having secured Munster, he opened a communication with Sir C. Coote, who engaged in the same undertaking with an ardour which demanded all the restraint which could be exercised, by his more cool and cautious ally. Their efforts were soon successful beyond expectation; the country had long been ripe for the desired change. Wearied with the continuation of a series of contests for power and gain which appeared interminable, as one party succeeded the other with the same objects, and as little regard for any consideration divine or human, but the fear, revenge and cupidity which were the common spirit of every side.

Lord Broghill sent lord Shannon to the king to invite him over to Ireland, assuring him of a force sufficient to protect him against his enemies. But Charles had at the same time reason to hope for a similar invitation from England.

The activity of Coote had excited the notice of the commissioners, and finding that he could no longer proceed in secret, he urged lord Broghill to an open course, Broghill reluctantly consented, he had indeed no choice. His confederate was acting with a vigour which quickly produced extraordinary changes: having seized Galway, Coote surprised Athlone, marched to Dublin and impeached Ludlow. While the spirited example diffusing a general excitement, the royalists seized Youghal, Clonmel, Carlow, Limerick and Drogheda.

The magistracy of Dublin now acted their part and called a Convention, which met and held its deliberations in defiance of an order from the English council of state. The members of this assembly declared their abhorrence of the proceedings of the high court of justice, and of the late king's murder. They secured the payment of the army and declared for a "free parliament;" a phrase then universally understood to imply the restoration of the royal family, for such was known to be the universal sense. The English parliament were this time compelled to confine their attention to the desperate effort of self-

preservation; after a few last efforts they recalled their agents; and the king was soon proclaimed in Ireland.

Lord Broghill met with a cold reception from the king. He suspected that he had been injured by Coote, and to counteract the impression which he thought to have been made upon the king by the misrepresentations of a rival, he sent his brother lord Shannon with a letter of Coote's, containing an acknowledgment, that it was at his instance that he first entered on the design of declaring for the king and parliament. This lord Shannon contrived to show to his majesty, and it had the effect desired. Lord Broghill was soon after created earl of Orrery, made one of the lords-justices in Ireland and president of Munster.

We have now to conclude with some notice of the literary productions, which would entitle this nobleman to a place in a different section of this work, if his far more eminent qualities as a soldier and a statesman, did not place him among the most eminent political characters of his own time. When the political state of the two kingdoms at last subsided into that repose so much and so long desired, the activity of the earl of Orrery's spirit no longer exercised in the field and council, found its occupation in the pursuits of literature; or as one of his biographers describes this change of employment, "finding that there was no longer any occasion for his sword, resolved to employ his wit and learning for the diversion and amusement of his royal master."* The first results of this new turn of the earl's loyalty were his plays, which we must admit owed their eminent success to the exceedingly depraved state of literature and literary taste in the time of Charles II. They were received with a degree of applause which might be appealed to as a test of merit, but which when justly appreciated only shows the absurdity of such a test; and their court favour was no less than their public success. Of this it is mentioned as a proof that in his play of Henry V., "Mr Harris who acted as king, was drest in the duke of York's coronation suit; Mr Betterton who played Owen Tudor, in king Charles's, and Lilliston who represented the duke of Burgundy, in the lord Oxford's."†

He wrote many poems, of which the composition may be described as poor and inartificial, though the thoughts display the moral elevation of the writers mind. We here extract a portion of one upon the death of Cowley, for whom the earl entertained a high regard.

"Our wit, till Cowley did its lustre raise,
May be resembled to the first three days;
In which did shine only such streaks of light,
As served but to distinguish day from night.
But wit breaks forth in all that he has done,
Like light, when 'twas united to the sun.
The poets formerly did lie in wait
To rife those whom they would imitate;
We watch'd to rob all strangers when they writ,
And learned their language, but to steal their wit;

* Budgell's Memoir.

† Budgell.

He, from that need his country does redeem,
 Since those who want, may be supplied by him;
 And foreign nations now may borrow more
 From Cowley, than we could from them before—
 Who, though he condescended to admit
 The Greeks and Romans for his guides in wit,
 Yet he those ancient poets does pursue,
 But as the Spaniards great Columbus do;
 He taught them first to the new world to steer,
 But they possess all that is precious there.
 When first his spring of wit began to flow,
 It raised in some, wonder and sorrow too;
 That God had so much wit and knowledge lent,
 And that they were not in his praises spent:
 But those who in his dauidic look,
 Find they his blossoms for his fruit mistook.
 In differing ages different muses shin'd;
 His green did charm the sense his ripe the mind.
 Writing for heaven, he was inspired from thence,
 And from his theme derived his influence.
 The scriptures will no more the wicked fright,
 His muse does make religion a delight.
 Oh! how severely man is us'd by fate!
 The covetous toil long for an estate;
 And having got more than their life can spend,
 They may bequeath it to a son or friend:
 But learning (in which none can have a share,
 Unless they climb to it by time and care;)
 Learning, the truest wealth a man can have,
 Does with the body perish in the grave:
 To tenements of clay it is confined,
 Though 'tis the noblest purchase of the mind:
 Oh! why can we thus leave our friend possess'd
 Of all our acquisitions but the best!
 Still when we study Cowley, we lament,
 That to the world he was no longer lent;
 Who, like a lightning to our eyes was shown,
 So bright he shined, and was so quickly gone:
 Sure he rejoiced to see his flame expire,
 Since he himself could not have raised it higher,
 For when wise poets can no higher fly,
 They would, like saints, in their perfections die.
 Though beauty some affection in him bred,
 Yet only sacred learning he wou'd wed;
 By which th' illustrious offspring of his brain
 Shall over wit's great empire ever reign:
 His works shall live, when pyramids of pride
 Shrink to such ashes as they long did hide."

His lordship's leisure at the end of a life of busy political labour, appears indeed to have been more productive of great and varied efforts of literature than the whole lives of most writers, and lead us to infer that if he had lived in a later age when the education of public men became more elaborate and extended, his genius would have displayed itself to advantage in some more congenial labours than those elaborate specimens of an art which, to ensure any result of standard value, demand a more peculiar combination of powers than are required for the ordinary toils of either cabinet or camp. Besides the produc-

tions which we have already noticed, the earl composed the romance of "Parthenissa," in six parts, dedicated to Henrietta Maria Duchess of Orleans. We extract the opening of this dedication which is characteristic of the writer and of his time.

"Madam,—When I had last the honour to wait on your royal highness, you ordered me to write another part of Parthenissa, and you gave me leave at the same time to dedicate it to you. Only your commands, madam, could have made me undertake that work; and only your permission could have given me this confidence. But since your royal highness appointed me to obey, it was proportionate to your goodness to protect me in my obedience, which this dedication will, for all my faults, in this book, cannot be so great as his, who shall condemn what has been written for you, and is by your own allowance addressed to you."

The earl of Orrery also wrote a treatise on the art of war, in which he displayed much acquaintance with the ancient writers on that art. He wrote a reply to "a scandalous letter lately printed and subscribed by Peter Welch, procurator for the secular and regular priests of Ireland," and lastly "poems on most of the festives of the church." The preface to this latter little work merits attention. "God of his abundant mercy, having convinced me how much precious time I had cast away on airy verses, I resolved to take a final leave of that sort of poetry; and in some degree, to repair the unhappiness and fault of what was past, to dedicate my muse in the future entirely to sacred subjects."

He is mentioned to have mostly written his poetry while confined by fits of gout; on which Dryden's compliment has been preserved: "like the priestess of Apollo, he delivered his oracles always in torment; and that the world was obliged to his misery for their delight."

Lord Broghill is known also to be the writer of the act of settlement which soon after passed. This we shall have again to notice, when we come to detail the events of Irish history after the restoration.

He continued to obtain the respect of the country and the favour of the court; and was so esteemed for his superior sagacity and knowledge of affairs, as to be almost uniformly consulted on every occasion of moment by the king. His time was divided between his presidency and London, where he attended both as a peer of parliament and a member of the council.

He died 16th October, 1679, leaving a high character as a soldier, a statesman and a writer. Among the prominent peculiarities noticeable in the history of his life, the extraordinary combination of readiness and self-possession which so often extricated him from difficult emergencies in which most persons would have been lost, must have repeatedly attracted the reader's notice. His personal appearance is thus described: "his person was of a middle size well shaped and comely, his eyes had that life and quickness in them which is usually the sign of great and uncommon parts. His wit rendered his conversation highly entertaining and amusing."*

* Budgell.

THE DE BURGOS.

RICHARD, FOURTH EARL OF CLANRICARDE.

IN the preceding volume, pages 256—265, the account of this ancient and illustrious family is brought down to Richard, second earl of Clanricarde, of the branch which preserved the original name and English connection. The subject of the present memoir first entitled himself to the notice of government by conduct which indicates his loyalty and good sense. His father having declared himself for the earl of Tyrone, he repaired at once to England,* by which he not only constrained his father's conduct, but extricated himself from the suspicions which it would otherwise be hard to escape, without taking some course at variance with his duty to his father. In 1599, he was appointed governor of Connaught. But the most distinguishing incident of his career is to be found in the history of the battle of Kinsale, fought in 1601, between the English under lord Mountjoy, and the confederate forces of O'Neil and O'Donell.† In our account of this battle we have already had to mention that he conducted himself with extraordinary valour, and by achievements of personal prowess, earned the distinction of being knighted upon the field of battle. In this battle he is said to have slain twenty of the enemy, and to have had numerous remarkable escapes, "his garments being often pierced with shot and other weapons."

In consequence of this, and other services in the same war, king James appointed him governor of Connaught, keeper of his house at Athlone, and one of the privy council. The continuation of this memoir could offer nothing more than successive appointments, now of no historical importance or personal interest. In 1615 he refused the presidency of Munster, on the excuse of a long illness, and the king, from a consideration of his valuable services in that province, appointed him to the command of the county and city of Galway.

In 1624 he was advanced to the English peerage, under the title of baron Somerhill, and viscount Tunbridge; and in a few years after, Charles I. conferred the title of baron of Imany, viscount Galway, and earl of St. Albans. He took his place by proxy in the English house of lords, in 1635, but died the same year. Lodge, from whose peerage we have collected these particulars, quotes the following extract from Strafford's letters:—"This last packet advertised the death of the earl of St. Albans, and that it is reported that my hard usage broke his heart; God and your majesty know my innocence; they might as well have imputed to me for a crime his being three-score and ten years old; but these calumnies must not stay me humbly to offer to your majesty's wisdom this fit opportunity, that as that canted government of Galway began, so it may end in his lordship's person."

This nobleman was married to the daughter and heir of Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to queen Elizabeth: she was the widow

* Moryson.

† Ibid.

of Sir Philip Sidney, and again of the unfortunate earl of Essex; by her third husband, the earl of Clanricarde, she had one son, Ulick de Burgh, the next earl, whose actions and public character will also claim a place among our illustrious men.

ULICK, FIFTH EARL OF CLANRICARDE

DIED A. D. 1657.

THIS earl was in great favour with the unfortunate Charles I., to whom he had a strong personal attachment. In the summer of 1641 he came over to his seat at Portumna, and on the breaking out of the rebellion took the most active steps for its suppression, and for the counteraction of its effects. Being governor of Galway, his official powers and personal influence were rendered effective, and commanded a high ascendancy in that fearful period. The English knew him to enjoy the favour and confidence of the king, and the Irish looked to him as their friend and chief, to which rank he was entitled by his extensive possessions. He summoned all who held lands of the king to be ready to take arms. He summoned an assembly at Loughrea; and so restored the confidence of the proprietors that they agreed to raise a considerable force. The lords-justices, to whom he applied, were of the puritan party, and refused their co-operation. The course they took was to disarm the loyal nobility of the pale, and thus drove many into the rebel party. By the active instrumentality of the earl of Clanricarde and of the Lord Ranelagh, the president, Connaught had been kept tolerably quiet. The earl strengthened the fort of Galway, personally inspected every armament and post of defence, animated the loyal and reassured the wavering. But the disaffection of the pale rapidly spread—insurgents from the surrounding districts flowed fast in, harassing and endangering the peaceable inhabitants of the province. At length the town of Galway became infected by the widely-spreading disorder. Alarms and terrors combined with discontents began to produce their usual effects upon the fickle multitude; and under pretext of ill-treatment from the governor, they besieged the fort and reduced the garrison to extreme distress. The earl, on hearing of their extremity, rapidly collected a small force and hastened to their assistance. But though utterly unable with his handful of men to cope with the assailants, he subdued them by that moral energy of character for which he was so remarkable, and compelled them to suspend hostilities and come into terms, until the king's pleasure should be known, promising in the meantime that the town should be taken under his majesty's protection. The best effects seemed likely to follow upon this occurrence, and Lord Clanricarde was successfully exerting his pacific influence over the minds of the people, and gradually bringing them back to their allegiance, when the lords-justices, already calculating on the forfeitures to be obtained, expressed their extreme disapproval of the protection granted to Galway, and peremptorily commanded the earl to receive no more submissions. They also directed the governors of forts and other commanders, to enter into no terms with the

rebels, but to exterminate them, and all who should harbour them, with fire and sword. The insurgents grew desperate, and besieged the lord-president in the city of Athlone, where he was at length relieved by the earl of Ormonde. Clanricarde, though justly irritated at the conduct of the Irish government, remained unshaken in his loyalty, and still continued his zealous and efficient exertions for the re-establishment of tranquillity. Towards the latter end of this year a convention was held at Kilkenny by the chief portion of the Roman catholic nobility, prelates, and clergy, in which they professed their allegiance to the king (while they violated his authority and prerogative,) and their intention of being guided by the laws of England, and the statutes of Ireland, as far as they were not inconsistent with the Roman catholic religion. They enacted many laws and regulations, and when the order of government had been adjusted they selected their provincial generals. Now that the rebellion had taken a more specious and civilized form, and that the lords-justices had made themselves so obnoxious to all the high-minded and loyally-disposed, they hoped to gain over lord Clanricarde to their standard, particularly as the maintenance of the Roman catholic faith was one of their chief and most ostensible objects. They accordingly nominated him to the chief command in Connaught, and appointed colonel John Burke as his lieutenant-general. No inducement, however, or specious representation could alter lord Clanricarde's determination; he rejected all their overtures, scorned their sophistical arguments, and with unshaken loyalty adhered to the broken fortunes of his master, notwithstanding the threats and excommunication of his own clergy, which they resorted to as a last resource. When lord Ranelagh the president of Connaught quitted his government in despair, intending to lay before Charles the ruinous and faithless conduct of his justices, Clanricarde still continued at his post, though abandoned to his difficulties and his best acts maligned. Lord Ranelagh was seized immediately on arriving in Dublin, and put into close confinement, so that even the faint hope the earl might have entertained of receiving succour from the king's supporters was dissipated. As the position of the king's affairs became more desperate in England, he was proportionally anxious to bring the rebellion in Ireland to a termination, and expressed his willingness to receive and consider the complaints of the recusants. He accordingly issued a commission under the great seal of England, to the marquess of Ormonde, the earl of Clanricarde, the earl of Roscommon, viscount Moore, and others, to meet the principal recusants and transmit their complaints; to the bringing about of this arrangement the lords-justices opposed every obstacle. It was however at length effected, and the recall of Sir William Parsons followed, on the exposure of his iniquities. The province of Connaught was nearly reduced to desperation, the rebels were every day increasing in numbers, and were possessed of many of the most important forts. Lord Clanricarde's towns of Loughrea and Portumna, were all that in the western province remained in the possession of the royalists. About this period the marquess of Ormonde concluded a treaty with the insurgents for the cessation of arms for a year, to which lord Clanricarde and several other noblemen were parties. In 1644 he was made commander-in-chief of the military

in Connaught, under the marquess of Ormonde, and in the same year he was promoted to the dignity of marquess, with limitation to his issue male. He was also made a member of the privy council, and zealously exerted his increased influence and power for the benefit and tranquillization of the country. An attempt was made during the campaign of Cromwell to recover Ulster from the parliamentary army, by a conjunction of the northern Irish with the British royalists of this province, under the command of the marquess of Clanricarde; this however was defeated by the intrigues of lord Antrim, and the Irish refusing to follow any leader but one of their own selection. During the long and factious struggle of the Roman catholic prelates with lord Ormonde, Clanricarde marched with his forces to oppose the progress of Ireton and Sir Charles Coote towards Athlone, when the sentence of excommunication was published at the head of his troops, so as to discharge them from all obedience to the government. No representations of the moderate party could induce those haughty prelates to revoke the sentence of excommunication, and all that could be obtained from them was a suspension of it during the expedition for the relief of Athlone. When at length their insolent and obstinate resistance drove Ormonde from the kingdom, he appointed Clanricarde as his deputy with directions to act as circumstances and his own judgment should direct. Had Clanricarde consulted his own interest or safety he would never have undertaken so thankless and dangerous a responsibility; but his was too noble a nature to let personal considerations weigh for a moment against a sense of duty, and his zealous and devoted attachment to the king made him anxious to preserve even the semblance of his authority in Ireland; and he also thought that by continuing the war even at disadvantage in that country, he might in some degree divert the republican army from concentrating their forces against the king and the English royalists. Clanricarde accordingly accepted the office, but had to encounter a difficulty in the very outset, in getting the instrument which was to bind both parties, drawn with sufficient simplicity to prevent its covering dangerous and doubtful meanings. The Roman catholics had now a chief governor of their own religion, and Ireton was disappointed in his advance upon Limerick, so that the Irish, still possessing that city, Galway and Sligo could have made a good stand against the republicans. Ireton made propositions through his agents to the assembly to treat with the parliament, and the fatal influence exerted by the nuncio still predominated and induced the clergy to listen favourably to these proposals. Clanricarde indignantly represented the treachery and baseness of such conduct, and the leading members of the assembly joined in expressing the same sentiments, saying, "it is now evident that these churchmen have not been transported to such excesses by a prejudice to the marquess of Ormonde, or a zeal for their religion, their purpose is to withdraw themselves entirely from the royal authority. It is the king and his government which are the real objects of their aversion, but these we will defend at every hazard; and when a submission to the enemy can be no longer deferred, we shall not think it necessary to make any stipulations in favour of the secret enemies of our cause. Let those men who oppose the royal authority be excluded from the benefits of

our treaty." The clergy, little accustomed to such language, at length submitted, and the treaty was rejected. They still, however, retained their hatred to Clanricarde, and held secret and seditious conferences.

The success of the republicans daily increased, but still Clanricarde, with desperate fidelity, adhered to the royal cause, and aided by some Ulster forces, took the castles of Ballyshannon and Donegal. At length, on the dispersion of his troops and the total exhaustion of his own resources, he yielded to the stern necessity of his position, and accepted conditions from the republicans.

His Irish estate, of £29,000 a-year, was sequestered, and he retired to Summerhill, in Kent, where he died in 1657. He married early in life the lady Ann Compton, daughter of the earl of Northampton, and by her had one daughter, who married Charles, Viscount Muskerry.

THE BUTLERS.

JAMES, DUKE OF ORMONDE.

BORN A. D. 1607—DIED A. D. 1688.

THOMAS, the tenth earl of Ormonde, who was among the most illustrious warriors and statesmen of the sixteenth century, was yet living in the next at an extreme old age, at his house on Carrick-on-Suir, where he died in his 88th year, in 1614. As he had no male heir his estates were limited to Sir Walter Butler of Kilcash, his nephew, and grandson to the ninth earl. Sir Walter's eldest son Thomas, by courtesy lord Thurles was drowned 15th December, 1619, near the Skerries, in his passage from England, twelve years before his father's death. By his lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Pointz of Acton, in the county of Gloucester, he left seven children, of whom James the eldest is the subject of the following memoir.

This distinguished statesman is said by Carte to have been born at Clerkenwell in London in 1610, but Archdall shows from the unquestionable evidence of an inquisition taken at Clonmell, April, 1622, before the king's commissioners and twelve gentlemen of the county of Tipperary, that his birth took place in 1607. The words of the inquisition are "*Predictus Thomas vicecomes Thurles, 15th die Decembris, anno dom., 1619, obiit et quidam Jacobus Butler, communiter vocatus dominus vicecomes Thurles, fuit filius et hæres præfati Thomæ Butler, et quod præfatus Jacobus Butler, tempore mortis prædicti Thomæ fuit ætatis duodecim annorum, et non amplius.*" Carte refers to the difference of date thus maintained, but mentions that he never obtained a sight of the inquisition, and therefore considers it insufficient ground for rejecting the duke's own statement, which makes it 1610.

At the period of his birth his father was under the displeasure of Sir Walter Butler for having married contrary to his wish. And when he went with his lady into Ireland, they lived for some time in the

county of Cork at the house of Mr Anthony Southwell; but their first born, James, was left with his nurse, who was a carpenter's wife at Hatfield.

In 1613 they sent for him, and his first voyage at this early age, and at a time when travelling was more tedious and liable to casualties than is now easily appreciated, made an indelible impression on his memory. He was often afterwards heard in the last years of his life, to allude to his recollection of being carried over the bridge at Bristol, and of the varied new sights which attracted his childish notice.

His grandfather's resentment had by this time passed, and the old earl his great-granduncle was desirous to see a descendant who was to be the future representative of his honours. And the duke often mentioned his recollection of this ancestor, then a blind old man, having a long beard and wearing his George about his neck whether he "sat up in his chair or lay down in his bed." He remained while in Ireland with his grandfather at Carrick-on-Suir, until 1620 the year after his father's death; he was then removed by his mother to England, and received by courtesy, the title of viscount Thurles. He was then, according to his own statement, nine years of age, and was placed at school with a Roman catholic named Conyers, at Finchley near Barnet.* This arrangement was not long allowed to continue. King James who considered that the principles of the rising generation would constitute a most important element in the plans on which his mind was then intent, the furtherance of the reformation and the improvement of Ireland, had made some rather arbitrary stretches to secure this important point. By some manœuvre of Sir W. Parsons the wardship of lord Thurles became vested in the crown upon his father's death, although he inherited no lands the tenure of which involved this consequence.

The king equally apprehensive of the family and kindred, as well as the schoolmaster, all Roman catholics, removed the young nobleman from Finchley and gave him in charge to Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom his education, as well as that of other youths committed to his charge, was much neglected. Carte who mentions these particulars, observes that his writings afterwards were such as to show that their great excellence both as to matter and method, were rather due to the force of his clear and vigorous understanding than to early cultivation. In the archbishop's family he was but indifferently attended to in other respects. Abbot received no compensation from the king, and must have indeed felt the charge to be rather onerous. Lord Thurles was allowed but £40 a-year for himself and his attendants. His own small estate was under sequestration, and as the reader may happen to recollect, the bulk of the family estates had passed from them by an unjust decision of king James.

Thomas the 10th earl of Ormonde, having no issue male, had settled the chief part of his estates upon his nephew, Walter Butler, with remainders over to the male heirs of Walter, and in the succession of inheritance, to the male representatives of each branch of the family, from the first earl of Carrick. He moreover, specially, reserved cer-

* Carte.

tain manors and £6000 for his daughter. On his death the title came to Sir Walter, who also thought by the settlement here mentioned to take possession of the estates. But king James had given the daughter of his uncle in marriage to Sir Richard Preston, one of the grooms of his chamber, whom he created earl of Desmond. Preston preferred a claim to these estates in right of his wife, who was heir general; a long and vexatious suit followed, during which the king interfered at every step to overrule the judges: the case was however too plain, for even the compliance of that day, and the judges decided contrary to the desire of the king, who then decided the question himself by a stretch of arbitrary power, for his favourite. The earl attempted to resist this grievous wrong, for which the king seized on all his estate and committed him to the Fleet, where for eight years he was reduced to the most shameful extremes of want. This occurred when lord Thurles had attained his nineteenth year; he then went to live with his grandfather, at a house which he took in Drury Lane, upon his liberation from the Fleet prison.*

The young lord Thurles had been brought up a protestant, while the earl was, as his ancestors had been, a Roman catholic. He did not however show any concern in the religion of his grandson, who it is said, at this interval of his life entered very much into all the most approved gaieties of his age, and passed but little time in the earl's company. He manifested a very strong preference for the theatre, which seldom wanted his presence, and was on terms of intimacy with all the actors. He was no less assiduous in pushing his way at court; and we are inclined to think, began already to be governed by that superior sagacity, prudence and discretion which so prominently colour the whole conduct of his life. His active spirit must have manifested itself early to his nearest acquaintance, by many small incidents not recorded; and we doubt not but he already began to be marked by the observant, as one likely to take a prominent place in the foremost wave of the age's progress. It was perhaps with some such perception that the duke of Buckingham when about to embark for the relief of Rochelle, refused to allow lord Thurles to accompany him, on the pretence (for with the unprincipled Villiers, it must have been such) that he had not the permission of earl Walter his grandfather. The earl was then in Ireland, whither he had returned to look after his property, and had not been consulted by his grandson, with whose actions he had not been in the habit of interfering. The young lord would have pressed his wishes, and remained for the purpose at Portsmouth, where the expedition was on the point of sailing; but the assassination of the duke put an end to this expectation and he posted back to London.

It was about six months after this incident that he first met the lady Elizabeth Preston, his kinswoman, and the heiress of those large estates which by the settlements of her grandfather should have descended to himself. Her mother was at the time not long deceased, and her father had like his own been drowned near the Skerries, in his passage from Dublin to Holyhead. The king had given her guardianship to the earl of Holland, then groom of the stole, and a favourite at court.

* Carta.

She had reached her fourteenth year, and is said to have at that early age been well informed in the history of the lawsuit, which had been so disastrous to the house of Ormonde, and was yet, likely to be attended with further mischief to both parties, as it was yet kept alive. It was also perhaps strongly felt, that the injustice by which her right commenced was not likely to outlast the favour and the obstinate self-assertion of the king. These impressions appear to have had their full weight on the minds of both parties, and no less on those of the more prudent part of their kindred. Among others, the lord Mountgarret is mentioned,* as having entered strongly into the interests of his kinsman, and as he had constant opportunities of visiting the young lady, he was sedulous in his endeavours to interest her in favour of lord Thurles. She was designed by the king for some favourite whom it was his desire to enrich, but she soon manifested a lively preference for her young relation, whose very handsome person, spirited manner, and engaging conversation, had with the representations of others engrossed her entire affection. This could not be long concealed at court, and soon reached the royal ear. One day when lord Thurles went to court he was called by the king, who warned him "not to meddle with his ward." Lord Thurles answered that "he never saw her any where but at court, where all paid her respect; and he having the honour to be her kinsman, thought he might do the same as well as others; but if his majesty would forbid him his court he would refrain from it." The king was embarrassed and replied, "no, I do not command that."†

The object of lord Thurles' most anxious wishes was thus apparently brought near by affection and choice, while the prejudices and projects of the king seemed yet to interpose a wider barrier; but some of the main obstacles had recently been removed and others had to be combated by exertion. The duke of Buckingham's assassination had cleared a formidable opponent from the path. Buckingham had a sister married to William Fielding, earl of Denbigh, for whose youngest son he had obtained the promise of the young lady in marriage; and her father was not only thus pledged, but in order the better to secure his own claims to the estates of the earl of Ormonde, he had prevailed on the king to grant him the wardship of lord Thurles, by which means he had acquired as much power over him as over his daughter. The death of both these parties opened a way for the negotiation of the matter; and to this lord Thurles determined to resort. There were some slighter impediments, but the only one worth naming was the influence of the earl of Holland, who obtained the lady's wardship from the king on her father's death. As however lord Holland had no object but the then common one of the pecuniary advantage accruing from such an office, lord Thurles took the obvious and direct course of an offer of £15,000, which was more than in the ordinary course the guardian could hope to make by the other proposed marriage. Accordingly he agreed: and the suit being thus advanced through this legitimate authority the king soon consented: he had a strong regard for the memory of Buckingham, and felt desirous to fulfil his known wishes in favour of his nephew; yet he could not but have recognised the hard-

* *Cæte.*† *Ibid.*

ship and injustice attendant on the whole proceeding, from beginning to end; so that when applied to through the formal channel he had no reluctance to wave claims, which could only be maintained by the importunity of court favour. He issued letters patent dated, 8th September, 1629, declaring that "for the final end of all controversies between Walter earl of Ormonde, and Elizabeth, daughter of Richard earl of Desmond, he had given his consent, that there shall be a marriage between James viscount Thurles and the said Elizabeth, and, grants her marriage and the wardship of her lands to the said Walter earl of Ormonde, &c., &c."

This marriage was solemnized in London, Christmas, 1629, and four days after lord Thurles went with his lady to Acton in Gloucestershire, the seat of his uncle Sir Robert Pointz, where for the following year he remained, chiefly occupying himself in study. His education had been neglected while he resided with the archbishop, and after he left his tutelage, he had entered into the dissipation of the court with too much zest to admit of much profitable cultivation. But in the calm and tranquil seclusion of domestic life his good taste and good sense recognised the disadvantage, and his active spirit prompted the correction. The chaplain of his uncle was his able and willing assistant, and gave him such instruction as was thought requisite at that period.

At the end of 1630 he went to reside with his grandfather in Carrick, where he chiefly resided till 1632 when the earl died; and lord Thurles thus succeeded to the estates and honours of his illustrious race. Of the most active disposition, he had at once on coming to Ireland determined to enter into the service of the crown, and purchased a troop of horse in the king's army in Ireland; and soon after made a journey to England, to solicit in some matter of confiscations due to the king. We only mention the circumstance here for the sake of a few slight incidents, which Carte relates, and which help to throw some light on his personal qualities and character. "Having travelled over part of the country and visited his lady's relations, he rode from Edinburgh to Ware in three days, and could easily have been in London that night, had he not thought it convenient to stay there; but so little sensible was he of any fatigue, that, finding books in the room, instead of going to rest, he fell to reading, and about the dead of the night lighted on the '*Counter Scuffle*' which he had not seen before, it put him into such a fit of laughter, that the landlord and his wife started out of their sleep amazed, and scarce able to imagine what the matter could be."* His journey home, in about a year and a-half after, is no less descriptive of the travelling of his age. He left London on Saturday morning in September, having two horses upon the road; he proceeded to Acton within eight miles of Bristol, where he received a message from the captain of the "Ninth Whelp," in which he was to sail, that the wind was fair for Ireland, and the vessel would sail by eight next morning. "His lordship took care to be on board by that hour, and first making a hearty meal, went to his rest and slept eleven hours at a stretch. The ship set sail by nine with so favourable a gale, that by nine next morning they ran up to Waterford, and his lordship meet-

* Carte.

ing with Sir Robert Welsh there, got horses from him, rode sixteen miles to his house at Carrick, and dined there that same Monday at three of the clock."

It was about the same time that the earl of Strafford was sent over to the government of Ireland; and the reader is aware of the state of this country at the time. Half-conquered, half-settled, having imperfectly undergone those reducing and civilizing, though cruel processes by which all other nations have attained political maturity; planted, subjected, and ruled sufficiently to cause immense irritation, but insufficiently for the purpose, the country existed in a state not to be classed under any political category, or described truly, unless by comprehensive exceptions, negations, and qualifications. The common people were slaves, and in a state of the most barbarous degradation; the chiefs were disaffected to government and discontented with their condition, and anxious for the return of their ancient despotisms. The English were balanced between the oppressions of unsettled law, and the encroaching anarchy which on every side pressed upon its ineffective control; the clergy were strenuously wielding a newly acquired popular influence, to obtain an ascendancy for their church, and to crush the growing power of the church of England; while this latter in its turn, was compelled to maintain its existence by the use of such weapons of defence as the political forces of government afforded. Such was the involved state of the political elements which Strafford came to overrule, by the exertion of a sagacious understanding and a degree of political courage rarely if ever excelled.

It is hard now to pronounce, how far the policy of Strafford might have been eventually successful in reducing to a state of civil order such a chaos of troubled elements. But the juncture of events was singularly unfortunate for the undertaking, and the rough means of which it demanded the employment, became in the event sad aggravations of the evils which followed. At the same time that Wentworth was endeavouring with a rough hand to mould the heterogeneous elements of Ireland, into the form of constitutional polity; the very power on which all authority over this country could subsist, was beginning to be rudely shaken by the beginning of a revolution. The contentions between king Charles and his parliament, soon withdrew the attention of the English cabinet from the real interests of Ireland, and the policy of lord Strafford was crossed, entangled and rendered inconsistent by the interference of considerations arising from the position of English affairs. The sound and sagacious system of controlling and improving policy, soon degenerated into a mingled system of forced expediency and state manœuvre, which neutralized the good of a firm government and added to the evils which were to follow.

It was in such a critical position of both countries that we are to introduce the young earl of Ormonde into public life. The earl of Strafford, whose policy it was to control every spirit, had exercised a despotic personal control over such of the aristocracy as were not the partakers of his councils. Of this we have already offered some examples. Among other things indicative of the stern and absolute temper of his government, was the order by which the members of the Irish parliament were disarmed by the usher on entering the house.

This order, was, it is true, warranted by several precedents in both countries, and was rendered seemingly expedient by the animosity of parties, and by the circumstance, that the parliament then held its sittings in the castle. It is also likely that the parliamentary character of the dangerous proceedings then passing in England, made it seem expedient to tread down to the utmost the temper of the Irish parliament which was more likely to show the insubordinate temper than the constitutional wisdom of that of England. Whatever was the policy, the order was made by proclamation, that the lords and commons should enter the house without their swords; and the usher of the black rod was stationed at the door to receive them from the members as they entered. To the demand of this officer all assented, and no demur was made until the earl of Ormonde came. As he proceeded to enter, without taking the slightest notice of the usher's first intimation, he was brought to a stand by a more peremptory check from this officer, who stepped before him, and with the usual "jack-in-office" impertinence of state menials, demanded his sword. The earl shortly answered, that if he had his sword "it should be in his guts," and without further notice of the cowed official, walked to his seat. This incident could not fail to find its way at once to the viceregal ear: Strafford felt outraged at so unexpected a defiance of his authority, and resolved to make the refractory young noble feel the weight of his power. Without a moment's delay, he sent to summon the earl to his presence at the rising of the house. Ormonde came; he was asked if he was not aware of the order, and if he had not seen the lord-lieutenant's proclamation? he replied in the affirmative, but added, that he had disobeyed them in deference to a superior authority to which his obedience was first due, and then he produced the king's writ, by which he was summoned to come to parliament *cum gladio cinctus*. To this there was no immediate reply; though Strafford regarded the words as merely formal, they were too express a justification, and on too specious an authority to be slighted, and he was unwillingly compelled for the time to dismiss the offending earl without even a reprimand. This was not very agreeable, either to his policy or to his peremptory temper, and he seems to have for a while balanced on the adoption of some vindictive course. He consulted Sir George Radcliffe and Mr Wandesforde, the master of the rolls, who were both his confidential friends and advisers: he told them that "the single point under consideration was, whether he should crush so daring a spirit, or make him a friend."* Sir George Radcliffe, the friend of both, gave this prudent advice, "that as it was necessary for the lord-deputy to have some friends among the great men of the kingdom which he was to govern, so he knew none among them all who so well deserved to be made a friend as that earl, whether he considered the power which his birth, alliances, estate, and capacity, gave him in the nation, or his personal qualities, the zeal which he had both by principle and inclination for the service of the crown, the generosity of his nature, and the nobleness of his sentiments which qualified him for such a friendship as he should wish his patron to enjoy and cultivate." Such was the

* Carte.

counsel adopted by lord Strafford. It was indeed amply recommended by other considerations as likely to have immediate influence. Ormonde already possessed the weight which was due to his active energy of character and his property in the country: in parliament he had not only his own voice and vote, but was fortified with the proxies of the lords Castlehaven, Somerset, Baltimore and Aunger. Strafford entered with the determination of his own character into the course he now adopted, and soon came to the most friendly understanding with one whose principles were all conformable to his own on the questions of main importance. The friendship of Strafford was probably of no small use to the earl in the conduct of some private affairs respecting his estates, which he had then for some time been engaged in negotiating with government. A project for the plantation of the large tracts of territory, known by the designation of Upper and Lower Ormonde, had long been entertained, and at several times taken up by the crown. It was important to the earl, as involving the question of rights in a district of which he was the chief proprietor. The plan was revived under the active and improving administration of the earl of Strafford, and Ormonde received notice of it from Sir W. Ryves, who at the same time pressed him to take the same course which his grandfather had done, which was to enter with zeal into the project and make a composition with the government for the saving of his own rights and estates. This was the more likely to succeed, as the inquisition essential to the purpose of government, to ascertain the title of the crown, required the inspection of his lordship's title deeds. The king had also written to enjoin, that every attention should be paid to the wishes and to the interests of the earl. Under circumstances so favourable, the plan was highly to the advantage of Ormonde, who entered into it readily, and won the favour of the king and the Irish government by the alacrity with which he offered his services, and afforded the use of the necessary documents. The spirit of compliance was desirable to encourage, and there was thus an additional reason on the part of government for making every concession to Ormonde, so as to display to others in a strong light the advantages of the concession he had made. By the help of these advantages, and his own active temper, Ormonde not only secured his own estates but contrived also to settle and establish some claims which had been rendered questionable by the encroaching disposition of his neighbours. He obtained also in addition, a grant of the fourth part of the lands to be planted by the crown. He also obtained grants of a thousand acres each for his friends, "John Pigot, Gerald Fennel and David Routh, esquires."*

After some minor honours, not sufficiently important to detain us here, the earl was in 1640 appointed lieutenant-general of horse, with £4 per day; and during the absence of the earl of Strafford, he was made commander-in-chief of the forces raised by this earl for the aid of the king against the Scots. Strafford sailed for England 3d April, 1640, leaving Wandesforde his deputy; and by the extraordinary activity and diligence of Ormonde, an army of 8000 effective men was rapidly collected in Carrickfergus. As there was no result of any im-

* Carte.

portance, we forbear from entering into the full details of this service: the levies were easily made, but the means for their payment were not so readily forthcoming, and the delay caused much inconvenience, and some false movements in the council not essential to relate. This army was actually commanded in Carrickfergus by St Leger, as the earl of Ormonde was obliged to remain in Carrick by the illness of his countess, who was soon after delivered of a daughter—the lady Elizabeth Butler afterwards married to Philip earl of Chesterfield.

The absence of Ormonde from parliament, where his great influence and commanding ability had leading weight, was now strongly felt, and his presence was importunately desired by Wandesforde. As however he was reluctant to leave his countess in her illness, he compromised the matter by sending the proxies intrusted to him, together with his own to noblemen in whom the government might confide. The parliament had become at this time more difficult to manage than hitherto: the example of the English parliament, the infection of the covenanters, the yet latent springs of the approaching rebellion, had given a tone to their temper, which the absence of Strafford left uncontrolled. Strafford was detained, first by his own protracted illness, and then by the illness of the earl of Northumberland, whose place he was compelled to fill in the command of the king's army against Scotland. During this time, the Irish parliament made a violent and partly successful effort to diminish and delay the subsidies which had been voted for the public service: so that in consequence a considerable sum was not levied, till the eruption of rebellion in the following year put an end to the proceeding.* The expedition against Scotland was rendered abortive by the king's irresolution and the intrigues of his leading officers, who were secretly promoters of the parliamentary party, and consequently favourers of the covenanters; and the foundation of all his subsequent disasters was laid by the treaty of Rippon. The prosecution of Strafford followed and the death of Wandesforde.

In the course of 1640, and the following year, the earl of Ormonde exerted his best abilities in parliament to resist the strong popular current that had set in against the king. The absence of the earl of Strafford, and the perceptibly increasing power and success of the English commons had first produced a new and sudden change in the temper of the commons: from being obsequious and complying, they took at once the tone and entered into the views of the English commons. Their former loyalty, which was the subserviency of fear and self-interest, was at once and wholly thrown aside; and the spirit which it had required a firm hand to suppress, and would have required a long continuance of civil subordination to correct, blazed forth with all the fierceness of sect and party: the personal animosities, the national prejudices, the resentment of wrongs, the long-fostered aims, ambitions, discontents, and jealousies, all rushed into a contest, in the course of which all had something to gain, to redress, or to revenge. The Roman catholics and the puritans, hitherto violent in mutual fear and hate, felt for a moment the tie of a common interest, and advanced together to the work of confusion. Yet, as ever has been the case in

* The detail of this intrigue will be found in Carte, I. pp. 99—102.

the public movements of faction, the declared motives and the public complaints were such as to impose upon the general historian a necessity of admitting that their language is not contrary to reason, or their complaints and demands devoid of justice. The reason, however, and the justice, will, in the case before us, upon a fair view of the facts, appear to be little more than specious pretences, addressed to the ignorance and prejudice of the public mind—ever facile and precipitate, and more so then than now. We cannot here devote a dozen pages to the minute analysis necessary to expose this error; which is however of the less importance, as it seldom imposes upon any person capable of reflection, unless when he imposes on himself. It will appear on strict investigation, that the chief part of the demands and complaints of this parliament owe their present appearance of right and justice to the want of an adequate conception of the real state of Ireland, its parties, interests, and civil state at that period: the remaining portion was advanced, not for its justness or expediency, but for the vexatious purpose of party. It may be looked on as a maxim, that in any state of things the disposition to find fault can never be at a loss for fault to find; and having guarded our meaning with these qualifications, we may say that the first ebullition of the commons, though evidently vexatious in purpose, was highly warranted in justice. The principle of taxation was unequal, and threw the burden almost exclusively on the aristocracy: the subsidies, which had nevertheless been freely voted, were exorbitant, and the method of rating them unequal and oppressive. Their complaints of the conduct and fees of the ecclesiastical courts and other similar institutions, perverted for the purpose of exaction, were founded in truth, though mainly recommended to the parties as affording a common basis for present union.

In the following session they met in a temper of still increased resistance, and went more directly to their purpose. The laws which Strafford had obtained for national improvement, were the first objects of attack, they represented the inconveniencies attendant upon the enforcement of the laws against plowing by the horse's tail, burning corn in the straw, plucking sheep alive, &c.; and in their violence displayed their sense of constitutional freedom by urging the remedy of these complaints by the application of arbitrary power on the part of government.

Their attack upon the subsidies was the most effective effort of their combination with the English parliament. Having in the beginning of the year voted four entire subsidies, and shewn their readiness to add to this tribute of zealous devotion, if the king should require it: in a few months more, they complained of the burden and postponed its levy; and on their next meeting, before the same year was past, they passed a resolution for the purpose of defeating it entirely, by which it was reduced to the tenth of its amount.

The contest, as it deepened, supplied them with more weighty and better considered topics of grievance, and having become closely cemented with the English Commons, they received the aid of profounder knowledge, and were urged on by more long-sighted atrocity than their own. The remonstrance contrived by the prosecutors of Strafford gives a deeper and more statesmanlike tone to the pro-

ceedings of this otherwise trifling assortment of factions. In this remonstrance they set forth the happy subjection of Ireland to England—the descent of the greater part of the people from English parents—the ancient extension of magna charta to Ireland—its flourishing condition, and its liberal subsidies. From these they pass to the misgovernment of the earl of Strafford, and the various exactions, oppressions, impolitic measures, and malversations, by which this country, the great and flourishing descendant of England, was suddenly reduced to a state of exhaustion and poverty: the decay of trade—the perversion of law—the denial of rights and graces, monopolies, tyrannies, &c. A remonstrance composed of sixteen articles—specious in sound, and grounded on partial statements as well as gross misrepresentations and false views of justice and political expediency, but well suited to the temper of the time—had been voted by the commons. It was introduced in the lords, where it was defeated by the strenuous efforts of Ormonde; aided by the superior intelligence of that body, which then, as ever since, and indeed it always must happen, combined a greater portion of the political knowledge of the existing period.

On the death of Wandesforde, the earl of Strafford earnestly advised the king to appoint Ormonde to the government of Ireland. But though such also was the king's own judgment, a very violent opposition was made by the Irish commons, and it is attributed to the animosity and the intrigues of the earl of Arundel that this opposition was successful. The earl of Arundel conceived himself to be entitled to large property in Ireland, which was in the possession of the earl of Ormonde and others. The lands in question were a portion of the lands of Strongbow, which had passed with one of his daughters by marriage into the family of the earl of Norfolk, from whom lord Arundel derived his claim. But upon inquisition, it was discovered that the lands which might be affected by this claim were different from those for which it was made: the inheritance of the lady who married Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, being in the county of Catherlogh, (Wicklow,) while the territory of Idough now claimed, had been brought by another daughter into the possession of an earl of Gloucester, from whom it was traced till it came by regular descent through the family of March to Edward IV. Being thus vested in the crown, it was granted by James I. to Francis Edgeworth and his heirs, from whom it was purchased by the earl of Ormonde and the earl of Londonderry. These facts were affirmed by an inquisition issued 11 Car. I. On this occasion it would appear from Carte's statement, that some flaw which he does not sufficiently mention, was found in the titles, and that consequently the earls of Ormonde and Londonderry passed the lands in fee-farm for a rent of £30 a-year to Sir Charles Coote, who afterwards joined them in passing the same lands to Mr Wandesforde, who took out new letters patent on the commission for the remedy of defective titles. The earl of Arundel's pretence to any title seems to be clearly out of the question; but his desire to obtain the lands was excited and kept alive by an artful projector who filled his imagination with glittering dreams of Irish gold; and when the king's title was found, he got letters from his majesty to the lord-deputy to give him the preference of such lands as had belonged to his ancestors. As no lands were

found to answer this description, he was disappointed, and his pride mortified, and he became the active enemy of both the earls of Ormonde and Londonderry.

King Charles, whose facility in yielding to influence was among the first means of that reverse of fortune, which was aggravated perhaps by the obstinacy of his conduct, when resistance became dangerous, now yielded to the counsellors by whom he was surrounded; and we are inclined to attribute it more to the influence of his own enemies than to those of the earl of Ormonde, that this nobleman was set aside in deference to the clamour of the Irish commons, who were wholly unworthy of regard. The appointment of Dillon and Parsons followed, of whom the former was as we have already explained soon dismissed to make way for Sir John Borlase.

A stormy session of parliament followed in which nothing worthy of detail occurred. The two houses were engaged in mutual conflicts, which mainly originated in the irritable temper and the perverse obstinacy of the house of commons: they met with well-tempered and effective opposition in the lords, where the earl of Ormonde took the lead of the king's party, and displayed a degree of firmness, judgment, and sagacity, which would indeed be a sufficient reason for the detail of the circumstances, had we not by far too large a fund of more important matter, illustrative of the character of this great man. The most memorable proceedings of the session consisted in a factious and scandalous impeachment of the members of Strafford's council at the suggestion of the conductors of his prosecution in the English parliament, for the sole purpose of preventing their attendance to give testimony in his favour. The charges were vague, and upon that frightfully iniquitous abnegation of all the principles of justice, the rule of cumulative treason, by which it was assumed that many slight misdemeanours not separately treasonable, might in their sum amount to treason. As these charges were futile, so the collision to which they gave rise did not consist so much in their consideration, as in a continued struggle on either side to effect or frustrate their real and direct intent, which was the confinement of the persons accused. The most curious of the small incidents of this protracted and turbulent discussion, was a suggestion prompted by the bold and ready ingenuity of the earl of Ormonde, in answer to the urgency of the opposite party for the arrest of the lord-chancellor; to this importunate proposal he answered that his removal would be a suspension of their authority; a point which caused great discussion, and thus with many other such frivolous questions helped to divert the efforts of the parliamentary faction in both houses from graver mischief.

The next affair which immediately engaged the attention of the earl of Ormonde, was of far more interest. There was not money either for the maintenance or the dissolution of the army which had been raised in Ireland. And the king was insidiously urged upon the subject by the parliament, for the evident purpose of embarrassing him. His resources had been entirely exhausted, and it was felt to be a matter of the most pressing necessity, to disband a large body of men for whom he could not afford either pay or sustenance. As however this could not well be managed without the immediate disbursement of a

large sum of money, no expedient seemed better than to send this force into foreign service. The English parliament, urged by the Irish agents in London, addressed the king on the expediency of their being speedily disbanded, and he answered, by informing them of his difficulties and of the expedient he intended to adopt. On the very next day, 8th May, 1641, he sent an order to that effect to the Irish lords-justices, and a letter to the earl of Ormonde to take the necessary steps, for the cautious and peaceable discharge of a duty so nice and difficult. He signed also warrants for seven of their colonels to transport a thousand men each, out of Ireland for foreign service. Meanwhile, the provision of the requisite expense was entirely left to the Irish government. The lords-justices consulted with the earl, but they could only agree to execute the order as they might, and Ormonde sent his warrants as lieutenant-general to have the soldiers' pay stopped from the 25th of the same month. By great efforts, among the king's party in Ireland, a small sum sufficient for a part payment to the soldiers, enabled the earl to succeed in his difficult task, and by the aid of precise arrangements, and much vigilant and active precaution, he succeeded in disbanding them without any of the disorders that were apprehended.

Preparations had at the same time been made to send the regiments as already ordered into Spain, and the Spanish ambassador had expended large sums, when suddenly the commons started a new discontent and clamoured loudly against this disposition of the army. They affected to fear, that the king of Spain would use them only to raise rebellion in Ireland, after the example of his grandfather. The suggestion was perhaps more founded in probability than sincerely meant, as we have already stated in our notice of Roger Moore;* and it was a fact well known to one of the parties then composing the popular faction in the house, that the rebellion was at that moment in the course of preparation, and its first outbreak actually under contemplation, in the very place and among the very persons pointed out by their suggestion, the Irish refugees in Spain. Such was the substance of the speeches of the parliamentary leaders, Darcy, Cheevers, Martin and others, who specially mentioned several of those Irish officers who commanded the Irish in the Spanish service, with the titles of their Irish rank, "Prince of Ulster, marquis of Mayo, and earls of Desmond and Beervan." By this clamour the king's design was interrupted and a most violent contest ensued, which in the course of the summer was transferred to the English house, where it was pursued with equal violence and pertinacity, to the great embarrassment of Charles, whom it involved with the Spanish ambassador and humiliated in the eyes of the public, and of all Europe.

On the attainder of Strafford, he urged upon the king to give the garter, which would thus become vacant, to the earl of Ormonde; as considering him the person most likely to be both efficient and zealous in his service, under the pressure of those great embarrassments which were progressively thickening around him. Nothing can indicate more plainly the impression made by the character and con-

* Life of Roger Moore, Vol. II.

duct of Ormonde upon the mind of that great statesman; and it is not less a high proof of Ormonde's elevated disinterestedness, that he refused the honour on the ground that in the king's present difficulties, it could be of use as a means to win over, or to fix the adhesion of some one less steady and principled than himself.

We now come to the rebellion of 1641, which we are to view mainly in relation to the conduct of the earl of Ormonde; but from the central position which his power and station, as well as his conduct and character affords, we shall take the occasion to give a more methodical and broader sketch of this marked portion of our history, of which we have already been enabled to offer select details and scenes. For this purpose, little more will be necessary than to notice briefly in their order of time the main series of general events, only expanding into detail those which bear any direct reference to the immediate subject of our narration.

Upon the fullest investigation of the preceding history, we can have no doubt that a rebellion was for many years in preparation. It was looked to by the clergy as the only means of raising them to that position of authority and influence, of pomp and splendour, which they saw exercised by their order upon the continent. The native Irish chiefs looked upon it as the only hope of their restoration to their ancient rank and estate. The lawyers viewed it as the harvest of their order, whether as opening the field of legal extortion, or the path to official malversations. The people, who were poor, lawless, and barbarous, had visionary ideas of advantages, artfully suggested by their leaders, and more substantial notions of the harvest of plunder and the delights of military license. These combustible elements lay crudely combining under the quiet surface of peace and progressive improvement, the results of the plantations and institutions of the last reign; and slowly matured for the moment of occasion.

That moment was brought on by those various and rough collisions of party, which we have slightly sketched in this memoir. The troubles of the king were the fundamental cause; from this all received a violent accelerative impulse, and in the separate lines of their several views, came together, to seize the evident occasion and to fix and widen the breach which was made in the ramparts of civil order, for the surer and safer execution of their several designs. Within the walls of parliament, and within the circles of office, influence and power, all may be considered as having had their definite aims: every one was for himself, his party, or the constitution, or the king. Without, the views of the multitude were agitated and fluctuating, the people whose understandings are the tongues of their leaders, or the report of rumour, were filled with various sentiments of discontent, anger, fear, and expectation. The specious misrepresentations of a parliament of which the main weapon was the language of grievance and accusation, filled the country and gave a prevailing tone to popular feeling. And thus under circumstances from which rebellion would have arisen out of the position of the king's affairs, a long organized rebellion was kindled. Roger Moore and his associates as isolated individuals could not have moved a man, or done more than to organize a burglary; but the moment was come and the country prepared, and they had only to apply the fatal

firebrand to the issue of the inflammable vapour, and the fiery volume broke out with its broad red blaze, to wrap the land in conflagration beyond their power to quench or moderate.

For many years before 1634, Ever MacMahon afterwards titular bishop of Clogher, was, by his own confession to the earl of Strafford, employed upon the continent, with others of his order and country in soliciting aid for this event. Early in 1641, the period of the parliamentary outbreaks which we have related, Roger Moore was at work; the conspiracy between himself, Macguire, Sir Phelim O'Neile, MacMahon, and others was concerted, late in the autumn of the same year; on the 22d October, 1641, Owen Conolly's information was received.* The next day had been appointed for the surprise of the castle; and in a few days more the rebels had obtained possession of the principal forts of Ulster. By whom, and by what means, and under what circumstances these exploits were performed, our notices of the principal actors describe.

At this time, the entire military force in Ireland consisted of 943 horse and 2297 foot; an effort which had been made by the king to strengthen this force, had been effectually resisted by the English parliament. The earl of Ormonde was at Carrick-on-Suir, when he received the accounts of the first acts of the rebel chiefs. He had a little before dispatched Sir Patrick Wemyss to the king on some application concerning his palatine rights in Tipperary, which king James had unjustly seized, and which he was now endeavouring to recover. Sir Patrick was immediately sent back to him with the king's commission of lieutenant-general of Ireland. The lords-justices had also sent dispatches on the 24th October, two days after their first intelligence, but their letter miscarried, and on the 2d November, they sent another. But on the arrival of Wemyss with the king's commission, they also made a formal appointment to agree with it, saving however the authority of the lord-lieutenant.

It would have been fortunate for Ireland in that most critical moment, if the sole authority had been trusted to the earl of Ormonde; and these miserable officials had been wholly set aside. Borlase was an old soldier, unversed in state affairs. Parsons was worse than incompetent. To his want of the statesman-like ability which the juncture needed, he added a want of political integrity, steadiness, and firmness. He was a lawyer who had worked his way by his expertness and pliable subserviency; and who was incapable of comprehending any motive beyond the care of his own interest or safety, and unfit for any employment beyond the chicanes of official circumvention, by which life and property were ensnared. He did not clearly perceive the position of circumstances, and entertained neither adequate views of what was expedient, nor upright motives of action; and hence his conduct was inconsistent throughout and wavering. In his moments of terror, desirous to crush, burn, and execute indiscriminate vengeance; in the return of his confidence, as anxious to foster the rebellion of which he could not calculate the real results or see the progress. He thus repressed the zeal and exertion of others, and protected while he exasperated the rebels. To this is to be added, that he was a zealous

* Vol. II. Life of Roger Moore.

puritan, and was chiefly indebted to the support of the parliament for his continuance in power. On this party his expectations were founded, and it is therefore not a mere conjecture that he was the instrument of their views. It was their principal object by every means to distress the king, and the disturbance in Ireland was no slight assistance. Parsons faithfully pursued the turnings of their policy to the utmost extent of his efforts.

The earl of Ormonde at once urged a decided attack upon the confederates: he represented how easy it would be to suppress them before their people could be armed or fully disciplined. He therefore proposed to march against them with the small body of troops at the time under his command, with a few of the new levies which had been raised on the discovery of the danger. To the great surprise of the earl, the lords-justices refused, on the ground of want of arms for the troops which were to take the field. The earl knew that there was no such want, as there was at the time laid up in the castle a store of arms and ammunition for 10,000 men, besides a fine train of artillery. He was thus therefore reduced to the mortification of finding his commission nugatory, and seeing the time for action pass, while in Dublin he was witness to the frivolous proceedings and the absurd and fraudulent councils, in which nothing was sincere but mischievous proceedings against all such as were not of the faction, and had the ill-fortune to be within the circle of their authority. Carte relates a circumstance which took place about this period of our narrative. A council was sitting in the castle on 13th December, at which the earl of Ormonde was present—when Parsons proposed a court-martial on captain Wingfield, and was steadily resisted by the earl. Parsons lost his temper, and in violent language insisted upon it, assuring him that it should be done for common safety; and that if he did not do it, he should be responsible for losing the kingdom. The earl of Ormonde, who says Carte "was never at a loss in his days for an answer equally decent and appropriate, replied, 'I believe, Sir, you will do as much towards losing the kingdom as I, and, I am sure, I will do as much as you for saving it.'"

The English parliament for a little time affected great zeal for the tranquillization of Ireland: their object was to obtain the entire authority, and as much as possible to set aside all efforts on the part of the king. They appointed a committee of the members of both houses, which sat daily on the affairs of Ireland. Their real object was favoured by the zealous co-operation of the Irish lords-justices, and the inadvertence of the king, who, still anxious to conciliate and to leave no room for complaint, recognized their authority by his communications: he was under the delusive notion that their professed object was genuine, and hoped that something might thus at last be done to restore the peace of Ireland. With the same view he exerted himself to obtain some aid in men from the Scottish parliament, which listened to his urgent applications with cool indifference, while the English parliament, having secured their object, let the affairs of Ireland take their course, and pursued the deeper game upon which their leaders were intent. They asserted the power of the sword and treasury, by liberal votes of men and money, which they took care not to send:

large supplies were ordered, but, in the little that was sent, they contrived to make the act subsidiary to the purpose of further weakening the king, by ordering for the Irish service whatever stores lay at his disposal.

Meanwhile, the rebellion was rapidly spreading in Ireland, and though much retarded by the Boyles and St Leger in Munster, and by the influence and activity of Clanricarde in Connaught, every country was in a state of fear and disturbance. The plunders and massacres of Sir Phelim O'Neile, and the first insurgent bodies which were mainly composed of the lowest classes, followed: and many months had not elapsed till the impolicy and oppression of the lords-justices transferred a numerous and respectable party of the best Irish nobility and gentry to the ranks of rebellion. Of these facts, we have already entered into considerable details. The lords-justices in their first terror were willing to trust these noblemen with arms; but when prematurely elated by the liberal votes of the English parliament, they thought they might safely treat them with suspicion and insult. The accession of these persons to the rebellion had the beneficial effect of considerably mitigating its savage character; and the evil consequence of giving it for a time concert, military talent, resource, and all the formidable attendants of a regular war, conducted by regular means and skill.

The parliament was called, and allowed to sit for two days in Dublin: the Irish gentry who had assembled there had seen and felt the horrors of the rebellion,—they would have entered with an exclusive unity of purpose into the necessary measures for its suppression. The lords-justices were, with the utmost difficulty, prevailed upon to allow them a second day's existence, and they could only vote a representation of the means necessary for the pacification of the country: their representation was transmitted by the justices to the English committee who suppressed it. They offered to vote a large supply, but, before this could be done, they were dissolved, and sent away to abide as they might the storm that raged round their houses. Before their departure from town, the principal members of both houses met, and agreed upon an address to the king, in which they expressed their loyalty, and recommended that the government of the kingdom should be committed to the earl of Ormonde—a circumstance soon after productive of some annoyance to the earl. While he was engaged on his expedition against the rebels at Naas, and was pursuing them with such effect that they were loud in their complaints against his severity, a person named Wishart, who had been a prisoner in the rebel encampment, assured lord Blayney and captain Perkins at Chester, that the earl of Ormonde was in secret correspondence with the rebels. The secret instructions of the Irish members, sent through Sir James Dillon to England, and there taken on his person by the parliamentary agents, gave an unlucky colour to this scandal. The character of the earl stood too high for these low missiles to have any effect further than the moment's irritation. The representation was easily shown to be the act of the parties, without the presence or privity of the earl. The calumny of Wishart was brought forward by the earl himself, and

the calumnious charge refuted by the confession of the accuser, who, having for a while absconded, was discovered and arrested by Sir Philip Percival, and brought before the lords at Westminster, on which he denied having ever spoken to the purpose alleged. He acknowledged that he had said to lord Blaney and others at Chester, that the rebels had always notice of the earl of Ormonde's and of Sir C. Coote's military operations: but the rest of the charge, "that his lordship was the means of advertising the enemy, was the mere invention of some persons who maligned the earl's honour and his own reputation."

In the course of 1642, the rebellion became universally diffused; but with its diffusion, it did not gather strength: the efforts of the several leaders and parties of which it was composed, were little directed or invigorated by any pervading unity of aim. The objects of both leaders were mainly directed by their private ambition—those of the people terminated in plunder. They were however resisted, with still more inefficient means, and less consistency of purpose and effort. The lords-justices wavered between fear and vindictive animosity, and relaxed their efforts, or adopted measures of severity, according to the pressure of motives which seldom find their way into the light. They looked anxiously to their patrons, the puritans of England, for the aid which was insincerely promised; and, in the mean time, thought it enough to keep Dublin from the rebels. A suppression of the rebellion by the friends of the king was far from their wish, but they were not the less alarmed and vindictive when the approach of rebel parties awakened their own apprehensions and cut off their resources by seizing upon the neighbouring districts. Thus it was that while they sent out their troops with orders to ruin, waste, and kill, with indiscriminate ravage, in the disaffected districts immediately surrounding Dublin, they restrained the earl of Ormonde from any vigorous and systematic effort to reduce an insurrection ready to fall to pieces of itself, and only requiring a slight exertion of strength to dispel it. We have already noticed the earl's expedition to Naas, and the signal success with which it was attended: we have also had occasion to advert to his short and successful march to Kilsalaghan, within seven miles of Dublin. At this time the garrison in Dublin had been reduced to great distress, as there was a grievous want of means for their support; the lords-justices, contrary to every precedent of military prudence, had not only exhausted entirely the surrounding district by exorbitant exaction, but by burnings and ravages, ordered on the least provocation. A small reinforcement was sent over, without money or provision, to aggravate their distress, and it was more to employ the discontented troops than to check the operations of a disorderly and marauding army of 3000 rebels, which were posted at Kilsalaghan, that the earl was sent out to meet them. He was accompanied by Lambert, Coote, and other commanders, with 2500 English foot, and 300 horse. The position of the enemy was strong: a country still intersected with ditches of unusual depth, breadth, and strength of old fence, attests the description of Carte, of "a castle called Kilsalaghan, a place of very great strength, in regard of woods, and many high ditches and strong

enclosures and barricadoes there made, and other fastnesses.* The orders given to the earl were, "not only to kill and destroy the rebels, their adherents, and relievers, and to burn, waste, consume, and demolish all the places, towns, and houses, where they had been relieved and harboured, and all the corn and hay there, but also to kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting able to bear arms." It was fortunate that the power of this ignorant administration was not equal to its will; and that the sword was committed to one who was as just and merciful in the discharge of his duty as he was prompt and successful. The earl of Ormonde, with as little injury to the surrounding country as the duty in which he was engaged permitted, attacked the difficult and guarded position in which the O'Briens and MacThomases had intrenched themselves, formidable alike in their numbers, position, and the fierce undisciplined bravery of their men; and after a rough and sanguinary contest, drove them from their ditches, and scattered them in rout and confusion over the country.

The lords-justices were at this period strongly urged by the earl and others equally zealous for the termination of a state of affairs so disastrous, to permit them to march to the relief of Drogheda, at that time besieged by the army of Sir Phelim O'Neile. To this they refused their consent; but still feeling the necessity of sending away on some expedition a body of men whom they could not maintain in Dublin, they ordered an expedition towards the river Boyne, alleging the probability that a diversion might be thus created, so as to induce the rebels to raise the siege. On this occasion there seems to have been a resistance to some parts of their order, to waste, kill, and burn, on the part of the earl, who with some difficulty extorted permission to use his own more temperate discretion in the execution of this order. And shortly after, before the departure of the force under his command, he received an intimation from the castle, that the lords-justices having considered the matter, made it their earnest request that he would "stay at home, and let them send away the force now prepared, under the conduct of Sir Simon Harcourt, wherein they desired his lordship's approbation."† The earl understood the design of this artful and slighting application, and felt no disposition to suffer his office to be thus set aside for purposes so opposed to his own political principles. He was resolved not to let the cause of the king go by default, and the violence and vindictive temper of Sir W. Parsons find scope for indiscriminate and mischievous oppression, by a compliant desertion of his post. He firmly refused to let the army which the king had confided to him, march under any command but his own.

He accordingly marched on the 5th March, with such troops as could be prepared in time, and when he had reached a sufficient distance from town, put the orders of the lords-justices into a course of moderate execution, according to the more merciful terms, which on first receiving their orders he had with difficulty extorted. Instead of spreading indiscriminate destruction and massacre, which if executed according to the will of the castle would have degraded his name

* Carte.

† Ibid.

to the level of Sir Phelim O'Neile's; he wasted the villages only which had been in known concert with the rebels. Even this, it must be admitted, would according to the principles now recognized be still an excess, revolting to policy and justice; but when referred to the warfare of the age, to its opinion, practice, and to the then existing state of the country, it will appear in its own true light, as a mild and indispensable measure of severity. One remark is to be made, that such is the nature of popular insurrection, in which the struggle on the part of the insurgents is necessarily carried on by plunders, murders, and civil crimes, for which their previous habits have prepared them, rather than by military demonstrations, for which they are undisciplined; and it too often occurs that the only resource left for the protection of the social system, requires the adoption of means partaking of the same lamentable character. The spirit of insurrection rising from the lowest ranks, spreads out like a *malaria* upon the face of the country, felt not seen; tracked by fires and the bloody steps of the prowling and assassinating marauder; to the charge or battery of regular war it offers no resistance, and but too often was only to be met by the dreadful justice, which visited the homes of the offending peasantry with the retaliation which is not so much to be excused by the strictness of justice, as by the essential necessity of a resource, which has the effect of turning the torrent upon its fountain; and carrying the just, but fearful lesson, that the secrecy of the midnight crimes, or the mistlike gatherings and dispersions of these freebooting mobs, such as then assumed the much abused pretence of a national cause, though they save their bodies from the crowds on some inglorious field, cannot fail to involve their homes in the ruin, which they in their ignorance and wickedness would inflict upon the unoffending and respectable classes—against whom such hostilities are ever directed.

The earl was not interrupted by the rebel parties which he had expected to meet upon his march, but ere long he received an account that the rebels had raised the siege of Drogheda, and were then in full retreat towards Ulster. It was his opinion and that of his officers that they should be pursued as far as Newry; and as a large force could be spared from Drogheda, it appeared to be a favourable occasion to disperse the insurgents by a decided system of operations, with a force which might not so easily be collected again. The possession of Ulster, once obtained, would leave the rebellion little spirit or power to proceed further. The earl wrote to the lords-justices, stating his plan, and the means of effecting it. They, it is said, were in a "terrible fume" on the receipt of his letter, and without a moment's delay returned an answer forbidding him to cross the Boyne; and reiterating their commands to waste, burn, and destroy, without any distinction of rank or consideration of merit. In the mean time the earl pursued his way to Drogheda, where he consulted with lord Moore and Sir H. Tichburne, who concurred in his opinion and joined in another letter to the lords-justices. But the plan of enterprise which they had concerted, was broken by the arrival of the letter from the lords-justices, already mentioned. The earl's indignation was strongly excited, he did not think fit to resist the orders of government, but in reply he

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told them, "that there was usually such a confidence reposed in the judgment and faithfulness of those that are honoured with the command of an army, as that it is left to them when and where to prosecute and fall upon an enemy; that he took this to be due, though he was content to depart from it, because he would not confidently depend on his own judgment; that they might see lord Moore's and Sir H. Tichburne's judgment, by a letter signed by them and the rest of the chief officers, except the lord Lambert, and Sir R. Grenville, who were left in their quarters for the security thereof, and keeping the soldiers from disorder, but were as far consenting to the execution of that design, as himself who proposed it, or any of the rest who approved of, and signed the letter; that however he was applying himself to perform their last commands, and for that end had sent forth horse to destroy the dwellings of traitors for six miles about, and would quarter the night following at Balruddery, and thence continue his march to Dublin; want of bread causing him not to make use of the short enlargement of time granted in their letter of the 9th, which they could have been furnished with from Drogheda, if they had pursued their design towards Newry." He added, "that with regard to the gentlemen who came in, his method was to put them in safe keeping, and either to send them before, or to bring them along with him to Dublin, without any manner of promise or condition, but that they submit to his majesty's justice; nor did he dispute by what power they came in, leaving it to their lordships to determine that point when they had them in their hands, and he had given them an account of the manner of their coming."

The lords-justices were not to be influenced by such considerations as might appear to the earl of Ormonde of the most imperative moment, for they were governed by motives wholly different. To maintain their own authority; keep the rebellion away from the capital; and at the same time impede all proceedings which would have the effect of giving ascendancy to the friends or partisans of the royal cause, were the guiding principles of their whole conduct. They paid no regard to the strong representations or to the remonstrances of the earl and his officers, who saw in a strong light the real importance of an occasion, for pursuing and extinguishing the insurrection in its last retreats. According to the views of Sir W. Parsons, it was of little consequence what food for future vengeance lay collecting in the north, but it was in the last degree important, that their own hands should be strengthened in Dublin and the surrounding country by the immediate presence of those troops which the zeal of the earl would have directed to more important purposes. Thus then, the communications here mentioned and others which followed, with a laudable pertinacity were set aside, and the earl was compelled to return. He was only allowed to leave a small reinforcement of 500 men with lord Moore and Sir H. Tichburne. The whole of this tortuous proceeding is the more worthy of the reader's attention, as it is plainly indicative of the real policy of the puritans, not only in Ireland but in England. The attention of historians of our own time has been singularly misdirected by the propensity of the human mind to look to results, and to form their judgments of men either from the remote consequences of their actions,

or from principles subsequently developed. We, for our part, cordially concur in approving the fortunate and providential results of the great revolution which began in the reign of the unfortunate Charles; but we attribute all these advantages to the providence which overrules the wickedness of men to good events. It is not here permitted us to enter at length into the analysis by which it would be easy to separate the high professions and the low conduct of a revolution begun, and consummated by the perpetration of every political crime; and to prove by the plainest tests that the motives of the *responsible* actors were not merely different from the sounding eloquence of their pretensions, but far more reprehensible than the abuses which they overthrew. There were, no doubt, on either side, a few exalted characters who adopted with sincerity the purest principles of which their several positions admitted; but, upon the whole, the contest was a struggle for unconstitutional power on either side, in which fortunately for England neither party was successful, and both, as the strife advanced, endeavoured *per fas et nefas*, to attain the advantage. The conduct of both may be seen in some respects more clearly by looking to Ireland, the field in which their policy was pursued with least disguise. If the parliament of England was then enabled to dazzle the understandings of their own and after times by impressive commonplaces and specious complaints, and to veil their most unprincipled course in the fair disguise of public spirit and piety; it is plainly to be discerned that they were most recklessly indifferent as to the means. The virtue may be doubted of those zealots who propose to raise the condition of their country by murders, massacres, and confiscations, which may effect the purpose pretended, but offer far nearer advantages to the perpetrators. The politician who is ready to purchase remote and abstract improvement at the expense of torrents of blood, and by the commission of present wrongs, must be either a fanatic, or is indifferent to the real benefits he pretends to seek. There is no real human virtue which would serve the unborn, at the expense of the living. But the understanding and passions of England were to be conciliated by the leaders of that fanatic and intriguing corporation, the regicide house of commons: in the eye of England they endeavoured with the common discretion of all who play the game of revolutionary intrigue, to adorn and veil their purposes with the ordinary cant of civil justice and virtue, the lofty apothegms which cajole the multitude and spread a lying sanction over dishonesty, and impart a spurious elevation to baseness: but in their contempt of Ireland and Irish opinion, the whole truth of their policy was suffered to appear and to leave a record for the cool judgment of aftertimes; Ireland was a by-scene on which they crossed the stage without a mask. To prolong for their purposes a fearful conflict of crime and every evil passion, which the mind of Milton could combine for his description of the infernal habitations:

"Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell;"

such was their manifest policy. But we are treading upon dangerous ground; so much has been latterly written, and ably written, to magnify this party and depress their opponents, that the writer who takes an

opposite view, must be prepared to enter upon a full and minute detail of the entire history of the period.

The lords-justices, at the period of our narrative, appear to have entertained but one solicitude which is not quite explicable; a vindictive eagerness to visit with the utmost severity in their power the parties remotely suspected of any connexion with the rebellion, which they evinced no anxiety to check. To waste, plunder and kill, was the entire substance of their orders to the earl, whose activity to encounter the rebels they impeded. Their vengeance was confined to the territories of the pale, where it was rather directed against the inhabitants than the rebels; and their conduct appeared equally unaccountable on the score of common prudence, for they were unable to maintain the troops which they endeavoured to retain about Dublin in a shameful state of destitution.

On the return of the earl of Ormonde, the rebels at once returned and took possession of Drogheda, Atherdee, and Dundalk. The gallant achievements of Moore and Tichburne, by which they were defeated with comparatively small forces, in several bloody sieges and encounters, occurred in this interval, and have been already related in these pages. We have also taken several occasions to relate the impolitic and unjust treatment received at the same time by lord Dunsany, and other noblemen of the pale, when they came in on the faith of the king's proclamation, to offer their adherence to the government in Dublin. Their rejection forms a consistent part of the case against that government, of which we have here but faintly sketched the outline. This case is strongly aggravated by the iniquitous indictments which at the same time disgrace the courts, and the still more revolting proceedings of the castle, where the rack was freely employed, for the purpose of involving the whole of the Irish nobility and gentry in one sweeping charge of treason and rebellion. These demonstrations may be sufficient *ex abundantia*, to fix the real policy of the castle, and to class these flagitious officials among the lowest of those enemies of the people of Ireland, whose aim it has been to promote insurrection for the service of a small political intrigue. We reserve some special proofs, as we shall be compelled in a subsequent memoir to revert to this topic. These circumstances and this grievous state of affairs at length roused the anxious attention of the king, who very justly considered that his personal presence would be the most likely means to offer some decided check to this tissue of disorder and misconduct. Such a step might probably have been attended with the best results: his coming over would at once have brought to his side every particle of right reason, prudence, or loyalty in the kingdom, and at this period there must still have been a preponderance in favour of his cause. For the Roman catholic clergy had not yet fully entered into the contest; the insurgents had already experienced its danger and folly, and the numerous and respectable body whose part in it had been involuntary, would all, on their own several grounds, have rallied round the standard which would have united them in one cause and feeling. The lords-justices and all their little junto of extortioners, pettifoggers and executioners, would have been set aside.

But a result so inimical to the views of the great and powerful

party by which the king was opposed in England, was not to be quietly effected without resistance. On the 8th April, 1642, the king, by a message to the two houses, communicated his intention, with the obvious reasons which require no detail. In this message he proposed to "raise by his commission in the county of Chester a guard for his own person (when he should come into Ireland,) of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which should be armed at Chester from his magazine at Hull."* To this the lords-justices remonstrated, on the grounds of the great power of the rebels, the weakness of the government force, the inadequacy of the means for the support of his majesty's army and court. The parliament urged their pretended solicitude for the personal safety of his majesty: with more sincerity they intimated the encouragement the rebels might derive from the assumption of his countenance: they contradicted the remonstrance of their own officers, the lords-justices, by observing that his presence was rendered unnecessary by the late successes against the rebels, and ended by throwing aside pretexts, and fairly declaring their desire to have the war left to their own management; and their intention "to govern the kingdom by the advice of parliament for his majesty and for his posterity." To this the distressing position of the king's affairs compelled him to submit.

In the mean time, the English parliament concluded a treaty, highly favourable to the system of policy they were pursuing, with their own party in Scotland, by which, without suffering the hazard of their policy, they contrived to arrange with their allies the Scottish commissioners in London for the occupation of the north of Ireland by a body of ten thousand Scottish soldiers. Such was the origin of the armament under Monroe, who landed at Carrickfergus about the middle of April, while the communications just adverted to between the king and parliament were pending. The conduct of Monroe we have already commented upon: it was in precise accordance with the policy here attributed to the parliamentary party, and there can be no ground for hesitation in identifying them. Monroe occupied an influential and central position in Ulster, but only acted so far as appeared necessary for the security of a commanding neutrality; seizing on the king's partisans when they fell into his power; or attacking the rebels when they appeared to endanger his own security. Along with his own force, and under his command, were joined such forces as were subject to the authority of the parliament in that province, making altogether an army sufficiently formidable if commanded to any purpose.

The earl was during these events mainly confined to Dublin a reluctant witness of counsels to which he could little consent, yet had no power to resist. Under these circumstances his conduct was discreet and cautious. It is one of the prominent traits indeed of the character of this great man, that while his conduct was always firm and strenuous, his manner and his professions of opinion were marked by prudent moderation. Where it was vain to resist by actions, and where nothing was to be expected from remonstrance, he quietly

* Husband's Collection, quoted by Carte.

yielded to circumstances, and contented himself with watching for occasions, which, when they presented themselves, were never suffered to pass, though often to the sacrifice of the nearest personal considerations. Of this an instance finds its place here. In the end of March, the lords-justices resolved on sending out a large detachment for their favourite purpose of wasting and burning the lands and tenements of rebels who had left their homes in Kildare. On this expedition the earl of Ormonde received orders to march. The earl, who was always averse from such a task, saw nevertheless an occasion for exploits of a more worthy and honourable kind. He marched out and commenced a series of able and effective operations, which the lords-justices presently attempted to interrupt. The earl's countess and his family, with an hundred protestants who had found refuge at his house in Carrick-on-Suir, had just arrived safely in Dublin, and the lords-justices sent to acquaint him of the event, with permission to join them: the earl declined the insidious offer and pursued his march. He advanced to Kilkullen, Athy, Stradbally and Maryborough, as he went, detaching parties to the relief of the principal castles and forts in the rebels' possession, and securing the country on every side. It was upon this march that the distinguished conduct of Sir C. Coote, who was detached to the relief of Birr, occurred* in the woods of Mountrath.

As the earl was on his return to Dublin, after the full execution of these important services, he was checked near Athy by a strong rebel force under lord Mountgarret, who had under his command the chief rebel leaders with 8000 infantry and several troops of horse. The incident was indeed alarming; for, at this period of the march, the forces of the earl were exhausted, their horses out of serviceable condition, their ammunition spent in supplying the garrisons which they had relieved, and the whole force trifling in numerical comparison with the enemy, which seemed to menace inevitable destruction.

The earl, attended by Sir T. Lucas, took a party of 200 horse, and marched out to reconnoitre, after which he called a council, in which the above circumstances were taken into account, together with the advantageous position of the enemy. It was agreed on to march towards Dublin, and not to attack them, unless they should themselves be tempted to begin, a highly probable event, which would have the effect of altering their position, and placing them in circumstances more favourable for an effective assault. In pursuance of this plan, the earl, with 2500 men, pursued the march to Dublin. In front he detached Cornet Pollard with a party of thirty horse to spread out among the numerous bushes which then covered the road sides, and facilitated those ambushes which were the prevalent danger of Irish war. Next followed Sir T. Lucas with six troops of horse. The baggage of the army filled the intervals: after which came the earl himself leading a troop of volunteers, among whom were lord Dillon, lord Brabazon, and other distinguished persons. Four "divisions" of foot came next, not much like the divisions of modern war, amounting each to three hundred men, and followed by the artillery: after these four other divisions of foot, and

* Vol. II., Life of Sir C. Coote.

then three troops of horse, headed by Sir C. Willoughby; the rear was closed by a few companies of foot led by Sir C. Coote.

They had scarcely gone a mile, when, about three miles off on the other side of a red bog, the long files of glittering pikes appeared in dense order, passing rapidly by the tower of Killika, with the evident design of intercepting them on their march. It must, under these circumstances, have been concluded by the earl, that he was not likely to pass without a battle. His dispositions were prompt and decisive; he caused his pioneers to clear a road on the right, and thus enabled the foot to disengage themselves from the baggage. He sent out Cornet Magrath with thirty horse to observe the rebels' march. He easily inferred that their design was to seize on the pass of Ballysonan, through which his march lay. Not being encumbered by baggage, the rebels marched much faster than the English. But they had a considerable circuit to take, and the earl, anticipating their purpose from their speed, sent on Lucas to seize the pass, with some troops of horse—a movement which may, in some degree, have been favoured by the accident of not having been seen by the rebels, as at this part of the way a hill intervened between the armies. They were thus obscured from each other for about two miles.

The detachment under Lucas was successful, and when the rebels came within view of the pass, they were surprised and mortified to find it in the possession of their enemies. They halted upon the hill side. In the mean time the earl came up: he caused the baggage to be drawn into the rear, and sent to hasten the march of Coote and Grenville.

The rebels were partly seen, as they stood half-way up the hill and facing the pass. They were marshalled with considerable skill, and presented an imposing appearance with their close array and their numerous ensigns waving on the breeze. The earl drew up the four divisions of foot which were on the ground, in order of battle, within "two musquet shot" of them, and marked the places into which the remaining divisions were to fall as they came up. These divisions, or rather companies, hurried forward, and as they were small bodies, were quickly in their places. The earl, without further delay, commanded the whole line to move forward against the enemy, and they advanced at a rapid pace up the hill. They had not gone far before they met with a check, the consequence of which ought to have been fatal, had there been on the enemy's part the skill or promptitude to take advantage of such an incident: their forward movement was interrupted by a hollow which had concealed a hedge until their line was stopped by it, and they were compelled to take a considerable circuit, after which they formed again on the other side within musket shot of the rebels, who should unquestionably have attacked them during this awkward movement. But the courage of undisciplined soldiers, when not excited by action, is always apt to be chilled at the appearance of an enemy's advance. Their leaders could, in all probability, have no authority sufficient to move a body of men, who, though resolved to fight, were waiting to be roused by blows. With this infatuation the rebels stood their ground, and suffered a considerable number of the English to regain their order of assault, and draw up again just beneath them,

without any interruption. This was indeed in some measure aided by the skill of the earl, who contrived to amuse their attention by a continual fire of cannon and musketry, and also, by sending forward several small skirmishing parties; and, while this was going on, Sir T. Lucas, who occupied the right wing of the English, fortunately discovered a wide gap in the hedge, and passed through with three troops of horse. Without a second's delay they charged at a round trot into the left of the rebels, who had manifestly looked on their movements with a wavering resolution. The moment the English horse reached them, they gave way without a blow; and as the infantry at the same time came rushing up the hill, the disorder ran along their line, and immediately the entire of the left wing, with their officers, were hurrying on in a tumultuous and panic-stricken disorder, down towards the red bog. Their horse stood for a few minutes longer, but were charged by Sir C. Grenville at the head of his troop, and followed the fugitives. The right of the Irish were commanded by Mountgarret in person, and comprised the more select companies under Moore, Byrne, and other principal officers: these men looked calmly on the rout of their companions and kept their ground; on them the hope of the rebel chiefs had been fixed. The earl of Ormonde seeing this, advanced in person against them with his volunteers, and three hundred infantry, led by Sir John Sherlock. They maintained their reputation, by standing during the exchange of some volleys, and when the earl began to advance, they retreated in order before him till they reached the top of the hill; there they caught a sight of the bog and their flying companions, and breaking into utter confusion, rushed in wild disorder down the hill. The number of their slain was seven hundred, among whom were numbered several colonels and other officers. The earl lost twenty men. A detailed account of the fight was transmitted by the Irish government to the house of Commons, in which it was read, and afterwards published by their order. In this account the earl is mentioned as "ordering the battle and manner of fight in all the parts of it, and doing it with very great judgment, laying hold quickly and seasonably on all opportunities of advantage that could be gained, and sparing not resolutely to expose his own person to hazard equally with any other commander." The earl, not being allowed the means to follow up this success, returned immediately after to Dublin.

On the May following the synod of the Romish clergy was held in Kilkenny, and those formal acts took place which established the confederate assembly, and gave another form to the rebellion. The history of these events we have introduced in our memoir of the rebel leader Owen O'Neill, with whose arrival in Ireland this change was coincident. In that memoir may be found sufficient extracts from their acts and resolutions, and something of a brief internal view of their designs and composition. We must here be compelled to view them occasionally and at a greater distance, receding in the mass of circumstances.

The lords-justices during this time were hurried on into inconsistencies of conduct, of the motives of which, were it worth a lengthened investigation for so trifling a purpose, it would be hard to give any

very precise explanation. But it may be generally observed that their position was beginning to be a little more intelligible to themselves, as their difficulties increased; and that thus while maintaining the same system of policy in subservience to their puritan masters, they were from time to time alarmed by incidents which made them apprehensive for themselves and doubtful of the safety of carrying much further the inconsistent plan of irritating and insulting, without taking any step for effectual coercion. They had pursued this course from the commencement of the rebellion, scattering vengeance with unsparing and indiscriminate fury, and driving the peaceful and unwilling into rebellion; while with equal constancy they restrained the hands of the earl and his officers from meeting the enemy as they should alone have been met, in the field. Until at last, about the time at which we are arrived, the resources which might but a few months sooner have terminated the war, became exhausted, while the army, in want of every necessary, and unpaid the balance due to them, became insubordinate and refused to march. The parliament of England saw with indifference a state of things favourable to their own purposes; the zeal which they affected was but specious and supplied an ample source for slanders against the king. But it was otherwise with Parsons—he with his colleague in office, was compelled to endure the inconveniences and dangers of such a course. His very safety might depend upon the balance of parties, of whom the majority of those, even on his own side, disapproved of all his proceedings. Thus though willing to paralyze the arms of the earl of Ormonde and of the loyalists, he was anxiously alive to the danger of being left without an army on which he could reckon.

Thus while the officers immediately under the influence of the lords-justices, and who acted in the spirit of their instructions were rousing the towns and cities of Connaught into a second outbreak, by the most wanton and insolent outrages; the lords-justices were petitioning for aids in men and money to the parliament, and striving to force their crippled, starved, naked, and mutinous soldiers to march on their petty expeditions. In this state of things, the rebels were again growing formidable in the western counties. They had been restrained by the spirit, activity, and prudence of the earl of Clanricarde, but the able and judicious combination of force and moderation by which this nobleman induced the most turbulent spirits to submission, was frustrated by the intolerable tyranny of a few parliamentary officers, whose savage and unprovoked brutalities excited a general alarm and resentment. Clanricarde himself was reproved for accepting of submissions; his protection violated, his own people, and even an officer who served under him seized and imprisoned. Lord Ranelagh, then president of Connaught, and the earl of Clanricarde remonstrated strongly against these proceedings, and their representations were strenuously supported in council by the earl of Ormonde. The consequences were not slow to appear in a general and rapid growth of dissatisfaction through the counties of Mayo and Galway, while the rebels were completely masters of the field in Sligo and Roscommon.

In this most alarming condition of affairs, the Irish administration was roused to some show of opposition, and a considerable effort was agreed upon in the council. The earl of Ormonde was ordered to

march with 4500 infantry and 600 horse, for the purpose of re-inforcing the lord-president. Leaving Dublin for this purpose on June 14th, on a service which, from the state of the country at the time, was considered to require his ability and prudence, the earl proceeded on his march. On the way he took the castle of Knocklinch by storm, and gave the rout to a strong party of rebels, who posted themselves to dispute his way in the pass of Ballinacor. Lord Netterville fled at his approach, leaving his castle which he had fortified and burning his town. Sir James Dillon, who had besieged Athlone for six months, retired before him. The lord-president who was shut up there without the means of defence, was thus set at liberty to meet the earl and to receive command of the reinforcement intended for him. The earl of Ormonde marched back to Dublin.

During his absence, the lords-justices had been proceeding in that most insidious and pernicious course of measures, by which they were at the same time working to transfer the king's authority, already reduced to a mere form, to their masters the rebel parliament of England, and swelling the ranks of their enemies by the most unmeasured and unprovoked acts of tyranny. Had their power been levelled directly against the hierarchy and priesthood of the church of Rome, it would be an easy task to vindicate their policy; however we may feel inclined on the score of conscience to acquit that able and consistent body for their steady hostility to the church and government, which they were bound to regard as heretical, there can be little doubt of the reciprocal obligations of those who were by ties of no less force bound to the defence of these institutions. But there was neither wisdom, sound expediency or justice, in the unmerited severities which had the effect of rousing the pride, resentment, and fear of the Roman catholic laity; of driving them into the precincts of a powerful and dangerous hostility, and thenceforth converting religious persuasion into an influential element of political division. These wretched and incapable tools of a grasping and usurping fanaticism had not the power to calculate the full consequences of arousing the action of one of an opposite character, far more longbreathed and vital, because founded upon principles more removed from impulse and enthusiasm. They could not observe, (or reason upon the observation,) how little influence their creeds have upon the main conduct of most men, until they become embodied in the tangible element of party feeling, when the basest felon who is ready to bid defiance to every sacred obligation, will fight to the death for his altar, because it is his party. It is indeed a matter of nicety to mark the line of moderation and firmness; but we are inclined to think that the laity of the Roman church would never have been thus embodied into a religious party, by a line of firm and decisive control, directed against the then visibly dangerous influences of the Roman see. They saw the real state of things, and their predilections were all on the side of the crown and constitution of England. They had with a wise and politic moderation, been satisfied to see their church subsist under restraints by connivances which were the mild but effective outwork against inroads, of which they knew the danger. They were peaceful, submissive, and always prompt to assert their loyalty. But by the policy now adopted it was no longer a matter of individual con-

duct, feeling or opinion; a line of conduct conveying disqualification and prescription beyond the letter of the law, spread terror, discontent and indignation through every rank. The most loyal and influential persons of most counties were first by an order and then by a bill excluded from the parliament, which was then called, and by such a comprehensive insult and injury sifted into a lesser counterpart of the English commons. The alarm and offence were, as ever happens with unpopular measures, still more injurious than the acts; the Roman catholics were terrified with apprehensions of utter extirpation, and it is little likely that such fears were allowed to fall unimproved to the ground. To add to these mischiefs, it was a most flagitious and scandalous part of the system of proceedings at this time adopted, to drive out of Dublin resident gentry of the Roman catholic persuasion, into the arms of those among whom they could only find safety by enlisting in their ranks. That such was the direct design of the lords-justices is indeed the inference of Carte, and upon no slight grounds; he reasons from their letters to the parliament of England, and a variety of circumstances, that being fearful of committing the injustice of a more direct attack on the liberty and property of the Roman catholics, they proceeded to effect their purpose by means which were calculated to work by terror and anger. Among these the principal was an urgent and oft repeated application for permission to bring the penal statutes, which were in fact nothing more than a precautionary provision against dangers always possible, into full and active operation: a step equally precipitate and cruel: whatever were their intentions, the purpose of kindling a universal discontent was effected.

Among the most effective of their opponents, the earl of Ormonde was foremost. His great ability is indeed strongly illustrated by the mere fact of his being enabled to stand his ground and hold a very influential authority under a system of usurpation so grasping, lawless and intriguing. His wisdom, honesty and courage were more than equal to the little official cunning of Parsons; but he was unsupported, and his authority was undermined, by powers against which he was altogether unprovided with any means of resistance: he was even tied down by those very laws which his opponents only regarded as instruments to be used and-thrown aside. His movements against the rebels were overruled; his attempts to moderate the councils of government slighted; his efforts to protect the innocent baffled and counteracted. His private fortune was chiefly in the hands of the rebels, and his pay as the king's lieutenant-general was withheld. The difficulties with which he had to strive were great beyond the possibility of any ordinary stretch of apprehension. In his command he was thwarted and crossed by the earl of Leicester, at this time lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but living in England, from which he sent his orders at the prescription of parliament, which had thus the disposal of every thing. And thus even the army under the earl of Ormonde's nominal command was officered by his enemies, the creatures and servants of the parliament, so far as this change could be brought about by filling the vacancies as they fell. To this injustice the earl was compelled to submit, for though the inconvenience of which it was productive was quickly and severely felt, and though on the earl's application, the king

gave his express warrant empowering him to appoint his officers; yet such was the difficulty of the king's position, and the necessity of conciliating his powerful enemies, that it was thought wise to keep this warrant secret for a time; a most unwise course and evidently tending to cause future misunderstandings, if the earl should in any way have recourse to what would thus seem to be an unwarranted assumption of authority. And such indeed was the actual consequence when on the death of Sir C. Coote, the earl appointed lord Dillon to his command. The earl of Leicester was violently offended; while the earl of Ormonde was placed in an embarrassing situation, and both parties were impelled to maintain their assumed right, by complaints and angry representations. The earl of Ormonde on this occasion felt himself obliged to assert his right and support lord Dillon, whose claims on the score of public service and private friendship were such as to make it both unjust and embarrassing to insult him by withdrawing his appointment. Another instance of the same nature occurred on the appointment of Sir Philip Perceval, and on this occasion the language of the earl of Leicester seems strangely inconsistent with the fact that he really took no concern in the duties of his office, and that, unless for the purpose of embarrassing the king and the actual administration of Ireland, he took no part in the affairs of a country which he did not even think fit to visit. The assertion that "the lieutenant-general had not given him so much as the respect due to a private colonel, who in most places have the naming of their own officers," involves a singular confusion of ideas, as it precisely describes the injustice which the earl sustained from his lordship's interference, and has very much the tone of the wolf accusing the lamb in one of *Æsop's* fables. Yet this absurd resentment of lord Leicester was genuine; so great was his wrath on this occasion, that he would not write to the earl, but sent over to his own son lord Lisle, a commission for another to fill the command given to Perceval. The inconvenience of this proceeding was no less apparent than the injustice was glaring, and Perceval himself had probably some interest in the castle, for the council interfered in his behalf. The earl sent over Sir Patrick Wemyss, when the earl of Leicester met him before the king at York, and had the effrontery to justify his own conduct, and to hazard a declaration that no one should be admitted to any command without the consent of parliament. The king felt himself compelled to support his own servant, and from the house of Sir Thomas Leigh, where he was then residing, he wrote to the Irish lords-justices and council "that it was by his own special command and authority under his hand, that the earl of Ormonde had, in the absence of the lord-lieutenant, conferred upon divers persons several places in the army; that he had given him this authority to encourage the soldiers to exert themselves with greater readiness and vigour, in obeying and executing his commands in the important services wherein they were employed against the rebels there; for which it was necessary that the commander in chief should have a power to prefer them, and that it was his will and command, that all such persons as had been already, or should hereafter be so preferred by the said lieutenant-

general of the army, in the absence of the lord-lieutenant, should be continued in places and commands."*

The resolution of the king on this occasion was become necessary. The commissions of the earl of Ormonde were still subject to be rendered of little avail if the lord-lieutenant should think proper to visit Ireland in person. Of these commissions the first was terminable on such an event, and the second placed his authority entirely under the discretion of the lord-lieutenant; there is also much reason to think that such is the course which would have been adopted for the mere purpose of setting aside one whose known principles were not to be reconciled with the parliamentary policy of keeping Ireland disturbed to weaken the king; the castle of Dublin was even got ready for the reception of the earl of Leicester. But this part of the design was rendered null, by a new commission to the earl of Ormonde appointing him to hold his command directly from the king and independently of any other authority; he was also at the same time advanced to the dignity of marquess. These arrangements had an immediate and salutary effect, and very much tended to counteract the efforts then made to engage the army in Ireland to declare for parliament. For this purpose, among other means of a less ostensible character, a draught of a declaration to be signed by the officers of the army was prepared, and submitted to the marquess of Ormonde, who objected to its main averments ascribing the success of the government in keeping down the rebellion, to the counsels of the administration, and praying in the king's name for a compliance with his parliament. The marquess produced an amended draught, removing these objectionable points, and changing the last mentioned prayer into a form, "that the parliament by its timely compliance with the king, would save the nation," the declaration in consequence fell to the ground.

The military events of this interval, composing chiefly the history of the year 1642, have been already related. The battle of Liscarrol was won by the earl of Inchiquin. The various battles and other incidents which marked this period of the rebellion in the counties of the west and south, are not such as to need repetition. Owen O'Neill's arrival in July, and the confederacy in Kilkenny are fully detailed in the memoir of this leader. We have also had occasion to mention the use which the king's enemies in England made of these incidents to embarrass him more deeply and to increase their own strength, by levies of men and money under the cover of an Irish expedition. As the rupture between the king and parliament rapidly approached its full maturity, the lords-justices encroached with more boldness, decision and success, on the authority of every adherent of the king in Ireland; and the marquess found himself involved in deeper difficulties. The absolute exhaustion of all resources of a public or private nature reduced him to the painful position of looking on during the entire mismanagement of affairs which were nominally under his charge. His own debts were accumulated to a great amount, and his property had become unproductive. In the same year he was attacked by a violent fever, which brought him

* Carte.

to the brink of the grave, and he had not well recovered when the marchioness and lord Thurles were seized with an illness of the most alarming nature. During his illness the marquess dictated a letter to Sir Philip Perceval, addressed to the king, a part of which will give the reader a lively idea of the condition of things at that time:—He represented the condition of his own estate, which he said “was torn and rent from him by the fury of the rebellion, and nothing left to support his wife and children whilst the rebellion should last, but his majesty’s great goodness, which had never failed him, and which he besought his majesty to extend towards them, by making some honourable provision for them, till his own estate might be so settled as thereout they might receive convenient maintenance. He added, that his estate was at present in such circumstances, that if his majesty did not in his abundant goodness think of some course, how his debts (as great part whereof had been contracted and drawn upon him in his majesty’s service) might be thereafter satisfied, his house and posterity must of necessity sink under the weight thereof, since they were many and great, and the interest growing thereupon would in a short time exceed the debts. As an help towards the payment thereof, or at least as a means to prevent their increasing, he besought his majesty to grant him, or (if he died of that sickness) to the lord Thurles, so much of the tenements and hereditaments in the city and suburbs of Kilkenny, as should accrue to his majesty by forfeiture, and owed rent or service to him or his wife; this being conceived to be in the king’s free disposal, as not being within the intent of the late act in England, which seemed to extend only to lands to be admeasured, and not to houses.”*

The lords-justices availed themselves of the illness of the marquess, to make some very influential alterations in the army. These we must pass in order to confine this memoir within reasonable limits. At this time, and during the year 1643, the efforts made to draw the army into the service of the parliament were unremitting and unconcealed: but the main sinew of all such efforts was wanting: the parliament had no desire to waste its resources on Irish ground. The army was found untractable: the soldiers had nothing more than a penurious subsistence, and the condition of the officers was deplorable indeed: they did not receive any pay, and were suffering all conceivable privations. An insidious attempt was made to bribe them with a most fallacious expectation: a book was made and sent round to the officers for subscription, in which they were to declare their free consent to take portions of the rebels’ lands, “when they should be declared to be subdued,”† in lieu of their arrears and pay. To give the more speciousness to this trick, the official persons of the Irish government subscribed; and thus, many officers were drawn in. The officers however who had subscribed, and many who had not, insisting on certain further security, soon found reason to suspect the real design, and retracted; nor could they be satisfied until the book was given up to a committee of their own body. A remonstrance which the earl of Kildare and other principal officers in consequence drew up, will give the most authentic view of

* Carte.

† Ibid.

the real state of military affairs at that time, and no small insight into the views of every party. In their preamble they mention their having appealed in vain to the parliament for the supply of their wants, and having failed in every application, they were obliged to appeal to his sacred majesty, &c., and they then go on to state, "that as well by the act of parliament in England, as by the covenants with the lord-lieutenant, and by the promises of the lords-justices and council of Ireland, they were to have their pay made good to them as well for their carriages as themselves and their soldiers. That both officers and soldiers had faithfully answered all services that could be expected from them, not only in the frequent hazard of their lives, but also in the constant discharge of their duties. That notwithstanding the starving condition of the army, all the extremity of strictness in musters was put upon them, with an oath tendered as well to the soldiers as officers, which could not but leave upon them a character of distrust of their integrity in the cause; and yet they had no assured hopes of assistance, but rather their fears increased of having the highest severities used to them in these checks, which in an army so ill paid and oppressed with want and misery, was without precedent. That in all armies military offences, of what nature soever, had been punishable by martial law only, and no other; a privilege which they pleaded, and maintained to be inseparable to their profession. That there never had since the beginning of the service been any account made with them, so as if they should miscarry, their heirs were ignorant what to demand, which not only discouraged the officers, but disabled them to subsist and continue in the service. That with all humility they craved leave to present to the memories of the lords-justices and council, what vast sums of money had been raised and paid in England for the advancement of the service and supply of their wants in Ireland; a great part whereof had been otherwise applied, even when their necessities were most pressing, and the cause most hopeful. That when their expectations were most set upon the performance of what was justly due to them, the small pay issued out was given them in a coin, much a stranger to that wherein the parliament had paid it, and yet continued to be so, though publicly disallowed by them; by which means the officers suffered an insupportable loss, whilst others wanted not the confidence to advance their own fortunes out of their general calamities: a crime they conceived highly censurable; and if in indigent times so much strictness were needful in the army, they conceived it as necessary for the state to find out such offenders, and to measure out a punishment suitable to an offence of so high an abuse. *That their arrears, which were great, might be duly answered them in money, and not in subscriptions, which they conceived to be an hard condition for them to venture their lives on:* and likewise humbly offered it to consideration, whether they might not be thought to deserve rewards in land without other price, as well as in former rebellions in that kingdom, others had done. For these reasons, in acquittal of themselves to God, the king, the cause, the country, and the state of Ireland, they had thus represented their condition, craving what their rights and necessities required for them, that they might be duly answered what was, or should be due to them in their employ-

ment according to their capitulation, their services being justly esteemed. Musters without oath, unless duly paid; checks according to the articles of war; their offences limited to the proper judicatory, their own oppressors found out, and punished exemplarily, with satisfaction to those they had wronged; that their pay might be converted only to the use the act of parliament had prescribed; their accounts speedily made up according to their several musters; their arrears secured, and due provision to be made for the subsistence of officers and soldiers. All this they desired might be answered otherwise than by verbal expressions, and that their lordships would speedily make it appear that there was a real care taken for their subsistence; or otherwise, by receiving so small hope of further assistance from the parliament (of England) their lordships would leave them to themselves, to take such course as should best suit to the glory of God, the honour of the king, and their own urgent necessities."

This remonstrance was entrusted to the care of the marquess, who communicated it to the council. The lords-justices were anxious to appease the army, and equally unwilling to forward their petition to the king. They suppressed the paper, but made an attempt, at the same time ineffective and oppressive, to levy a small sum for the relief of the officers. The marquess when he ascertained their design of withholding the petition, himself enclosed it to the king.

At this time an anxious effort was made by the nobles of the rebel party, and seconded as anxiously by the king's friends, to effect a pacification. The lords-justices opposed the proceedings adopted for this purpose by every method in their power: among other courses adopted for this end, none was so likely to be successful as the promotion of active hostilities: a course indeed otherwise rendered necessary by the active operations of an enemy which moved unresisted in every direction. The presence also of an army which they found no means to pay, and could ill restrain, was not very convenient, and it was on every ground desirable to send them out of town on some expedition where they might be more useful and less troublesome. With this view, the army was ordered out to take possession of Ross and Wexford, under the command of lord Lisle; this expedition had already been strongly urged by the marquess, but deferred by the lords-justices for the expected arrival of the lord-lieutenant. The marquess now came forward and declared his intention to command the troops in person, and the declaration was a shock to the council. They had subscribed to facilitate their object, but on this disappointment, they were strongly urged by the parliament committee, who governed all their conduct, and in fact, presided over the Irish council, to withhold the money. With this intention the council passed a vote, declaring that "the intended expedition should be left wholly to the lieutenant-general and the council of war, notwithstanding any former debate or resolution taken by the board concerning the same."*

On March 2d, 1648, the marquess left town with 2500 foot, and 500 horse. After taking Castle Martin, Kildare and other castles on

* Carte.

the way, they proceeded by easy marches toward Ross, where he arrived on the 12th, and erected his battery before the walls.

The garrison was inconsiderable, but the rebel army lay in great force in the vicinity, and during the night 1500 men were added to their strength.

The marquess anxiously awaited the vessel which the council had agreed to send after him with bread and ammunition, but of this the motives of their party policy served to retard the execution. Under various pretences it was deferred until the wind became unfavourable, and the marquess, after seeing his troops suffer severely, was compelled to send for supplies to Duncannon fort, from which the governor, lord Esmond, forwarded to him all the bread and ammunition he could spare: with these he also sent his own bark, and another vessel mounting a small gun, which for a time gave much trouble to the garrison, but a battery was planted against it, and as the wind and tide were unfavourable to escape, the crews were compelled to leave their vessels and make the best of their way to the marquess.

Unable to wait any longer for supplies of which he must have had slight expectation, the marquess opened his fire, and a practicable breach was soon effected. He commanded an assault; but the garrison were in fact as strong as their assailants, and these were retarded by wool-packs and other obstacles under the cover of which they were repulsed with some loss. The position of the marquess was become perplexing enough, his whole stock of food amounted to four biscuits a man, and at this moment general Preston hung upon his rear with 6000 foot, and 650 horse. The marquess called a council, and after considering all circumstances, resolved to face Preston, and take the alternative of a battle, or a retreat towards Dublin. On his advance, Preston retired towards a strong line of wood and bog, and was joined by the body of men which he had thrown into Ross. The marquess took his ground for the night on a large heath within two miles of Ross, and within sight of the rebel quarters. On the next morning early, he observed that they were in motion, and conjecturing from their movements that they intended an attack, he rode up to Sir H. Willoughby the serjeant-major-general, and gave orders for the disposition of his little army. The soldiers of the marquess were drawn up in battle array on the slope of a rising ground, with the six pieces of artillery between the divisions. Between the two armies there lay a low swell of the ground just sufficient to conceal the infantry from each other. To the top of this both generals sent out small parties, which returned without coming to blows. After closely inspecting the ground, the marquess gave orders to Willoughby to advance the men to the top of the hill, as they would thereby gain the advantage of the sun and wind. Willoughby obeyed his orders, but a mistake was committed by the lieutenant of the ordnance who neglected to bring forward the guns. While this error was repaired, the enemy's horse collected for an attack in a broad lane between two high ditches: two regiments were advanced to oppose them, and drawn up against the entrance of the lane, and as this for a short time had the expected effect of checking their intended movement, the two culverins were in the interval brought up and planted to advantage, so as to bear into the mouth of

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the lane: when this was completed, the two regiments were commanded to open to the right and left, very much in the style of Milton's rebel host, who probably took a hint from the battle of Ross, which was fought perhaps before the composition of his poem: the reader may recollect the manœuvre in *Paradise lost*,* which we should here quote, but that thirty lines of verse would be an unsuitable interruption in the middle of a fight. As the English infantry unfolded their front "to right and left," the culverins discharged their contents upon the rebel cavalry with such effect, that eighty men were killed at one fire: they were thrown into a panic, and with cries of dismay and terror, rushed out of the lane into the next field. The cannon of the marquess were that day worked by Sir T. Esmond's seamen, who maintained their fire with unusual skill and effect, by which means the disorder of the enemy's cavalry was kept up; the marquess sent orders to his cavalry, commanded by lord Lucas and lord Lisle, to charge them. This charge was rendered in some degree difficult by the hot cannonade which the English sailors kept up, and the entrance into the park was obstructed by a formidable ditch. The gallant officers nevertheless promptly obeyed their lieutenant-general's command, and rode up to the ditch in a style not unworthy of Melton, where the ditches are not often as formidable, and the steeds much better. Lucas had the misfortune to be thrown with his horse, and before he could rise, was severely wounded in the head. Lisle's horse was so severely wounded that he was forced to mount another: a confused and desultory skirmish which was rather individual than collective, ensued: and thus the two bodies continued for a long time mixed together, and fighting man to man. During this time the marquess was in great uneasiness about his horse, as the confusion of the combatants was so great. He now decided to cross the ditch and to attack the main body, which as yet stood inert under the fire of the battery which had played on their ranks from the commencement of the cavalry's charge. He caused a strong party of the musqueteers to fire a few volleys upon them while he led his men across the ditch; and when they had come within a convenient distance, the word was passed to charge, and setting up a loud cheer, the English rushed forward against the enemy. The enemy did not await the collision; but turning about, fled in great confusion over the bog. The flight continued until they reached a hill on the other side where they had quartered the night previous. Here they attempted a stand, but on four regiments moving forward to attack them, they turned again and continued their flight until they had the Bannow between them and danger. Preston then ordered the bridge to be broken behind them: his loss amounted to five hundred men, with all his ammunition and baggage: among the slain were many persons of rank. The marquess lost twenty men. His victory was complete, but the conduct of his cavalry gave rise to mysterious doubts and suspicions: as the result of their charge was both unusual and difficult to be accounted for on any supposition, but that they were privately, under some influence, engaged to counteract the operations of the marquess. They were in point of number nearly equal to the rebels, who, in addition

* *Paradise Lost*, book VI. 558.

to the state of confusion and flight in which they were assailed, were extremely inferior in all respects, both in men, horses, arms and discipline; nor could it on any reasonable ground, drawn from previous experience, be imagined that they could continue for a few minutes to exchange blows with their opponents, without being routed with much loss: such had, till then, been the uniform result, and mostly under circumstances less favourable to the English. On the flight of Preston's foot, his cavalry were allowed to march off without further molestation, to the great vexation of the marquess, who clearly saw that some sinister influence had accompanied him to the field, and paralyzed one of his most effective arms, so as very much to impair the value of his victory. Preston had indeed committed an oversight, in a very high degree advantageous to the earl's subsequent movements: as it was imperatively necessary that he should lead back his men, destitute as he was of all means of subsisting them or keeping the field. He must otherwise speedily have become involved in difficulties, which would place him at the mercy of a force like Preston's, overwhelming in numbers, and amply provided with every munition of war. Had Owen O'Neile been in the place of Preston, he would undoubtedly have pursued a far different course; instead of the unpardonable mistake of a battle, he would have watched with Fabian caution the movements of an exhausted enemy who had neither food nor ammunition for more than the effort of an hour: he would have hung upon his retreat, which could not have been postponed another day, and pursued his daily diminishing numbers and exhausted force into the defiles and dangerous passes of sixty miles of most difficult march; and before half of its difficulties were overcome, he would have burst upon his exhausted and broken troops at some unfavourable moment, and with twenty men to one, have rendered even a struggle hopeless. Instead of this, Preston, having rashly ventured the fight, with the precipitance of fear, overlooked the real condition of the conquerors, and to prevent a pursuit which was not to be expected, by breaking down the bridge over the Bannow he cut off his only prospect of success, and secured the retreat of the marquess. By this ill-conceived step of his enemy, the marquess was left unmolested by a foe, to pursue his difficult and distressing march over a road nearly impervious to his artillery and baggage; and which presented difficulties formidable to his officers and men. In the mean time, the distress of the lords-justices was fast increasing: they were become so destitute of all means of support for the small garrison retained in Dublin, that at last they were compelled to quarter them upon the inhabitants who were themselves in a condition not much better. The suffering in consequence rose to a considerable height, and the fear much greater; for while the citizens were deserting their homes, under the apprehension of approaching destitution, it was known that the marquess, with his famishing army, were on their approach to the city. To ward off this severe emergency, some means were taken by the government, but ere they could in any way be effective, the marquess arrived. The effect was deplorable; to have the slightest hope of maintaining the army thus unseasonably increased, they were not only forced to expel all strangers, amounting to many thousand English; but were compelled to make a second inroad upon the merchants' stores, which

deprived them of all their remaining commodities, and was insufficient to remedy the evil.

We shall not here need to dwell on the treaties and commissions which commenced about this time between the king's commissioners and the confederates. We have already in several memoirs, had occasion to notice them as fully as their intrinsic importance demands. The reader is probably aware of the general view which we have taken of the conduct and designs of the two main parties thus opposed to each other. The popular party and their opponents are at this time little to be recognized in their real and peculiar characters, from the overwhelming agency of a party and of a policy, wholly distinct from either: and of which it was the present object to keep up the contention between them. This fact is here the more essential to our purpose to notice: because in strongly animadverting on the line of conduct observed by this middle party, the parliamentary rebels of England, it has been difficult to preserve with any tolerable distinctness the just line between the actual parties of Irish growth; a difficulty much increased by the complication which existed in the composition of the popular party. There were the mob, under the control of their spiritual guides, who acted solely with the view of obtaining the ascendancy of their church: they were mainly headed by a class of adventurers, who while they were subservient to those, had purposes entirely peculiar to themselves. Another great party who acted with these, but under the influence of far other motives, were the Roman catholic nobility and gentry, who were driven to arms by the wrongs and insults they had received from a government, equally cruel, unjust, and insolent to all, and acting under the authority of the rebel parliament of England. It was unfortunate, and led to much added bitterness, and has left prejudices not yet abated, that this confusion of objects and interests was not at the time sufficiently understood or allowed for. The Roman catholic lords, by confusing their own cause with that of the clergy, rendered redress difficult, and gave a tone of injustice and extravagance to their complaints by demands which were embodied in most of their state papers, and which we believe to have been very far from their real objects: and thus it occurred that their real, just and constitutional complaints, were not very unreasonably classed with the pernicious and exorbitant demands with which they were thus embodied. Far worse at the time than these, was the animosity pervading the minds of the mass on either side, always incapable of just distinctions, and never correctly informed: to all of these, one impression distorted by a million fears and rumours, refracted into every monstrous uncouth and unholy shape through the universal atmosphere of terror that had fallen upon the country, presented itself to the apprehension: it was the combined effect of the worst crimes committed by fanatics, plunderers, or oppressors, in each of the many parties and political sects which on either side were confused together. The most moderate of the rebels were involved in the massacres committed by the banditti of O'Neile and his plundering confraternity: while the most humane, loyal and temperate of the protestants were not free from the odium of the parliamentary puritans, who had an equal disregard for both. To these reflections we shall here only add, that having attentively per-

used the documents of a public nature in which the representations of each of these parties is set forth, we should be reluctant wholly to subscribe to any one of them. But generally speaking, the real objects of the aristocracy on both sides only required to be sifted from demands that were not sincere, and reproaches which were not just, to bring them to a perfect agreement.

It is to the immortal honour of the marquess of Ormonde, to have stood clear from the crimes and prejudices of both parties, and to have been trusted and honoured by the wise and good of all; an honour more conspicuous, because of all the great public men of his day, it can be claimed by himself and the earl of Clanricarde alone. While he beat the rebels in the field of battle and resisted the lords-justices in council, he was at the same time anxiously watching for every occasion to bring about that peace which was so desirable to all, on the most just and equitable basis. The confederates forwarded their remonstrance, already quoted in this volume, to the king, who sent to the marquess, observing strongly the impossibility of complying with some of the petitions it contained. He was equally unfavourable to a letter which he received from the lords-justices and council. The terms proposed by either party were indeed sufficiently extreme, to leave room for ample modifications between; if the Roman catholic lords would alter the entire existing constitution of Irish laws and government in favour of their own party, the lords-justices were as importunate in their remonstrances against any peace with the rebels, unless on the terms of a universal forfeiture of the estates of all who had taken arms, without any distinction of persons or circumstances. The marquess of Ormonde, disapproving of the misrepresentations by which they were endeavouring to mislead, and at the same time harass and distress the king, sent over private messengers to rectify these mischievous and delusory statements. This expedient had been indeed prevented for some time, as the lords-justices in their displeasure at the result of a former communication to the king by means of which the marquess was vested with new powers, endeavoured to remove the future recurrence of such an inconvenience, by an order in council, that "the lieutenant-general of the army should licence no commander, officer, or soldier of the army to depart out of the kingdom upon any pretence whatever, without the allowance of the board first had obtained, &c."* The order had been easily passed in council, where for many months there was no attendance of any but the most obsequious of the lords-justices' own creatures, as the intrusion of the committee of the English parliament who were allowed to sit in the council and govern all its proceedings, had the effect of disgusting and deterring every respectable person of any authority or independence. Hearing this, the king sent over an express prohibition against this irregularity, so inconsistent with his own authority where it was as yet least impaired. The Irish council which had not yet arrived at the point of direct defiance of the royal authority, was compelled to yield in a case where it had acted with manifest illegality; and the parliamentary officers were excluded. Of this the immediate consequence was the

* Curte.

return of the seceding members, who being most of them favourable to the king, the order above cited was revoked, and the marquess was thus enabled to communicate with the king. He was joined by several members of the council in a letter, stating the distress of the army, the great difficulties to which they had been reduced by the want of money, the miserable exhaustion of the kingdom, and the dangerous consequences to be speedily apprehended in case they should be left in the same condition any longer, and praying for his majesty's directions how they were to act under the circumstances.* This letter was sent by Sir P. Wemyss. In the mean time the marquess had much to do to prevent all his officers from throwing up their commissions and returning to England. They had long borne the absolute privations to which they were subjected by the want of their pay, as evils not to be remedied; but their resentment was excited by petty attempts to defraud them in the small instalments, which the government were seldom able to pay. They sent in a petition to the Irish parliament, full of strong and true complaints, both of the misapplication of the remittances made for their support, and of the imposition effected by means of a light coin; and desiring their lordships "to call Mr vice-treasurer, his ministers, and all others employed about the receipts and disbursements aforesaid, to a present strict account of all moneys sent out of England and issued here since October 23d, 1641, and also to take notice of other of his majesty's rights misapplied to private uses; and out of the estates of the persons offending, to enforce a present satisfaction, that may in some measure relieve the distressed army which now groans under the burden of these wrongs, and extreme wants; and further to take into your considerations the necessities of the said officers and soldiers, which if there may not be subsistence for them in this kingdom, your lordships cannot but know, will consequently enforce them to quit the same, and abandon this service."†

The lords-justices met the embarrassment which the discussion of this petition would have occasioned, by the prorogation of parliament, just as it was entering upon the consideration of the subject. The parliament desired to have the prorogation suspended, which was refused; they next desired to be informed of the reasons for the prorogation; to this an answer was also refused. The lords therefore ordered a letter to be written by the lord-chancellor to be laid before the king, and directed the draught of this to be first submitted to the marquess of Ormonde, the lord Roscommon, and lord Lambart, in order that they might see that a full statement was made of their endeavours to discuss the petition, their reasons, their sense of the state of the army and the necessity of some immediate interposition for their relief. But in reality the king had no means to remedy the evil, and the English parliament no will. The lords-justices who, with all their acquiescence in the policy of the English commons, had begun to fear the full extent to which that policy would be carried, or the full effects which might recoil on their own government, were at this moment in the deepest perplexity. They had paralyzed the military operations of the marquess, until it was too late; they had roused all parties into a union to resist

* Carte I. p. 414.

† Carte.

them. They now saw themselves in the midst of a disturbed and irritated country, without men, money or food. In this condition they, too, made the most earnest appeals to the parliament in letters, which gave the most appalling and heart-rending pictures of the ruinous condition of Dublin, and of the abject condition of helplessness to which they were reduced. They also vindicated their own conduct, by one of those partial statements of facts so familiar to all who know the common arts of faction: omitting their own previous errors, which were the entire cause of all the existing evils, they exhibited the true facts of their unavailing and not very laudable efforts to retard the ruin they had blindly drawn down, by turning it upon the merchants and citizens of Dublin, whom, in good set terms they acknowledge themselves to have plundered freely and unreservedly, for the support of the government. The parliament of England which had gone on amusing them, and urging them on their purblind courses with high promises which were never kept, now saw that their purpose was gained for the present, and turned a deaf ear to all their complaints. The application here mentioned was the last official act of Parsons. The king who had repeatedly been irritated by his conduct and felt all through that he was betraying him to his implacable and bitter enemies, was at last made aware of acts of more unequivocal treachery, of which he had hitherto been kept in ignorance. He had not been acquainted with the fact that Sir W. Parsons, in all his official acts had looked solely to the authority of the parliament, with which he kept up a direct, constant and confidential communication, while his communications with his majesty were but formal and for the most part partial and illusory; being in fact framed on the suggestion of the commons, and to forward their aims. On receiving certain intimations of this fact, the king without further delay, ordered a commission to be made out appointing Sir H. Tichburne in his place.

It was under the general state of affairs here related, that the king began very clearly to see that it was full time to put an end to a war which could not be maintained, and which must terminate in the ruin of every party. He therefore sent to the marquess of Ormonde a commission to conclude a cessation with the rebels. The preamble of this commission is a correct statement of the question, as between himself and his enemies. "Since his two houses of parliament (to whose care at their instance he had left it to provide for the support of the army in Ireland, and the relief of his good subjects there,) had so long failed his expectation, whereby his said army and subjects were reduced to great extremities; he had thought good for their preservation, to resume the care of them himself; and that he might the better understand as well the state of that kingdom as the cause of the insurrection, he had thought fit to command and authorise the marquess of Ormonde lieutenant-general of his army there, with all secrecy and convenient expedition, to treat with his subjects in arms, and agree with them for a present cessation of arms for one year, in as beneficial a manner as his wisdom and good affection for his majesty should conceive to be most for his honour and service; and as through the want of a full information of the true state of the army and condition of the country, he could not himself fix a judgment in the case, so as to be able to

prescribe the particulars thereof, he referred the same entirely to the lieutenant-general, promising to ratify whatsoever he upon such treaty should conclude and subscribe with his own hand in that business.”*

This step was indeed anxiously looked for by all whose passions were not strongly engaged in this ruinous conflict. The provinces were harassed by desultory but destructive war between leaders who on either side maintained themselves by resources destructive to the country. The new government endeavoured in vain to restore the trade which the old one had destroyed. A proclamation informed the trading part of the community that they might expect to be paid for their goods; but there were little goods to be had from a wasted and impoverished land, and on these an excise amounting to half the value, amounted to a species of partnership not much to the encouragement of trade.

We have already had occasion† to give some account of the negotiations for the cessation, and to advert as fully as we consider desirable, to the conduct of the several parties while it was carried on with much interruption and many difficulties. It may be enough here summarily to mention, that it was mainly rendered difficult by the unwillingness of two great sections of the rebel party, who threw every obstacle in the way of any conclusion between the government and the rebels, short of the entire concession of their own several objects; these were the ecclesiastical party, who were under the control of the Roman cabinet, and of whom the majority either from inclination or compulsion entered into its policy; and the old Irish chiefs, of whom Owen O’Neile was now the leader, whose object was the recovery of certain supposed rights, and the resumption of their ancient state and authority. In consequence of these divisions, it so happened that while one party was engaged in treaty, another was actively pursuing hostilities, and many of the principal battles which we have had to notice, took place while the confederates were actually engaged in negotiation with the marquess, and other noblemen who co-operated with him for the purpose of restoring peace to the country. Much delay also arose from the effect of the successes of those who were continuing the war, which caused the confederates to raise their demands and assume a tone of insolence not to be submitted to in prudence. The marquess in his turn was reluctant to allow the enemy to gain advantages unresisted, and was occasionally compelled to defer the treaty for the purpose of defeating manœuvres, which the rebels were assiduous in practising under every pretence. The difficulties which arose in the council were not less than those among the confederacy; entirely overlooking the utter prostration of their own military force and the increased armies of the rebels, and mainly engaged in a miserable attempt to induce the English commons, by the most absurd misrepresentations, to some active effort to carry on the war, they wasted the time in opposition, and were met on the part of the marquess by demands for means to carry on the war: he asked for soldiers and money, and silenced their reasons without conquering their obstinacy. And thus the first commission for a treaty, sent over in April, came to nothing.

* Carte.

† Life of Owen O’Neile.

On August 31st, another commission was sent over; and the commissioners on the part of the confederates met the marquess with more moderate demands, insomuch that the only obstacle which prevented their full agreement arose from the difficulty of settling the quarters of the parties. During the discussion of this point, the prospect of any amicable conclusion was much endangered by the ignorant interference of the council which opposed the temporary cessation of hostilities. Notwithstanding this interruption, the parties came to an agreement by which the king was to receive £30,000 from the confederates, in money and beeves, to be paid in several instalments during that year. The treaty was signed September 15th, and publicly proclaimed through the kingdom.

The cessation now concluded was in a high degree unacceptable to the popular portion of the confederacy. It was still more so to the rebel parliament of England; a fact deserving of notice for the side light which it throws upon this period of English history, which is also a standing theme of party misrepresentation. The general view upon which the foregoing narrative has been mainly framed, as well as our particular sentiments as to the conduct and policy of this flagitious parliament, derive much valuable confirmation from an able and authoritative document from the hand of Sir Philip Perceval, who was himself appointed under the authority of that very parliament by lord Leicester, commissary-general of Ireland; and who had therefore the more intimate means of knowing the most minute particulars, both of the condition of the Irish army, with its means of subsistence and operative efficiency, and of the actual conduct of the parliament compared with their pretensions to the conduct of Irish affairs. This body was as violent in its denunciations of any overture towards peace, as it was remiss in support of the war: its members were content that every process of extirpation should destroy every sect and party, popular, aristocratic, priestly, royal and parliamentary, provided only that a peace favourable to the king might be obstructed. And as they were as harsh, summary and absolute in vindicating their authority as they were prompt to assume the language of constitutional principle, when complaints were to be maintained against the prerogative of the crown, it became necessary for one of their own officers, a man of virtue and ability, to defend the conduct of himself and his colleagues in the Irish parliamentary government, for their assent to the cessation. In Sir Philip Perceval's vindication of this measure, a plain irrefragable and uncontradicted statement of the main facts is to be found, which we have noticed directly, or taken into account in our general commentary. Sir Philip commenced by adverting to the charges against him as a consenting party to the cessation; he regretted "that it was necessary for the vindication of the truth of his injured reputation, ingenuously to offer to their honours' consideration, that nothing but want and necessity, not feigned, but imminent, real, and extreme necessity, and the exceedingly great discontents of the army, to the apparent danger of the sudden and inevitable ruin and destruction of the remnant of our nation and religion, there did or could compel his consent to the cessation." He then begins at March 23d, 1641, and by a historical series of private statements down to the end of the treaty of the cessation, he makes

good these facts, viz: that the parliament voted large supplies for the conduct of the war in Ireland; that the sums thus raised did not come to Ireland; that the Irish army was without clothes, shoes and food, in a condition of the lowest exhaustion, ill health and discontent, arising from continued and unmitigated hardships and privation, and only preserved in a languishing and wretched existence by occasional acts of robbery and piracy on the authority of government. Of this Perceval's various statements would occupy ten pages of this volume; we extract a few facts which lie within the least compass. He first mentions two large votes of £10,000 and £5000, one of which ended in a miserable remittance of £500 and the second of £200. He mentions also that the Dublin merchants were stripped of their property by the consent of the parliamentary committee, who he observes, "knew the extremity which had obliged the state with their privy to seize by force the goods of merchants, without paying for them." It is also made plain from several statements of the relief actually sent, that the larger proportion was supplied by Sir P. Perceval and other officers engaged in the commissariat department themselves, by incurring large debts on the faith of parliamentary promises never redeemed. On the condition of the army he mentions, that the "state" had for the six months previous to the cessation, frequently represented to the parliament of England through its committee, the "frequent mutinies of the army for want of pay, the impossibility of keeping up discipline; that divers captains being commanded to march with their soldiers, declared their disability to march, and that their soldiers would not move without money, shoes and stockings, for want of which many had marched barefooted, had bled much on the road, had been forced to be carried in cars; and others through unwholesome food, having no money to buy better, had become diseased, and died; yet no competent supplies came, and very few answers were returned."*

On the condition of the rebel armies he mentions, "the Irish all this while subsisted very well, carrying their cattle (especially their milch cows) with their armies for their relief into the field, and there at harvest cutting down the corn, burning (as their manner is), grinding, baking, and eating it in one day."

He also mentions that the confederates had three armies on foot, "well furnished with every thing" even in Leinster, while at the same time, the want in Dublin was so great, "that upon several searches made in Dublin, and the suburbs thereof, from house to house, by warrants from the state, as well by the church-wardens as by particular persons intrusted for that purpose, there could not be found fourteen days' provision for the inhabitants and the soldiers; a circumstance of great weight, considering that both the parliament ships, and the Irish privateers interrupted all commerce and importation to that port and these quarters."

Concerning the efforts made by the marquess of Ormonde and other loyalists, to remedy this grievous state of things he states, "that the marquess of Ormonde would have prosecuted the war, if £10,000, half in money and half in victual, could have been raised to have fur-

* Sir P. Perceval's Statement: Carte.

nished the officers and soldiers, and enabled them to march; and his lordship, the lords-justices, and most (if not all) of the council had entered into various bonds, some jointly, some severally, for provisions spent by the army, whilst any could be had on their security; and he heard the said marquess at several times offer in public to divers merchants and others that had formerly furnished the army, to engage himself for provisions to subsist it, as far as his engagement would be taken, or as his estate would bear, if provisions could be had thereupon, but little or nothing could be procured on any of their securities before the treaty of cessation began. The state likewise had been necessitated to seize by force goods of considerable value on ship board after they were put on board by license, all duties and customs paid, and the ships ready to sail, and to take many other hard ways to gain relief for the subsistence of the army."

We have selected a few from a multitude of parallel statements, which together represent all the effects of a continued state of civil war, kept up without any efficient means to give a decided turn to the aims of either party, but operating by a slow process of waste and exhaustion to the ruin of the kingdom. On the side of the rebels an armed mob, only qualified for plunder and living on plunder; on the side of government, a starved, unarmed and unpaid army, barely kept alive in a state of utter incapacity for any effort, by the most ruinous and unwarrantable stretches of power. And it is no less evident that this condition of affairs in Ireland was neither more nor less than according to the well concerted policy of the leaders of the parliamentary confederacy in England, who saw the efficiency of the Irish rebellion for their main designs, to depress the king and to work out a rebellion in England. It exhausted the resources both of the king and of his party, and brought large supplies into the funds of his enemies, who contrived to raise exorbitant sums from both countries on the strength of their assumed authority to conduct the Irish war. From Ireland alone they contrived to draw nearly £300,000 by forfeitures, during the time that the Irish armies were in a state of destitution clamouring for their pay; and while they sent £500 to Ireland, they were enabled to send £100,000 to the Scots to engage them to send an army into England, and £60,000 to the Scottish army in Ulster, whose inactivity plainly makes it appear for what purpose they were maintained.*

After the cessation, the king, who began more and more to perceive the full aim of his enemies, was anxious to strengthen himself against them. He sent over to the marquess of Ormonde, desiring such assistance as could be spared. And the question was raised in the king's council as to the expediency of the marquess himself coming over to take the command. But his presence in Ireland was felt indispensable; there he was the main spring of the royal cause, and the only earthly safeguard of the peaceful of any party: as moderate and equitable as he was effective and firm, he was looked to with respect and confidence even by his enemies. The cessation was but a suspension of hostilities between armed soldiers, who watched for advantages and

* Carte.

were ready to fight for their quarters. It was also considered how much it might be injurious to the king, by affording matter for reproach to his enemies, if the absence of the marquess should occasion any calamitous result to those whom his presence alone protected. A small body of Irish troops was accordingly sent over under different leaders, and it was resolved by the king to nominate the marquess to the entire management of the perplexed affairs of Ireland, with the appointment of lord-lieutenant.

In this appointment there was nothing desirable to the marquess: it was the adoption of a lost cause, glory and gain were no longer to be thought of; but on the other hand certain loss, fatigue, reproach, perplexity, and, without the intervention of singular good fortune, ultimate ruin. The marquess met the occasion with the heroism of his noble spirit, and expressed his devoted willingness to the undertaking. There was a difficulty in the appointment, as the earl of Leicester was actually lord-lieutenant, and it was judged fit to have his resignation. He was applied to and gave a reluctant consent, and sent his commission to the king, who had the marquess' commission drawn up in the same form, and with the same powers; he was after many delays sworn lord-lieutenant, 21st January, 1644.

During this year the chief object of the king's friends was the levy of forces to assist him against his parliamentary enemies in England. Of the main circumstances the reader may find a sufficient account in our notice of the earl of Antrim, who was now the second time engaged to use his influence for the purpose, and succeeded in obtaining a small force for his majesty. Among the incidents connected with these armaments, we shall here only stop to mention one characteristic incident. One of the ships which the marquess of Ormonde had hired for the transport of 150 men under Sir Anthony Willoughby, was taken at sea by captain Swanly a parliamentary officer, who ordered 70 of the soldiers to be thrown into the sea, under the pretence that they were Irish.* The parliamentary ships which were not to be had while they pretended to support the king, were now in full force, employed in blockading the harbour of Dublin, and in intercepting all communication between the king and his party in that country.

During the cessation it was the main object of the marquess to preserve its continuance; his chief difficulty arose from the fears of the rebel confederacy, that their party might become weakened by the division consequent upon the advantageous offers or overtures of the government. This year was spent in negotiations, in which to those who look back with a full knowledge of after events it is likely to appear that every party committed grievous and fatal mistakes. The popular party insisted upon such terms from the king, as were not consistent with the interests of the protestant inhabitants of Ireland; they were rejected with a decision not compatible with the position of the king's affairs at the time. The marquess was desirous to be released from his embarrassing post, from the consideration that the compliances which might become essential under the circumstances were such as it would not be consistent with his honour to advise: as

* Curlew.

he had not only numerous relations and friends among the Irish party, but as his large estates were entirely in their hands, his conduct could not fail to be attributed to motives of an interested nature. It is also evident that he saw the growing failure of the royal cause, and the vast weight of censure which was likely to be directed against the authors of the required concessions, which would seem to have amounted to the entire surrender of the protestant, and consequently of the English interest. Such a step he could not justifiably have advised under any circumstances; and he was quite aware of the wretched and paltry tissue of intrigues which were then beginning to be resorted to, for the purpose of conciliating the Confederacy either by a base deception or a sacrifice as unworthy. The marquess has been censured by some very latitudinarian writers for this reluctance; and views have been imputed which could not possibly have occurred to the marquess, whom no turn of affairs could reimburse for the sacrifices of property he had made through the entire rebellion. But such writers, judging simply from their party views, have in fact been incapable of appreciating the main principles of the marquess' conduct, a determination to support the king and not to compromise the protestants; a compromise which was then anxiously weighed in the scale of party, and not to be made without that of honour, conscience and of all the permanent interests of Ireland. It was during these negotiations that the wretched and contemptible farce of Glamorgan's treaty, so mortifying to the marquess and ultimately so prejudicial to the king took place. We shall mention it here as briefly as we can.

In the desperation of his affairs the unfortunate Charles was driven to the necessity of endeavouring to make peace on any terms with the confederates. They, speculating on his necessities, and urged on by the violent temper and extreme views of the nuncio Rinuncini, (already explained in this volume,) raised their demands to a height which appeared altogether inconsistent with the civil interests of the nation. To the concessions thus demanded it was impossible that the marquess could be a party, and the king found it necessary to employ a more pliant agent for the execution of a desperate and unprincipled design. The earl of Glamorgan was sent over to treat with the confederates, publicly on terms fitted for the public ear, and privately on terms more adapted to their own desires and demands. The private treaty was concluded; but Rinuncini, who felt little respect for the opinion of the protestant public, and overrated the real power of the rebels, was importunate for the publication of the treaty; in this desire he was joined by his own party, and the report of such a treaty having been concluded between the king and the rebels soon got abroad, and did infinite mischief to the royal cause in England. The rumour was confirmed by an accident; Sir C. Coote, the younger, having routed the titular archbishop of Tuam before the walls of Sligo, found a copy of the treaty in his baggage and transmitted it to the English parliament, which rejoicing in a document so likely to cast disgrace on the king, published and circulated it through the kingdom.

The king was thus placed in a position of extreme embarrassment, and compelled to soften the matter by an explanation which no one received as accurately true, and which involved the admission that de-

ception had been intended in some part of the transaction; as he denied having given a power to Glamorgan to conclude the treaty, while he admitted that having sent over the earl for the purpose of raising forces, he thought it necessary to fortify him with such authority as might obtain him credit among the Irish. He wrote an apology to the marquess of Ormonde, assuring him that "he never intended Glamorgan should treat of any thing without his approbation, much less his knowledge," a letter which, it should be observed, exonerates the marquess from all privity to such a transaction. The earl of Glamorgan was accused of high treason, arrested and imprisoned for exceeding his orders, and a scene of shuffling followed which is not worth detailing here, but which shows the nature of the whole proceeding to be precisely that which we have described it, a scene of unworthy collusion from beginning to end. The earl of Glamorgan made such declarations as were adapted to save the credit of the king, who consoled his imprisonment with private letters of friendly approbation, and stood between him and all consequences; the marquess though offended by the whole conduct of both parties, yet when the mischief was done endeavoured to lessen the pernicious consequences, by favouring the efforts of the king to secure his weak minister from further exposure.

The parliamentary party from this began to gain ground in both countries. The confederates became divided, and the army hitherto in the main obedient to the king's officers, began to be tampered with by parliamentary agents and to be divided into factions. The solemn league and covenant was taken by Monroe and his troops, as well as by several bodies of the English forces in Ulster. And Monroe began to make more determined and earnest efforts to possess himself of the principal garrisons of Ulster. A long and intermitting negotiation of which the details are monotonous and of no historical importance, continued to be carried on between the king and the Irish confederates. As the difficulties of the royal cause increased, the confederates raised their demands, and the king showed signs of a disposition to give way, but was mainly impeded by the firmness of the marquess, who although he had freely sacrificed his fortune and faced all dangers and labours in the royal cause, never once made the slightest compromise of principle. Under these painful conditions he struggled on during a distressing and laborious period of three years, without means, or any steady or efficient aid from others, pressed by a hundred daily necessities and cruel embarrassments, zealous to save the king, rescue his own property, and restore peace, but resolute in rejecting the compromise which these interests appeared to demand: * and displaying with a striking reality not often met in the page of history, the example of a great and good man struggling with adversity.

In this desperate condition of the protestant party, the nuncio Rinucini, who had confined those members of the confederate assembly who had consented to the peace, called an assembly in Kilkenny of persons more favourable to his own views, — and while Owen O'Neile held the

* On the justice and wisdom of the concessions demanded, there may be room for difference of opinion. We only insist upon motives.

greater part of Leinster with an army of 8000 men, introduced the question of the proposed peace, together with the conditions on which it might be concluded. The greater part of the members were nominated by the clergy, and were completely at their disposal. Soon after they met, a paper was presented from a synod of the clergy at the same time convened by Rinuncini, containing the outline of their project for the settlement of the country. They proposed the establishment of the papal church through every part of the country, with the entire and absolute possession of all churches, benefices, and ecclesiastical offices and dignities; the repeal of every statute by which any ecclesiastical right was vested in the crown, &c., &c., amounting to the full and entire jurisdiction of all ecclesiastical concerns in Ireland. The nuncio proposed in addition, that the monasteries should be restored their lands, a proposal which the assembly rejected, as most of the members were themselves largely possessed of such lands. With a few slight modifications these proposals were passed into a vote by the clergy. The commissioners who had assented to the late peace, were severely handled, and an attempt was made to pass a vote of censure upon them; this question prolonged the debate, but the peace was itself condemned and rejected by an overwhelming majority.*

These incidents are here selected from the events of two years, in which amongst the confusion of numerous parties and the absence of all preponderating control, no progress of historical interest can be traced, further than the desolating effect consequent upon a state of disorganization so long protracted. Their present importance to the subject of this narration is however not inconsiderable. The treaty of the marquess of Ormonde by which he delivered up the country to the parliament, has been noticed by a writer of opposite politics, as affording proof of the insincerity of his loyalty and the selfishness of the entire of his policy. The charge is indeed too absurd to be formally combated. If ever an instance could be found of the entire abandonment of all self-interest, it would be the marquess; but in this special case, the accusation has altogether proceeded from the singular oversight of not considering the whole principles of the conduct of the marquess, but in their place imputing to him the views of the writer himself, who seems to have imagined that the proposed establishment of a papal ascendancy in Ireland must have been as indifferent to the leader of the protestant party in Ireland as it appeared to the historian, who was either a Roman catholic himself, or as is more probable, indifferent to all creeds. Much historical injustice would be avoided by the adoption of an obvious but constantly neglected rule; that of weighing the motives of eminent public men according to the principles of their own party and profession. So long as the act is consistent with the uniform and professed principle, it is unfair, and a fallacy to ascribe other motives different from those professed; these may, it is granted, be in themselves unjustifiable, but this is not the question here. The marquess had indeed no choice, and acted from an absolute necessity; but waiving this consideration it would be sufficient to reply to the dis-

* These particulars are stated in great detail by Carte upon the authority of the nuncio's memoirs.

ingenuous insinuations of the historians of the popular party, that he acted in precise and rigid conformity with the conduct of his entire political life. Loyal to the king, he was more loyal to the protestant party in Ireland, and when their affairs became desperate by the want of all protection, and the complete ascendancy of the nuncio's party; when the peace was rejected and a war of extermination declared, on the very principle of exacting the entire demolition of all the stays and defences of his own church; the marquess knew his duty, and chose his part. The one *last* hope for Ireland, (according to the views of the marquess,) lay in the timely interposition of the parliament of England. It did not require all the sagacity of the marquess to perceive that any other earthly prospect for his party of deliverance from entire and rapid ruin was but nominal. The king could do nothing to save himself—the protestant power in Ireland had dilapidated in a wasting war of six long years; and all who were not engaged in the business of murder and plunder were the helpless victims of the folly, cupidity and fanaticism of those who were. The nuncio and his party possessed the kingdom, they not only rejected the peace but made a most unwarrantable use of a treaty to attempt the seizure of the marquess himself, and were actually engaged in discussing the terms on which the kingdom was to be delivered into the hands of the pope. Connected with this consideration is a very strong argument stated by the marquess himself, in a memorial presented shortly after to the king at Hampton court; in this document, of which the great length prevents us from inserting it entire, the marquess says “a third reason was, upon consideration of the interest of your majesty's crown; wherein it appeared in some clearness to us, that if the places we held for your majestie were put into the hands of the two houses of parliament, they would revert to your majestie, when either by treaty or otherwise, you would recover your rights in England; and that in all probability without expense of treasure or blood. But if they were given, or lost to the confederates, it was to us very evident, that they would never be recovered to us by treaty, your majestie's known pious resolution, and their exorbitant expectations in point of religion considered; nor by conquest, but after a long and changeable war, wherein, how far they might be assisted by any foreign prince that would believe his affairs advanced or secured, by keeping your majestie busied at home, fell likewise into consideration.” The marquess convened the protestant party and proposed to them, that he should act in conformity with the directions given by the king, in contemplation of such an occasion, “that if it were possible for the marquess to keep Dublin, and the other garrisons under the same entire obedience to his majesty, they were then in, it would be acceptable to his majesty; but if there were or should be a necessity of giving them up to any other power, he should rather put them into the hands of the English than of the Irish.”* Such was now under the circumstances here mentioned, the decision of the marquess; it was approved by his entire party and received the full sanction of the parliament of Ireland, called together soon after. Their declaration is indeed too express and solemn to be omitted here; it is as follows:—

* Borlase. Cox.

"We the lords and commons assembled in parliament in our whole body do present ourselves before your lordship, acknowledging with great sense and feeling your lordship's singular goodness to us the protestant party, and those who have faithfully and constantly adhered unto them, who have been preserved to this day (under God) by your excellency's providence and pious care, which hath not been done without a vast expense out of your own estate, as also the hazarding of your person in great and dangerous difficulties. And when your lordship found yourself (with the strength remaining with you) to be too weak to resist an insolent, (and upon all advantages) a perfidious and bloody enemy, rather than we should perish, you have in your care transferred us to their hands that are both able and willing to preserve us; and that, not by a bare casting us off, but complying so far with us, that you have not denied our desires of hostages, and amongst them one of your most dear sons. All which being such a free earnest of your excellency's love to our religion, nation, and both our houses, do incite us here to come unto you, with hearts filled with your love, and tongues declaring how much we are obliged unto your excellency, professing our resolutions are with all real service (to the utmost of our power) to manifest the sincerity of this our acknowledgment and affections to you; and to perpetuate to posterity the memory of your excellency's merits, and our thankfulness, we have appointed this instrument to be entered in both houses, and under the hands of both speakers to be presented to your lordship.

Rt BOLTON, *Chanc.*

MAURICE EUSTACE, *Speaker.*"

17^o die Martii, 1646, Intraunt per
VALL SAVAGE, *Dep. Cl. Parl.*

Int. 17^o Martii, 1646, per
PHILL FORNELEY, *Cl. Dom. Com.*

The answer of the marquess to this address is remarkable for its dignified simplicity, and will be read by every unprejudiced reader as the just exposition of his sentiments.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—What you have now read and delivered hath much surprised me, and contains matter of higher obligation laid upon me by you than thus suddenly to be answered; yet I may not suffer you to depart hence without saying somewhat unto you; and first I assure you, that this acknowledgment of yours is unto me a jewel of very great value, which I shall lay up amongst my choicest treasures, it being not only a full confutation of those calumnies that have been cast upon my actions during the time that I have had the honour to serve his majesty here, but likewise an antidote against the virulency and poison of those tongues and pens, that I am well assured, will busily set on work to traduce and blast the integrity of my present proceedings for your preservation. And now, my lords and gentlemen, since this may perhaps be the last time that I shall have the honour to speak to you from this place; and since, that next to the words of a dying man (those of one ready to banish himself from his country for the good of it) challenge credit, give me leave before God and

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you, here to protest, that in all the time I have had the honour to serve the king my master, I never received any commands from him but such as speak him a wise, pious, protestant prince; zealous of the religion he professeth, the welfare of his subjects, and industrious to promote and settle peace and tranquillity in all his kingdoms; and I shall beseech you to look no otherwise upon me, than upon a ready instrument set on to work by the king's wisdom and goodness for your preservation; wherein if I have discharged myself to his approbation and yours, it will be the greatest satisfaction and comfort I shall take with me, wherever it shall please God to direct my steps; and now that I may dismiss you, I beseech God long, long to preserve my gracious master, and to restore peace and rest to this afflicted church and kingdom."

The inhabitants of Dublin were zealous for the conclusion of a treaty which was to place them under competent protection, and had, upon the first arrival of the commissioners in the former year, considerably embarrassed the marquess by their urgency. They were on this second treaty no less decided in the expression of their wishes. The marquess wrote therefore in the beginning of the year, (Feb. 6th, 1647,) to the parliamentary commissioners, offering to deliver up his command and garrisons to such persons as the parliament should appoint to receive them, upon the conditions which they had lately offered." The negotiation seems to have in some degree influenced the confederates at Kilkenny, who, to prevent it from being concluded, held out offers of an accommodation, but proposed terms utterly inconsistent with their ever being entertained by the marquess: they proposed a junction of force, retaining to themselves the full command of their own armies, independent of the lord-lieutenant: they insisted on full possession of the church and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the protestant quarters, together with possession of the towns and garrisons. These conditions were not however put into writing, and were rejected at once by the marquess. Soon after they made a second proposal, founded on the same basis, offering to assist the marquess against the parliament, but adding, that they should insist on the propositions lately voted in the assembly: this letter was only signed by four bishops, and four other members of the nuncio's party. The treaty with the parliament was, with some delays and difficulties unnecessary to mention, carried to its conclusion.

Having discharged his duty to Ireland, by a treaty of which the principal condition was, that the protestants were to be protected in their estates and persons, as well as all recusants who had not assisted the rebels: the next consideration was the discharge of his duty to the king: with this view the marquess added some further conditions, by which he was to be empowered to take with him such leaders as should be willing to follow his fortunes, with 5000 foot and 500 horse. This was agreed to by the commissioners, and also by the lords, but afterwards rejected by a vote of the commons. On this condition the marquess had offered to relinquish £10,000 of the sum laid out by him for the garrisons, and for which he had demanded a partial reimbursement. This latter demand of the marquess has also been seized as a

matter of scandal by the party historians; and of all the base and unconscionable sacrifices of truth and common sense for the purpose of historical misrepresentation we can recollect, it is the most impudent. It was but a few weeks before the conclusion of the treaty with the parliamentary commissioners, that the marquess, who had spent every penny he could obtain in the maintenance of the garrison, was compelled to borrow so small a sum as sixty pounds to relieve the garrison at Wicklow. When he had first proposed to treat with the parliament, at the time when O'Neile and Preston had marched to Lucan on their way to Dublin, with 14,000 men, he borrowed large sums, with a promise of payment before he should quit the government: this engagement was public, the accounts were audited by Sir James Ware, they were also examined by public commissioners, who certified that the sums disbursed amounted to £13,877 13s. 4d. The same council represented to the marquess, that he was entitled to demand the much larger sums which he had previously spent on the war, together with the pay and salary due to his appointments, of which he had never received any thing; and some compensation for the large arrears of rent due on his estate, so long in the hands of the rebels. The marquess however disclaimed all merely personal considerations, and only insisted on the sums necessary for the liquidation of the public debt.

The marquess was deceived by the promises of parliament; he was compelled to leave the marchioness in Dublin, to receive and pay a sum of £3000, which was to have been paid on the spot, and for which his creditors were most clamorous. The commissioners put him off with unaccepted bills, telling him that he should not be the sufferer by their not being accepted, and asking him to trust to the faith and honour of parliament. But a considerable sum of this money was never paid. The whole treaty was marked by the hard overreaching and peremptory temper of the parliamentary party, and brought to a conclusion on the 28th September, 1647, when the marquess embarked on board of a frigate, commanded by captain Matthew Wood, and landed in Bristol a few days after.

From this he went to the king, who was then a prisoner at Hampton court, and in a strong and clear memorial stated the entire history of the previous events which had decided his own conduct: a statement yet affording the most authentic history of the facts to which it refers, and confirmed by all authoritative statements of the opposite party which were given by contemporary writers. After remaining for some months in England, the activity of the marquess in his continued efforts to repair the fallen fortunes of the king, and to reorganize his broken and scattered party, made him the subject of considerable suspicion and watchfulness to the parliament leaders. His creditors were also beginning to be more urgent, and, it was evident that this circumstance could be used by his political enemies to put him into confinement in the most ready and unquestionable way. He soon received information that a warrant had been sent out for his arrest: on receiving this intelligence he crossed the country to Hastings, and sailed for France. Having landed at Dieppe, he proceeded to Paris, and there he waited upon queen Henrietta. Among other slight

occurrences at this time, it is mentioned that when he visited the countess of Glamorgan, to whom he had formerly been a suitor before his marriage with his cousin, she resenting his supposed interference to prevent the earl of Glamorgan from being made governor of Ireland, met him with an air of offended dignity, and when, according to the fashion of the time, the marquess approached to kiss her cheek, she turned haughtily away, on which he made a respectful bow and said calmly—"really madam, this would have troubled me eighteen years ago."

The more moderate of the confederates were alarmed by the departure of the marquess from Ireland: they now for the first time began to see the tremendous oversight they had committed in their opposition to the royal party, and in their perfidious and blind hostility to his lieutenant. Among the various motives by which they had been actuated, ambition, party feeling, and religious zeal, they had omitted to perceive that their interests were inextricably bound up in those of the king: that there was nothing between them and the irresistible power and the relentless will of the English parliament but the resistance which it had experienced or had reason to apprehend from the loyalists. These being subdued, and the parliamentary authority settled into some form of civil organization, it was to be apprehended upon no distant or difficult grounds, that a well-appointed and overpowering force would be directed to crush together the wretched hordes of marauders,—by the courtesy of history alone called armies,—which infested the country, and cowed each other. The first report of the treaty of the marquess communicated an electric sense of this to the better portion of the confederates, and many were the efforts made to detain him when it was too late. Sir R. Talbot, Beling, and Preston, endeavoured by an application through lord Digby, to prevail upon him to remain a little longer, but the time was then past. The mere report of the parliamentary troops being admitted into Dublin was enough to disperse the congregated banners of Preston and O'Neile at Lucan.

On the departure of the marquess the condition of anarchy to which the country was reduced continued to increase. The parliamentary leaders had not yet matured their plans at home, and had no leisure to turn their attention upon the affairs of Ireland: it seemed enough to occupy the government, and preserve matters from taking any turn hostile to their interests. The small means which they applied for this purpose were sufficient; without allaying the desperate confusion of the country, they infused additional division, and by various successes weakened the authority of some, and gained the alliance of others. Under these circumstances, we do not feel it necessary to go into any detail of the events which occurred in the short interval of this first absence of the marquess: the main particulars belong to other memoirs in which they have already met sufficient notice. Jones held Dublin for the parliament: his coarse and stern manners offended the citizens, who compared his reserve with the accessible and universal courtesy of the marquess, of whom it was commonly remarked, that it was more easy for the humblest citizen to reach him in his closet, than to approach Jones in the public street. O'Neile terrified all

parties in turn, and was ready to unite his arms with the highest bidder. The earl of Inchiquin, only zealous for the restoration of peace, at first adopted the obvious and probable means for this end by joining the parliamentary party; and in this, the motives by which he was actuated were identical with those of the marquess of Ormonde, who would not lower himself so far as to join the avowed enemies of the king; Preston was for peace, and considered the intervention of the marquess as the only expedient consistent with the safety of the Roman catholic nobility and gentry.

Among these parties, all moving independently of each other, and monthly changing their purposes and parties, a few more influential changes may be enumerated. Lord Inchiquin, disappointed by the slackness of the parliament in the conduct of the war, specially irritated by their breach of engagements with himself, and perhaps, (in common with many) mistaking the increasing weakness of the confederacy for the revival of the king's party, deserted them and returned to this party: while Owen O'Neile joined the parliamentary governor, and Monroe, still trying to preserve an independent posture, and leaving his intentions doubtful, was seized, and sent prisoner to London.

The desire for peace was at the same time universal to all who entertained no special expectation dependent upon the continuance of war. The confederates, with the exception of those who were immediately connected with the nuncio, were anxious to renew a treaty which all viewed as dependent upon the return of the marquess. His return was eagerly pressed by the earl of Inchiquin, who still continued to preserve his own force unbroken, and had, by the exertion of great address and courage, brought over his officers to the adoption of the same party with himself. A council, favourable to the same views, was held in Kilkenny, but menaced with a siege by O'Neile. O'Neile was compelled to retire by the combined forces of Inchiquin and Preston, of whom the first in vain tried to force him to a battle. An assembly was convened, and received with satisfaction the intelligence conveyed by Muskerry and Browne, that the marquess of Ormonde would soon follow them from France. The same assembly declared O'Neile a traitor, and renewed their appeal to Rome against the excommunication of Rinuncini.

The language of this paper strongly shows the unpopularity of the nuncio, as it declares, "the manifold oppressions, transcendent crimes, and capital offences, which he had continually been for three years past, acting within the kingdom to the unspeakable detriment of their religion, the ruin of the nation, and the dishonour of the see of Rome," &c.*

The marquess having been strongly urged by the confederate leaders, and also by the king, queen, and prince, once more to hazard himself for the only chance which then remained for the king's life and restoration; began by a vain endeavour to obtain from the French court such means as he was informed by Inchiquin would be necessary for the purpose of putting his troops in motion; but after great exertions, he could only bring together a sum equal to about £6000. He obtained

* Carte, II. pp. 43.

a power from the queen and prince to conclude a peace, and a letter from the king, declaring himself a prisoner, and desiring the marquess to disregard any public commands from himself, until he should let him know that he was free from restraint.

Before the marquess set out on a journey so fraught with troubles and dangers, he turned out of his way to Caen to visit the marchioness who was then settled there with his children. Taking leave of these, he pursued his way to Havre, from whence he was to embark; but on the way his life was exposed to great and imminent danger. Having reached the ferry opposite Havre, he agreed for his passage with the master of a small half-decker, laden with cyder. It was dark when with his servant he embarked, and they had made but little way when the wind became rough and adverse, and they were in consequence all night on the water. Towards morning, the captain applied to the marquess to learn the hour;—his watch was fast, or his impatience at the delay, caused him to tell the captain an hour too late: the captain thus misled, missed his reckoning, and ran upon the flats; the vessel was split, and the marquess with some difficulty escaped in the cock-boat. He was compelled to delay at Havre for a long time to await his despatches from St Germain, which put him to a ruinous expense, and this was aggravated by another incident. The prince of Orange had sent a forty-six gun vessel to convey him to Ireland, but the captain refused to take on board the cannon and other military stores which he had purchased to a large amount, so that he was under the necessity of hiring another vessel for his stores and train of attendants. When he landed in Cork he had only thirty pistoles remaining of the sum he had received in France.

The marquess landed at Cork, 29th September 1648, and on the 6th October published a declaration of which it is necessary to extract a few lines as it both attests the consistency of the marquess, and accounts for the dislike of a section of the confederacy whose hesitation to treat with the marquess has been attributed by adverse writers to reasons less creditable to this nobleman. In his declaration the marquess mentions, that "he deems it his duty to use his endeavours to recover his majesty's rights, and observes that the protestant army in Munster, having manifested their integrity to the king's person and rights, and disclaimed all obedience to the enemies of both, was esteemed by the king as an eminent and seasonable expression of their loyalty. In testimony of such his sentiments, his majesty had commanded him to repair to that province to discharge the duty of his place: that he had resolved publicly to evince not only his approbation of that army's proceedings, but his own resolution in the same particulars: that he would employ his utmost endeavours for settling the protestant religion—for defending the king in his prerogative—for maintaining the privileges and freedom of parliament—and the liberty of his subjects. He declares he will, at the hazard of his life, oppose all rebels who shall refuse obedience to his majesty, on the terms he shall require it, and endeavour the suppression of the independents. That to prevent all distrust from former differences, he declares himself fully authorized to assure them that no distinction shall be made on any such account, but that all who engaged in the cause should be treated with

equal regard and favour: that the past should be forgot, and he would use his utmost diligence to provide for their subsistence, and do them all the good offices in his power, requiring no other return than their perseverance."

The events of the treaty which followed are to be briefly noticed, as though concluded by the marquess it was utterly without result. The ecclesiastical party earnestly protested against any thing being concluded before the return of their emissaries from Rome. The other party went with zeal into the negotiation, and invited the marquess to his own castle of Kilkenny, in order that the proceedings might be conducted with less interruption. The marquess assented, and was received with every public demonstration of respect and zeal. He was however for a time called away by a mutiny in the army of the earl of Inchiquin, which was discontented by want of pay, and had besides a great leaning to the parliamentary party. The mutiny was suppressed with considerable exertion—the soldiers were appeased—some of the officers were imprisoned—others cashiered—and the rest submitted. Reports arrived that a fleet from the prince was soon to arrive with money and provisions, and the prince himself with the duke of York, immediately to follow; and the army was thus encouraged and appeased. The marquess returned and found matters still more ripe for a treaty, which the condition of the king now made an affair of desperate necessity. While the marquess was endeavouring to abate the violence of his opponents, and to bring down their extravagant demands, intelligence arrived which had the effect of a thunder-stroke upon the mind of every party in that negotiation. A copy of the remonstrance of the English army, demanding the trial of the king, was sent by the earl of Inchiquin to the marquess. At this dreadful intelligence the marquess gave up all consideration of every object beyond the meeting of that fearful emergency, (for such it then appeared) and only looked to saving the king by the union of Ireland in his favour, at any price. The treaty was therefore soon concluded to the entire satisfaction of the more moderate of the Roman catholic party, on the basis of the articles of 1646. These terms were indeed far from such as the marquess would have even listened to a few months before; but he now acted with the strong hope of producing a salutary reaction in favour of the king, and averting the ruin which seemed to menace both kingdoms. The marquess has been blamed for these concessions; but to his apprehension it was a choice of evils, and he chose the less, so far as human reason could go; for we have no right to assume them as interpositions of Providence.

The execution of king Charles in the beginning of 1649, gave a shock to the marquess, which as he afterwards remarked, made all the troubles of his after life sit lighter upon him. The account was received with a general expression of sorrow and indignation. The marquess immediately ordered the proclamation of Charles II., and its reception was so generally favourable, that the nuncio, concluding that there would be a universal submission to the authority of the lord-lieutenant, was confirmed in the resolution which he had latterly formed, to leave the kingdom. He wrote his parting directions to Owen O'Neile and to such of the hierarchy of his communion as still

adhered to himself, to exert their most strenuous efforts to keep up the war. Owen was now the only person among the Irish who held out; but many circumstances had caused a falling off in his force, and the marquess employed Daniel O'Neile to treat with him. The commissioners of trust also sent their agents for the same purpose, but the terms which they offered were such as to lead O'Neile to suspect that they underrated his value, and he resolved to let them see their error, and entered upon a treaty with the independents.

The king was at the Hague, when the account reached him of his father's death; he immediately confirmed the appointment of the marquess. The marquess was involved meanwhile, in many added perplexities. The commissioners of trust, who held *pro tempore* the power of levying assessments for the expense of the war, were more sedulous to fill their own coffers, than to execute their trusts. The marquess, pressed by a host of emergencies, could only command the ordinary revenue, which was insufficient for preparations which would be necessary for taking the field in the following spring. He wrote to the king strongly urging him to come over, as his presence would unite all parties, and supersede all authorities which at present embarrassed the course of his interests. The king had at the same time received invitations from Scotland. The Scottish commissioners proposed terms which could not be accepted, and were referred to his arrival in Ireland for an answer; the States entered warmly into the wishes of the Scots and pressed him in their favour. It was thought desirable to obstruct his journey to Ireland, and with this view it was suggested that the States would, if applied to, advance a sum of money for the purpose. Charles applied by a memorial, and was thus diverted into procrastination of his journey, till the time when it might be of avail was spent in awaiting the fulfilment of a promise which from the beginning was but a snare. At last, when reduced to the greatest embarrassment for want of the ordinary means of supporting his household, Charles left Holland and went to France.

The marquess was in the meantime left to the ruinous means to which he was ordinarily compelled to resort, for the purpose of raising and maintaining a force which at best was wholly inadequate to the demand of the time. By loans where he could borrow, and by freely involving himself in debts, which afterwards became the burden of many years, and which no private estate could wipe away, he made such preparations as he could, to lay siege to Dublin. On this undertaking the event of the struggle was now thought to depend; the loyalists in England stood in suspense, waiting for the result of an enterprise which was expected to be the signal for a fresh insurrection in England. The difficulties of the marquess were aggravated by the general scarcity; every kind of provision was exhausted, and the spring was more backward than usual. So late as May, he was only enabled to collect 2000 foot and 200 horse; these he sent with the earl of Castlehaven to take such places as O'Neile held in Leinster, which it would not be safe to leave in the occupation of an enemy in the rear of his march against Dublin. During this expedition it is stated that the soldiers were sometimes two or three days without food, and daily on the point of breaking up; this the marquess barely con-

trived to prevent by sending off small sums as fast as he could borrow them. In the meanwhile he was drawing together such troops as he could at Leighlin bridge; in the utmost uneasiness at being compelled to let pass an occasion so favourable for the execution of a decisive blow: Dublin, at that moment was itself reduced to a state of great extremity, and would have offered little effectual resistance, could he but advance before Jones should be further reinforced and the town supplied. The marquess in vain represented to prince Rupert that there was at the time "not ten days' provisions of bread in the place, so that if the harbour were but blocked up, the forces within it must fall to nothing immediately."* Jones had himself been neglected by his masters, who were yet kept in a state of internal ferment by the pressure throughout England of a strong re-action of popular feeling, and still more by the contest for pre-eminence which had arisen among themselves. The importance of Ireland, however, appeared so considerable, that it could not under any circumstances be neglected; the hopes of the royal party had turned thither, and though the time had not arrived for a decisive blow, it was yet indispensable to occupy a precautionary position. So that before the marquess could sit down with any reasonable hope of success before the walls, the parliamentary commander was enabled to bid him defiance, and to look without apprehension upon his approach at the head of a scanty, discontented, and divided force; which he had by the first of June contrived to raise to 6000 foot and 2000 horse. To enable him to advance a step with these, he had to borrow £800 and to take up a supply of meal on credit; he thus advanced and took Kildare, Talbotstown and Castle Talbot, but at this latter place, he was again checked by the exhaustion of these supplies, and compelled to remain on the west of the Liffey, while Jones drew out as far as Johnstown to meet him.

Jones had been relieved with needful supplies of corn and money and in a letter to Cromwell dated on the 6th of the same month, describes himself as successfully engaged in fomenting differences between Owen O'Neile and the marquess, and also as having opened an intercourse with Preston for the same purpose. This was, it appears, facilitated by some discontent of Preston's who had about two months previous, received from the marquess a refusal to his application to be made master-general of the ordnance, on the death of Sir T. Lucas, who held the office. The marquess, who found it very difficult to satisfy the disorderly ambition of those who had joined him from the confederate party, gave this post to lord Taaffe, who had merited it by continued and efficient service.

It is mentioned rather doubtfully, but on grounds probable enough, that a conspiracy against the life of the marquess was at this time suspected. A report seems to have prevailed in England, that several ruffians were hired to assassinate him; this is mentioned directly in a letter from Sir E. Nicholas to the marquess himself. And a passage from one of the letters between Jones and a person of the name of Rochfort, who seems to have been his correspondent in the quarters of the marquess, appears to hint at something of the kind. "None,"

* Carte.

says he, "have been made privy to our proceedings but general Preston, his son colonel Warren, and a few other leading men so far embarked in the work, as a syllable hath not dropped from any of them. This I gather by Ormonde's being friendly invited hither to dinner on Thursday last, though he would not, (as we suppose by reason of the caution thence given him,) commit his person to us, without his guards of horse and foot; by which advertisement we missed of our last opportunity."

Such was the state of affairs, when about 14th June, a considerable reinforcement, with a supply of money amounting to £3000 collected by lord Taaffe, enabled the marquess to march to Dublin. The garrison in that city however had become stronger than his army, and was in excellent condition, so that he could not with prudence risk his strength in any decided operation, and was barely enabled to hold his position and watch for the turn of affairs, while through his officers he obtained possession of Drogheda, Dundalk, and other principal places. His hopes were, indeed, so far lowered, that instead of pressing for the arrival of the king as heretofore, he now advised his awaiting the event of the siege of Dublin, which (judging from the general tone of his letters,) he must have considered as nearly desperate at the time. The events of this interval we can only sum with the utmost brevity, and have already in various memoirs mentioned the principal of them. It was generally known that Cromwell was on the eve of embarking for Ireland, an event of which the marquess was far from appreciating the whole importance, as he observed in his letter to the king, that he feared his money more than his troops; little considering that in truth it was only comparatively speaking—that any force then on the field in Ireland, could be entitled to be considered as an army; and that any sum of money, in the then existing state of the country, could only enable him to bring a larger mob to the field.

After many inoperative movements, chiefly made with a view to form a blockade of the city, about the 3d of July it was deemed advisable to complete its investment. Lord Dillon of Costilogh was left with 2000 men and 500 horse on the north of the city, while the marquess crossed the Liffey and encamped at Rathmines: while this movement was in progress, a squadron arrived from England in the bay, carrying a reinforcement to the garrison of 2000 men, commanded by colonel Venables, with a large supply of money, and all necessaries. On this, the marquess with the advice of his council, came to a resolution to draw away their troops and retire to Drogheda, and the other principal places in the possession of his majesty's officers. The resolution was ill received by the officers and soldiers, and it was generally affirmed through the troops, that the taking of Dublin would be a matter of little difficulty, if they could first deprive the garrison of the small plot of meadow, which was the sole means of support for their horses; and this it was thought might be effected by seizing possession of a castle in the vicinity which could easily be fortified so as to resist any attack likely to be made upon it from the town. The marquess sent Preston, Purcel, and others of his general officers, to inspect the place, and on their report gave orders for its fortification, which was committed to major general Purcel with 1500

men. This party received orders to move at nightfall to the work, and when it became dark enough to conceal their operations, they set out on their way, but were misled by their guides, who were subsequently alleged to have betrayed them,* and did not arrive at the spot till an hour before day. The marquess sat up all night in the anticipation of some attempt from the town, and engaged himself in writing his despatches. At daybreak he mounted his horse and rode to the castle of Baggatrath, which he did not think so strong as the report of his officers led him to expect, and was surprised to find the work scarcely begun, which by his directions was to have been completed at that hour; he also perceived several strong parties of the enemy drawn out under their own works, obviously aiming at concealment. It then became a matter of consideration, whether he should discontinue the work, but he decided upon advancing to support the working parties. He gave orders for this, at the same time assuring his officers that an attack from the town might be expected, as he thought Jones would incur any risk to prevent their possession of the castle. Having given the most express directions, and told each general the precise position he was to take, the marquess having been up all the night, returned to obtain an hour's sleep before the exertions of the day. He had not slept an hour, when he was started from his sleep by the discharge of musquetry. Arming himself quickly, he galloped out in the direction of the firing; he did not go far when he met the working party, which was the right wing of his army, coming towards him in foul disorder. Jones had marched out upon them, and they were soon broken, Sir W. Vaughan to whom the marquess had given the command in the morning, (in his displeasure against Purcel†) being killed fighting at the head of his men. A considerable number of them scattered on towards their homes in the Wicklow mountains, to which Carte observes they knew the way "too well."

The centre consisted of lord Inchiquin's infantry, commanded by colonel Giffard, with whose assistance the marquess drew them up in good order: to guard their flank he posted two regiments under colonel O'Reilly and another in an adjoining field, desiring that they should not stir until his return—he had not gone far when they were attacked, O'Reilly slain and the men routed. The troops of Jones had come out in separate parties, and been led on rather by the incidents of the attack than according to any settled plan. Of these a large body of horse had got round into the rear of the marquess's centre, and were making their way through a lane by the flank of Gifford's foot, to join a strong body of infantry which was at the same time advancing in front. The marquess commanded a discharge of musquetry, which threw them into such disorder, that their disorganization would have been complete if the flanking parties had kept their ground; but the English horse rallied and joined their party in front; and at the same time, another large body both of horse and foot, which had followed the same direction, appeared on the same fields, and drew up

* The fact was afterwards confessed in 1653.—See Carte, II. p. 79, for the particulars.

† Borlase.

in the rear of Gifford's men. The Irish became so much discouraged that it was impossible to lead them to the charge, and they showed such decided signs of breaking that the marquess saw his last resource was in the conduct of the left wing; leaping a ditch, he made his way with much difficulty, and found them also wavering, and checked by a strong body of English, so that he could not move them (as he had designed) to the relief of the centre. They were in a state bordering on flight, and the marquess saw that nothing but a decided impulse forward could prevent this result; he therefore rushed in among their ranks and with most of the officers, made every possible exertion to rally their departed courage and lead them to the charge; but they were past recovery, and the urgency of the marquess only terrified them the more, so that when he, in order to give the necessary impulse, galloped forward waving his sword toward the enemy,—as if by common consent, they turned about and commenced their flight without any pursuer. The marquess turned, and galloping among the fugitives contrived to stop some hundreds, but it was like the attempt to put a dead man on his feet, they only followed the marquess till they obtained a sight of the enemy, and turned back in a tumult of terror. The marquess did not give up till after repeated efforts of the same kind and with similar success, convinced him of the mortifying truth, that his army had no substance, and that the hope of the day was gone. He then sent a dispatch to lord Dillon, on the other side of the Liffey, giving notice of the event, and ordering the forces off to the garrisons of Drogheda and Trim, against the chance of their being (as he expected) soon attacked by Jones. The marquess was struck by a musket shot, but saved from material injury by his armour. This battle presents a singular accumulation of mischances and errors, so that on a superficial view it seems difficult to conceive the presence of any presiding discretion, in the disposition or appreciation of the means of resistance or offence. The army of the marquess assailed without method or previous design, seems to have melted off like a mist before wandering bodies of soldiers, who seem themselves to have been going astray, and who cannot be strictly said to have attacked them. The whole difficulty is greatly diminished by looking at the primary fact, that the marquess had from the commencement no intention to hazard a battle, and from a consciousness of the inadequacy of his force had determined to abandon the siege. The plan which he had actually adopted, was within the reach of an easy effort, and would have given him a considerable advantage, amounting nearly to a blockade of the city. When this, for which he adopted the ordinary means, was frustrated by the treachery of the guides, (for this seems proved,) the consequences followed; and he had not the means to evade them. The discomfiture of his army was not to be attributed to any defect of command or disposition; it was wholly panic, and the absence of any military fitness in the composition of his troops: they were a mere mob; like all mere mobs, eager to fight; and wanting the requisite discipline, still more eager to run away.

The effect of this disaster at Rathmines caused a great and universal depression. The loss of the ordnance and arms was a fatal stroke that could not be repaired. "Men," as Carte observes, "were much

easier to be supplied, than money to pay, or means to support them. The cities refused to lend money, and the sums which had been assessed by the commissioners of trust not having been paid, were also now withheld. Under these circumstances, it was a last resource to come to an agreement with O'Neile; this was easy: O'Neile had been not only disappointed by the parliamentary officers who employed him, but he was sensibly mortified by the contemptuous rejection of the English commons who openly censured their officers for having recourse to so unworthy an ally. Owen was at the head of the most efficient body of native soldiers in the country, and by his aid there was a hope of still retrieving the fortune of the war. The landing of Cromwell, August 16th, 1649, put an end to this hope, and quickly altered the character of the war; he brought with him 8,000 foot, 6,000 horse, and £200,000, with considerable stores of all the materials and implements of war. The report of his arrival had been rendered doubtful by long delays: the engrossing interests of that revolution, which ended in his elevation, and the unwillingness of men to serve in Ireland where they had hitherto been allowed to starve, had protracted the existence of the miserable conflict of parties which had so long wasted the country by a lingering course of faction, fanaticism, and intrigue; the civil atmosphere was now to be cleared by a thunder-storm, such as alone could drive down and dispel the unwholesome vapours, which were inconsistent with the natural course of civil existence, and, for a season, restore this country to that uninterrupted progress, in which it has never been allowed to advance by the ordinary law of national growth.

The chief events which immediately followed Cromwell's arrival, are already noticed in this volume.* We shall now therefore pursue the subject no farther than as it immediately concerns the marquess. Being written to by the king to send him an account of the state of affairs, and to give his opinion as to the prudence of his coming to Ireland; the marquess distinctly stated in his answer, the prosperous condition of the parliamentary force, and the utter prostration of the king's: but, nevertheless, advised his coming, as a last resource in a desperate case, and as a course consistent with his honour. The king had, however, in the interval between his letter to the marquess and his receiving the answer, been listening to the proposals of the Scots, and had come to a change of purpose. The marquess, deserted by every aid on which he had placed a vain reliance, having virtually no party, and only seconded by a few gallant leaders, of whom the chief were Inchiquin, Castlehaven, and Clanricarde, continued for some months longer to strive against the irresistible current of a new and overwhelming power. He journeyed from place to place, tried to infuse courage into the panic-stricken, and constancy into the wavering; he contrived by means ruinous to himself, to raise small sums of money, which he distributed with a free hand wherever there was a garrison or a fort still willing to hold out for the king. But the struggle was vain; deserted by the fears of the many, by the treachery of a few, and denounced by the clergy of the Roman church, who saw the triumph of their cause in the downfall of the party with which they had hither-

* Life of Lord Broghill.

to contended; but above all, counteracted by the weakness of the king; the marquess began to perceive the utter hopelessness of the contest. In the treaty concluded at Breda, between Charles and the Scottish commissioners, he gave his consent to the breach of that peace which the marquess of Ormonde had with such difficulty brought about; and by this act cut the last thread of the frail tie which gave the marquess a doubtful party in the island. The king was fully conscious of the injury thus committed, and in his letter of excuse, in which he pleads the necessity of his situation to the marquess, he advises him to take care of his own person, as the last service of importance left him to fulfil; and declares, "I shall take it very unkindly, if I find you do not withdraw yourself so timeously, as to preserve your safety for better times." Thus induced, and seeing no further object in remaining, the marquess addressed himself seriously to prepare for his departure. His last effort was an address to the commissioners of trust, in which he asserts, that his majesty's late declaration against the peace had been enforced, and that he was resolved to assert its validity, provided the "bishops would revoke all their acts and declarations against his authority, and give assurances of not attempting the like for the future. 2dly. That the commissioners of trust should declare the bishops' declaration and excommunication to be an unwarrantable usurpation upon his majesty's authority, and in them a violation of the peace; and if the bishops would not give, or observe the assurances before expressed, that they should endeavour to bring the offenders to condign punishment. 3dly. That the like declaration should be made by all magistrates and officers, civil and military. 4thly. That the lord-lieutenant should reside freely in any place he should choose, within the limits not possessed by the rebels; and 5thly, should be suffered to put garrisons according to the articles of the peace, in all places as he should judge necessary for the defence of the kingdom; wishing at last that some course might be taken for his support, in some proportion answerable to his place, yet with regard to the state of the nation, he being deprived of all his own fortunes, upon which he had wholly subsisted ever since he came into the kingdom."

To the first and main proviso of this letter, the bishops replied, that the king, by his late declaration, had cast the kingdom from his protection, and thereby withdrawn his authority; and that the last resource they had left, was a return to their old oath of association: they also declared, that they would not revoke their excommunication and declaration, nor give the pledges demanded by the marquess.

The marquess then called a general assembly at Loughrea, which met on the 15th of November, 1650. To this assembly he communicated his intention to leave Ireland, and proposed for their consideration the question as to the best means for the preservation of the kingdom. This assembly was numerous, and composed of the most respectable of the nobility and gentry, who, though bereft of all their natural influence, were themselves true to the loyal cause; the same feeling was also preserved by a considerable section of the clergy, of whom the hostile class was merely a majority; and these joined the assembly in declaring against the acts of their brethren. A desire was expressed by the assembly that the marquess should formally reply to

the declarations made by the clergy; but he refused to take any further notice of "such a collection of notorious falsehoods as were contained in that declaration," which, as his historian observes, could only impose upon the ignorant populace.

During the sitting of the assembly at Loughrea, the resolution of the marquess received further strength, by a letter written from Scotland, by the king, of which we give an extract: "The hazards," says he in his letter of that date, "and dangers, besides the trouble, I hear you do expose yourself unto on all occasions, make me entreat and command you to have a care of your person, in the preservation of which, (I would have you believe) I am so much concerned, both in my interest and affection, that I would not lose you for all I can get in Ireland. If the affairs there be in such a condition, as it will be necessary for you to quit the country and retire into France, then I do very earnestly desire and entreat you to repair to my brother, the duke of York, to advise and assist him with your counsels; upon which I have such a confidence and reliance, that I have wrote, and sent instructions to him, to be advised by you upon all occasions, and I doubt not of his cheerful and ready compliance, and that you will find all good satisfaction from him."*

The bishops also sent to hasten his departure; and, through their messengers, the bishops of Dromore and Dean Kelly, desired that he should commit the royal authority in his hands to certain nominees of their own, to whom they would give their assistance, while they were resolved to resist any others. These were Sir N. Plunket, Terence MacLoghlan, Philip O'Reily, Tirlogh O'Boile, the marquess of Clanricarde, and Dermott O'Shaughnessy. In this proposal it was perfectly understood, that the nomination of the marquess of Clanricarde was merely specious, and under the assumption that he would refuse to act with the others; it was also plainly apparent that the object of the entire selection was to obtain, through the intervention of persons wholly at their disposal, the entire command of the kingdom. Thus miserably will men fight for factious motives, in the very front of approaching perdition.

The marquess of Ormonde appointed lord Clanricarde his deputy. He sailed on the 7th December, 1650, from the bay of Galway, but was still delayed by a correspondence with the assembly at Loughrea, on the appointment of lord Clanricarde. For this purpose he landed at Glaneinagh till the 11th, when he again sailed. The vessel which conveyed him was a frigate of 28 guns, sent over for him from France by the duke of York. He carried with him the earl of Inchiquin, colonel Wogan, and about forty other officers. In the Bay of Biscay they met with a privateer, which was deterred from attacking them by the martial appearance of the company. The passage was very tempestuous, and after three weeks tossing they entered the bay of Perouse, in *Bas Bretagne*. Their approach excited alarm in the harbour, and they were fired at by the ships of war, but sending out their yawl, they soon made themselves known, and passed on peacefully to the land so anxiously desired. A vessel containing some of the servants of the

* Carte.

marquess, was lost; it also contained property belonging to the king, and it is thought that the captain, for the purpose of appropriating this, turned back to England, and was cast away near Scilly.

On the departure of the marquess, the lord Clanricarde soon found the difficulties of the trust which he had undertaken. The rapid and sanguinary progress of Cromwell had been terminated by his return to England under the pressure of interests more anxious than the reduction of Ireland, and though the worst of his campaign had been in some important respects nearly decisive, yet the work was not half effected. The winter season was unfavourable to the warfare of the age, and this more especially in Ireland, where the food and climate were found to disagree with the English soldiers, so much that a single campaign frequently disabled them for service; Ireton was therefore compelled to suspend his operations, and the greater part of Connaught and Munster remained untouched; and the Irish, though in no degree formidable in the field, were still far from abandoning the hope of successful hostility. There were in fact two violent parties to be subdued—the king's party now headed by the earl of Clanricarde, and the party of the clergy, who not willing to compromise the views on which they had till then been exclusively intent, were yet at least so far convinced of the real position in which they stood, that they warmly entertained the question of a treaty with the independents. They saw, for they could not but see, that the balance of chances was turned in favour of the parliament, and thought it wise to seize the occasion of a doubtful pause, to make the best terms they might with the stronger side. Ireton had the address to avail himself of their known state of feeling by sending agents to the assembly, to which he represented the desperation of their affairs and proposed a treaty. The proposal was at first rejected by the influence of Clanricarde and the feeling of his party, but revived by the influence of the clergy headed by Nicholas French the titular bishop of Ferns. But the remonstrances of Clanricarde, joined by the principal of the nobility and gentry, were too well grounded in the strong facts and admissions from which their opponents had no appeal, not to be for the time decisive; and the clerical party were in their turn compelled to give way to a boldness of declaration to which they were little accustomed, and yielded to the general sense of the assembly. Thus baffled, they still persevered in their steady and systematic resistance to the whole policy of Clanricarde, and by these methods of influence and active but private concert, they rendered his efforts powerless; more alert to embody resistance, and to effect their immediate objects by means of that pervading influence which was the result of their peculiar connexion with the people, than prudent in their calculation of final results, they still toiled for an ascendancy which was passing from their grasp, through the medium of events without the circle of their contemplation; they still hoped to restore the confederacy of 1642, and did not relinquish their favourite, if not rather exclusive aim, the complete establishment of the papal power. Under this singular infatuation, a treaty opened with the duke of Lorraine in behalf of the king, was by their endeavours perverted into a proposal of a very different character, in so much that the earl of Clanricarde was compelled formally to disavow the conduct

of his own agents. This curious episode in the history of the disjointed times under our notice cannot be here introduced in detail, as it would lead to a very considerable digression from the main subject of our memoir. The duke of Lorraine had commenced a treaty with the king for a large loan: the security was not satisfactory, but in the course of the negotiation the private interests and the ambition of the duke were strongly introduced into the transaction: he had for some time been endeavouring to obtain from the court of Rome a sentence to annul his first marriage, as he had married a second wife while the first was yet alive; the Irish agents also contrived to inflame his mind with the hope of acquiring the sovereignty of Ireland. Under these motives, which are fully confirmed and explained by the language of articles proposed by himself, and to be found at length in many of our historians, the duke was easily prevailed upon to lend £5000, which was laid out in arms and ammunition, which arrived in the Bay of Galway during the meeting of the assembly and had material influence upon their determinations. The duke proposed to assume the protection of the country, on the condition of being invested with the entire authority and receiving absolute submission. To these proposals the assembly lent a willing ear. Scorning all communication with the lord-deputy, the bishops declared their consent, and pronounced the proposal of the duke to be the last resource of their nation. They were desired by the Abbé de St Katharine, the duke's envoy, to sign their consent, but they recoiled from a step so decisive; they could not at once depart so widely from established precedent, or commit themselves so far. The consent of the earl of Clanricarde, would, they were aware, be demanded by their followers, though not by themselves. But Clanricarde met these proposals with uncompromising firmness, and refused to admit the Abbé to an audience of leave. The Abbé was intimidated and offered a loan of £20,000 on the security of Limerick and Galway, and proposed to refer the question of the Protectorship to the mediation of a treaty at Brussels. On this Sir N. Plunket, and Geoffry Browne, were commissioned with lord Taafe, and authorized to treat with the duke according to such instructions as they should receive from the queen, the duke of York, and the marquess of Ormonde. But while the lord Taafe proceeded to Paris where the marquess of Ormonde was at the time residing, other proceedings were in their progress at Brussels. Thither the bishop of Ferns, with a company of the clergy who were of his party, and several agents from the Irish cities in their interest, had arrived, and were completely possessed of the duke's ear. By these, he was persuaded that it was in their power to put him into full possession of the kingdom of Ireland. Plunket and Browne were impressed by the strong language of the bishop, and were also persuaded that it was essentially expedient to secure the money at all risks. They were easily induced to disclaim the lord-deputy's commission, and in the name of the Irish nation they signed a treaty with the duke, by which he was invested with royal authority in Ireland. A petition to the pope was at the same time drawn up by the bishop of Ferns and

* Boriase. p. 351.

signed by Plunket; Browne refused his signature, and that of Taaffe was signed for him in his absence and without his concurrence. A formal protest from lord Clanricarde reached the duke, and terminated these disgraceful transactions.

We shall not delay to describe the concurrent course of proceedings, relative to the same affair in Ireland. The Irish clergy acted in full conformity with the undertakings of their deputation in Brussels; they convened synods and made public declarations in favour of the duke of Lorraine; they prepared a sentence of excommunication against Clanricarde and their opponents, to be produced when it should be safe, and declared the revival of the original confederacy.

Ireton in the mean time was not neglectful of his post. And the military operations already related in the lives of Coote and lord Broghill took place; the lords Castlehaven and Clanricarde, with their ill-conditioned men and inadequate means, were after much strenuous but fruitless exertion of activity, courage, and skill, compelled to see the parliamentary generals gain post after post. Ireton having obtained possession of Limerick advanced to Galway, where he died of the plague, and his place was efficiently filled by Ludlow, who conducted his duty with a decision and stern severity that spread universal dismay. A general treaty of submission in the name of the whole kingdom was proposed by the assembly of Leinster. In Galway, Clanricarde was prevailed on to propose a treaty of submission to Ludlow, but the time of treaty had stolen away while they had been engaged in the infatuation of intrigue, and the proposal was met by a stern denial. The tone of authority was taken up, and the litigious and brawling synods and conventions were made to understand, that henceforth they were to regard themselves not as parties to equal negotiation, but as rebels and public disturbers placed upon their trial by the authority of the commonwealth of England. These intimations were indeed disregarded by the crowd of inflamed partisans, clerical and lay, who had been accustomed only to the effects of a war of treaties, declarations, and miserable intrigues; but Preston the governor of Galway, who preserved his discretion and saw the danger in its true light, gave the not unimpressive warning of retreat by making his escape by sea, and the city was actually surrendered, while the synod were planning imaginary triumphs. In the midst of this adverse concurrence of circumstances, Clanricarde preserved his dignity and firmness; and having to the very latest moment maintained the cause of which he was the official leader, he submitted to the king's commands and treated with the parliamentary leaders.

Fleetwood was appointed to the government of Ireland; and the parliament, entering seriously on the consideration of the measures necessary for its final settlement, two acts were discussed; one for the confiscation of the estates of the rebels, another for the settlement of the claims of those to whom they were to be transferred. Some were to lose two-thirds and some the whole; among the latter was expressly named the marquess of Ormonde with lord Inchiquin, Bramhal bishop of Derry, and the earl of Roscommon. But the train of events which at this time so long involved the British Isles in the chaos of political disorganization reached its end, and the condition of the country utterly

exhausted by ten years of uninterrupted disorder, was relieved by the ascendancy of a single command. The rule of the most atrocious despotism that ever disgraced a throne, is a slight evil compared with the tyranny of popular factions; but the government of Oliver Cromwell was, considering all circumstances, just, beneficent and statesmanlike; in Ireland it was tempered by the disinterested wisdom of his son Henry Cromwell.

The marquess of Ormonde, having passed some months (with the interruption of one short visit to Paris,) with his family in Caen, was summoned to Paris to give his counsel and assistance in the affairs of the duke of York, by which he was detained for a considerable time during the summer and autumn of 1652. The little money he had been enabled to apply to his own expences and those of his family was quite exhausted. He was compelled to board for a pistole per week in Paris and to appear on foot in the streets, which was not considered respectable among the Parisians. Under these depressing circumstances—in which the intrinsic elevation of few characters can shield them from the slight of the world, the respect of which follows the outward reflection of prosperity—the spirit, sense, and dignity of the marquess, together with his well attested political virtue and wisdom, attracted universal reverence and regard. A curious anecdote related by Carte, may serve to illustrate the free and spirited indifference to pecuniary considerations, which is a well marked feature of the marquess's character, and at the same time exemplify the manners of the aristocracy of that period. We shall extract Carte's narrative. "The marquess himself was left in no small distress in Paris; but treated on account of his qualities and virtues with great respect by the French nobility. One of these having invited him to pass some days at his house in St Germain en Laye, there happened on this occasion an adventure, the relation whereof may perhaps gratify the reader's curiosity. The marquess of Ormonde, in compliance with an inconvenient English custom, at his coming away, left with the *maitre d'Hotel* ten pistoles to be distributed among the servants. It was all the money he had, nor did he know how to get credit for more when he reached Paris. As he was upon the road ruminating on this melancholy circumstance, and contriving how to raise a small supply for present use, he was surprised at being informed by his servant, that the nobleman, at whose house he had been, was behind him, driving furiously as if desirous to overtake him. The marquess had scarcely left St Germain when the distribution of the money he had given caused a great disturbance among the servants, who, exalting their own services and attendance, complained of the *maitre d'Hotel*'s partiality. The nobleman hearing an unusual noise in his family, and upon inquiry into the matter, finding what it was, took the ten pistoles himself, and causing horses to be put to his chariot, made all the haste that was possible after the marquess of Ormonde. The marquess upon notice of his approach, got off his horse, as the other quitted his chariot, and advanced to embrace him with great affection and respect; but was strangely surprised to find a coldness in the nobleman which forbade all embraces, till he had received satisfaction on a point which had given him great offence. He asked the marquess if

he had reason to complain of any disrespect or other defect which he had met with in the too mean, but very friendly entertainment which his house afforded; and being answered by the marquess, that his treatment had been full of civility, that he had never passed so many days more agreeably in his life, and could not but wonder why the other should suspect the contrary. The nobleman then told him, 'that the leaving ten pistoles to be distributed among the servants, was treating his house as an inn, and was the greatest affront that could be offered to a man of quality; that he paid his own servants well, and had hired them to wait on his friends as well as himself; that he considered him as a stranger that might be unacquainted with the customs of France, and err through some practice deemed less dishonourable in his own country, otherwise his resentment should have prevented any expostulation; but as the case stood, after having explained the nature of the affair, he must either redress the mistake by receiving back the ten pistoles, or give him the usual satisfaction of men of honour for an avowed affront.' The marquess," adds the historian, "acknowledged his error, took back his money, and returned to Paris with less anxiety about his subsistence. The same way of thinking still prevails, though possibly not in so great a degree, as at that time, in France; but few men of quality will suffer a servant to stay a moment in their houses who receives any thing from a stranger or a visitant. They generally treat their servants (who think themselves settled, if they get into a good family) with great affection and kindness; but will not allow them in any degree or manner to depend upon any other than themselves; so that their families, however large and numerous, are more orderly and quiet, and the gentlemen are better served than in any other nation of Europe."*

The distress to which the marquess was reduced was indeed so great that it became necessary to take some decided step, for the suitable maintenance of his marchioness and children. In this emergency one obvious resource occurred, the estates which had been possessed by the marchioness in her own right, might reasonably be claimed from the justice of Cromwell, who had always expressed a great respect for the marchioness, and was also known to favour the adherents of the royal family in Ireland. It was probably under somewhat more circumstantial views of the chances attendant upon such a step, that the marchioness went over to England to solicit for a provision out of her own estates. Her claim was respectfully entertained by Cromwell, who obtained for her an order of parliament, authorising the commissioners for Irish affairs to set apart, as a provision for the marchioness and her children, the clear yearly value of £2000 a-year out of her own inheritance, together with Dunmore house near Kilkenny for her residence.†

The marquess was in the mean time not allowed to remain without occupation; being a principal party to all the exertions made in foreign courts for the king's restoration, and the entire manager of the very troublesome, laborious and difficult negotiations attendant upon the endeavour to raise an army for the king's service, among the Irish

* Carte.

† Carte, II. p. 161.

who were engaged in foreign service; his courage, address and efficient activity in every undertaking, not only made him the principal support of the king in the midst of the various emergencies of his uncertain condition of dependence upon the shifting alliance of intriguing courts; they also subjected him to extraordinary fatigues and dangers, in his efforts to serve the royal cause and the interests of the members of the royal family, who seem to have turned to him for aid in every exigency. Among many occasions illustrative of this, Carte details at considerable length the severities which were resorted to by the queen Dowager of England and the queen Regent of France, to induce the duke of Gloucester to change his religion. The young prince had been set at liberty and permitted by Cromwell to join his family in France; he had been educated in the Protestant religion, but was not long with them when all the ordinary resources of persuasion, argument, and menace, were employed to induce him to conform to the church of Rome; the young prince showed a firmness, good sense, and amiability of temper truly admirable in one of his tender age, and the last resort of personal constraint which had no effect, was succeeded by a most cruel and unnatural expulsion from the *Louvre* where he had resided with his mother. The English residents in Paris were forbidden to entertain him; and his mother refused to see his face again; but while these proceedings were in their course, a strong apprehension was at the same time communicated to the king, lest some still more stringent course should be resorted to, and he sent the marquess from Cologne, where he then was, to attempt his extrication from so dangerous a situation, of which the consequences, should the Dowager succeed, would be so destructive to the king's interests in England. The marquess after a laborious journey arrived in Paris, and by his presence and counsel not only confirmed the resolution of the prince, but overawed and repressed the activity of the queen's party. After being turned out of doors by his mother the prince was received by lord Hatton, with whom he continued for two months, while the marquess raised money by pawning his garter and the jewel formerly presented to him by the parliament, to enable them to travel to the king. When they reached Antwerp the marquess was seized with a severe and dangerous fever which delayed their journey, so that the spring was far advanced when they reached Cologne. On this journey the marquess had a narrow escape from being drowned in the Rhine. Having gone to bathe in this river, he put his clothes in a boat under the bank, which he committed to the charge of a servant, and swam out into the stream; when he was out the servant left his charge, and the boat was taken across the river by a stranger; the incident attracted the attention of the marquess who seeing the boat in which he had left his clothes on its way, immediately turned back and crossing the stream recovered it. Having dressed himself he got into the boat and directed his course toward the side from which he came; he did not however succeed in keeping the course he would have steered, and was not only carried a great way down the river, but at last found exceeding difficulty in regaining the bank.

The marquess on his arrival at Cologne, was sent by the king to conduct the princess royal to him, and on his return attended the royal party to Frankfurt, where they went to see the great fair. He

was next sent to the duke of Neuberg to solicit his mediation with the Spanish court for its assistance in his majesty's behalf. And shortly after the cardinal Mazarin, having written a letter to Oliver Darcy, titular bishop of Dromore misrepresenting the conduct of the marquess and others who had engaged the Irish officers and soldiers in the French service, to leave it after the French government had entered into a league with Cromwell; he was replied to by the marquess in a letter very remarkable for its dignity and justice of sentiment, as well as clearness of statement: such was its force that it was at the time taken up by the cardinal's opponents, as a means of attack upon his government.* We extract the last paragraph. "And since he hath been pleased to usurp an authority to judge and condemn me, with circumstances of calumny not usually proceeding from the minister of one prince to the servant of another, I conceive he gives me just ground to put you in mind, that by his ministration, an alliance is made between France and the murtherers of a just and lawful king; and that not only without any necessity, but upon such infamous conditions as no necessity can justify: I mean the banishing out of France dispossessed princes, the grand-children to Henry the Fourth. Add to this, that his Eminence is the instrument of such an alliance, as gives countenance and support to the usurpers of the rights of kings, and the professed persecutors of Roman catholicks, and the destroyers of your nation, and to those by whom the nobility and gentry of it are massacred at home, and led into slavery, or driven to beggary abroad."

On receiving an intimation of the king's wishes from the marquess, lord Muskerry proceeded to Paris, and according to the terms of his engagement in the French service, demanded a discharge for himself and his men. The cardinal with some hesitation granted a pass for himself, but refused it for the men; Muskerry went to Flanders and was followed by his regiment to a man. They were formed into a new corps, under the command of the duke of York as colonel, and Muskerry as lieutenant-colonel.

Having passed a very distressing winter at Brussels, where he was commissioned to meet Don Juan for the king, it was suggested by this commander that there should be some competent person in England to take the conduct of the loyalists, before the king of Spain could safely venture to embark his forces in the service of Charles. The accounts from England very much exaggerated the strength and determination of this party, but the Spaniard had probably received accounts more nearly approaching the truth. The marquess without hesitation volunteered on this difficult service, "proposing to go over in disguise, and to know the utmost of what could be done, and that if things were ripe for action he might be at the head of it, and if they grew successful to such a degree as might invite the great men of the kingdom, such as the marquess of Hertford, the earl of Northumberland, or others to come in, who might scruple to be commanded by him, he would resign the command and serve under them, &c."† This

* The letter is in Carte's appendix, but too long and too little to our present purpose to extract it here.

† Carte.

devoted offer was accepted with real or seeming reluctance. To cover the design and divert inquiry the absence of the marquess was prepared for by a fictitious embassy into Germany, on which having proceeded as far as Cleves with Sir R. Beling, the marquess passed into Holland where he met Daniel O'Neile, and with him took shipping for England, where he landed in January on the Essex coast. Having proceeded as far as Chelmsford he and O'Neile parted, and he went on to London. There he found Sir W. Honeywood, who conducted him to a place prepared for his concealment, and sought out for him the persons he desired to meet. The marquess began most judiciously with the inferior class of persons, from whose representations he might best infer the real state of facts. His first meeting was in an upper room at an apothecary's with about eight persons, to whom he was introduced by Honeywood as "a gentleman for whom he undertook, who was going to the king, and was the fittest person who might be found to tell his majesty how all things stood." To him, therefore, he assured them, they might fully explain their minds and state what they could do. All however refused to make communications of so dangerous a nature to one of whom they knew nothing; they declared that they would await the arrival of some person of sufficient authority from his majesty. On this the marquess disclosed himself, to their great surprise and confusion; they had in fact professed beyond their means, and were little prepared to be so taken at their words. Their statements were so incoherent, and so little grounded on any facts or probabilities of a tangible nature, as to convince the marquess that there was nothing to be expected from such vague and confused boasting. He nevertheless said every thing to encourage the good affection of these persons. He next met colonel Russel, Sir R. Willis, and other noblemen and gentlemen, at one time in Bedford gardens and again in Gray's inn. These gentlemen were more distinct and less sanguine in their statements. The marquess met several who were willing to come forward with such men as they could raise, but there was no substantial plan or preparation, nor did there appear any hope of being able to effect the sole object which could be of any real or efficient importance, which was the seizure of some seaport town of adequate strength. All was scattered and uncertain, and it was apparent, that the pervading vigilance and activity of Cromwell was such, that the conspirators against his government could not without much danger and difficulty even venture to communicate with each other. The marquess soon received from his friend lord Broghill an intimation that his being in England was known to Cromwell, and was under the necessity of escaping without delay. It was afterwards discovered from the correspondence found among Cromwell's papers, that he had been betrayed by one of the gentlemen who had been presented to him as a royalist. During this visit to England, he had been subject to extraordinary fatigue, and the anxiety of increasing alarm; he was several times under the necessity of changing his quarters, and so great was the precaution required, that he never undressed at night, but lay down in his clothes, to be ready for a sudden escape.

The sum of his observations upon the prospects of the royal family amounted to this, that the spirit of the people was favourable to a

rising in favour of the king, to a degree even beyond his expectations; but such was the vigilance and activity of Cromwell, and so completely did he hold all the civil and military powers of the kingdom, that it would be vain to hope for any organized movement, unless with the aid of strong external support. If, however, the king should obtain the promised aid from Spain, the marquess advised a descent upon Yarmouth, which might be secured without a blow, before Cromwell could have time to stir. Charles was eager to put this plan into execution, and the Spanish general, Don Juan, was liberal in promises and assurances of the requisite aid; and both the king and his friends were thus kept amused with deceitful hopes during the spring of 1658. During this time, the marquess lay concealed at Paris, in as much danger, says Carte, "of the bastille there, as he had been of the Tower in London!" He had fortunately two sisters there, the countess Clancarty and lady Hamilton, at whose lodgings he found concealments more endurable than it was always his fortune to meet. While there he received orders from Charles to come to him with such speed as his safety would admit: and as he had, nearly at the same time, received intelligence that Cromwell had sent to the cardinal Mazarin to secure him, his escape was not without both difficulty and danger: and as it was not to be doubted that he would be watched for on the road to Flanders, he had no resource but to direct his flight to Italy.

Discontented with the conduct of Spain, the king at last entertained the project of going thither himself, but was dissuaded on many strong grounds by his advisers; and the cardinal De Retz, whom he consulted through the marquess, advised that he should at least postpone his design till the campaign in which the Spanish army was then engaged should be concluded. At this time the king's finances received a seasonable reinforcement by the marriage of the earl of Ossory with Etnilia, daughter of Louis of Nassau, with whom he received £10,000, of which the greater part went to the royal coffer. To effect this match, which was chiefly rendered desirable to the family by the worth and attractions of the young lady who had won the young earl's heart, the marchioness was under the necessity of settling £1200 per annum out of her small estate. During the transactions which we have been here relating, the condition of the marchioness was far from happy. Separated from her lord, she was immersed in litigation and in protracted applications and suits about the lands which were assigned for her maintenance. She was first compelled to prove her right to these lands, and the rates at which they had been let in 1640, which was the standard of value by which the portion allowed by parliament was to be ascertained. After her schedule was given in and examined by a committee, and the assignment made, the lands were found short of the value at which they had been rated. On some parts the rent was exceeded by the contributions and assessments to which they were subject, and others were subject to mortgages and other incumbrances. From these and other causes, which so affected the tenure of the lands that they could not be let to advantage, the marchioness found it necessary to make a fresh application to have a more profitable settlement of these lands. She was in this successful; but in consequence of the complication of her affairs, was

necessitated to remain alone for two years in Ireland for their arrangement; and when this was effected in 1655, she went over to England for her children. There she was further afflicted by the imprisonment of her eldest son, the earl of Ossory, of whose growing reputation Cromwell was so jealous, that after giving him leave to go abroad, he suddenly changed his mind, and ordered him to the Tower. Having sent the rest of the children to Acton, she remained in London to solicit the enlargement of the earl. She addressed her petition to Cromwell in the presence of his crowded court; the Protector "hoped that she would excuse him in that respect, and told her that he had more reason to be afraid of her than of any body." The high-spirited lady marchioness, understanding him more seriously than he intended, replied without embarrassment, "that she desired no favour, and thought it strange that she, who was never concerned in any plot, and never opened her mouth against his person or government, should be represented to him as so formidable a person." "No, madam," answered Cromwell, "that is not the case; but your worth has gained you so great an influence on all the commanders of our party, and we know so well your power over the other party, that it is in your ladyship's breast to act what you please."* Such civil evasions were all she could for a long time obtain; but the Protector's compliments were founded in truth, and so great was the ascendancy of the character of the marchioness, that he always treated her with a degree of deferential respect which he seldom showed to others, never refusing her an audience, though he did not like the object, and when she retired never failing to attend her to her coach. The earl of Ossory was at last set free upon his falling ill of an ague; but did not receive his discharge till the following spring, when the marchioness sent him to Holland to join his father.

The death of Cromwell brightened the hopes of the king and of his supporters; storms which afforded ample promise of change soon began to arise in England, and the continental powers contemplating the amendment of his fortunes, began to assume a more complacent tone, and to be more in earnest in their offers of aid to the king. These details we must here omit. The marquess was sent to Paris, where the king's affairs began to wear a favourable aspect, to further the advantages to be hoped for from the friendly professions of Turenne, and also to effect a reconciliation between the king and his mother, the queen-dowager Henrietta. So much activity was used on this occasion, that all was soon in readiness for a descent upon the English coast, when news of the unfortunate termination of Boothes' insurrection caused them to postpone their effort to another occasion, which none doubted would soon occur, as, by the death of Cromwell, England was left without an efficient government. The history of the intrigues and cabals of Wallingford house, and the deposition of Richard Cromwell, we have noticed in our memoir of lord Broghill.

Among the anxious proceedings of this royal party at this juncture, the only one we are here concerned to mention, is the conference between the marquess of Ormonde and the cardinal Mazarin. The

* Carte.

king had made a pressing application for an interview with the cardinal, who being yet apprehensive of the English parliament, declined such a meeting, under the pretence that it would prejudice his efforts for the king. It was then arranged that he should meet the marquess as if by accident, and confer with him upon the king's affairs. The cardinal, according to the concerted arrangement, rode out upon the 12th November, 1659, and was met by the marquess, who represented to him strongly the state of faction in England—the general disposition of the people in favour of the king—the actual engagements of many persons of leading interest—and all the strong probabilities of a restoration, if France would take the part which ought to be expected, on every just consideration to the claims of kindred or to the cause of all constitutional authority. But the cardinal's favourite object was the depression of the power of England, and arguments drawn from principles of equity or general expediency had no weight in his counsels. He continued firm to his policy, which may be here sufficiently comprehended from the single fact, that he offered to support Fleetwood with money and other aids, upon the condition of his perseverance in those courses which were adopted for the maintenance of the commonwealth against the efforts of the royalists.

But a re-action too broad and deep for the machinations of a worn-out faction had been for some time making its progress in England, and at length began to flow in an authoritative channel. By the natural, though seemingly accidental concurrence of circumstances, which it belongs to the English historian to detail, a commander of just and sagacious understanding, who was capable of perceiving and entering with just discrimination into the feeling of the time, and the course which all circumstances render expedient, was placed at the head of the army, and from that moment all things paved the way for the restoration of the house of Stuart. While the king was yet in some uncertainty as to the conduct of Monk, he received an intimation that Sir G. Downing, lately arrived from England, desired a conference with some authorized person on the part of his majesty, and expressed a strong wish that the marquess of Ormonde might be the person. On this the marquess was sent to the Hague, when Downing, who was there as the British resident, met him secretly, and informed him of the real state of affairs in England.

The restoration immediately followed. The king was accompanied into England by the marquess of Ormonde in the end of May, 1660. After the public ceremonials attendant upon the king's arrival were over, he was sworn a member of the privy council, and made steward of the household: he was also appointed lieutenant of the county of Somerset, and high steward of Westminster, Kingston, and Bristol. He was also restored to his estates, of which part had been arbitrarily seized by king James, and the remainder by the parliament—an act of justice, which can hardly be viewed as compensation for the heavy debts contracted, and the accumulated losses of ten years' deprivation: but the marquess was superior to the considerations by which ordinary minds are wholly swayed, and was content, although not relieved from embarrassments, which accompanied him through life. More worthy of commemoration was the restoration to his office

of chancellor to the university of Dublin, and the changes made with his usual decision for the purpose of redeeming that seat of learning from the effects of parliamentary interference. Henry Cromwell, whose political conduct in Ireland exhibited discretion and political tact, had acted with less than his usual justice towards the university, into which he introduced persons wholly destitute of any pretension but those of factious politics and schismatical tenets. The marquess proceeded with caution and zeal to restore that eminent seat of knowledge to its efficient functions as the moral and intellectual light of Ireland, and as one of the great leading protestant seminaries in Europe. He had Dr Seele appointed to the provostship, and most of the fellows who had been displaced for non-compliance with the parliament reinstated in their fellowships. We shall have, hereafter, to enter in detail upon this subject.

The marchioness of Ormonde came over to England to meet her lord, and the earl of Ossory also arrived from Holland with his bride; and his whole family, after so many trying years of adversity, collected to meet the marquess in London.

The marquess had soon an opportunity, of which he availed himself, to ward off a ruinous blow from many of the best old families in Ireland. Some time before the arrival of the king, the English parliament had brought in a bill of indemnity, in which a clause was introduced, that "this act should not extend to license or restore to any person or persons (other than the earl of Ormonde and the protestants of Ireland,) any estate sold or disposed of by both or either of the houses of parliament, or any convention assuming the style or name of a parliament, or any person or persons deriving authority from them," &c., &c. Lord Aungier, however, prevailed to have this clause postponed until the marquess might be consulted. The marquess strongly and effectually opposed it, and received in return the general acknowledgment of the Irish nation; for few old families had wholly escaped the effects of parliamentary usurpation.

It would prolong this memoir, which we have been vainly endeavouring to reduce within our ordinary bounds, to a length quite inconsistent with the limits assigned to this work, were we to detail the train of circumstances connected with the state of the protestant church in Ireland, when the marquess, by the free and prompt exertion of his great influence, was the instrument to save it from destruction. These facts will find an appropriate place in the next division of this period. It may now be sufficient to state briefly that the property of the church had passed into the hands of the parliamentary ministers, or into forfeiture; while, at the same time, insidious attempts were made to mislead the king into grants and alienations, by which he would be deprived of the means of restitution. An address from the primate and eight bishops was transmitted to the marquess, who exerted himself effectually to arrest the evil, and in the course of a few years placed that respectable and useful body on a secure and permanent basis.

On the 13th February, 1661, the marquess was joined in commission with the duke of Albemarle and other lords, to determine on the claims usually advanced at coronations, preparatory to the coronation of Charles, at which ceremony, having been created duke of Ormonde

on the 30th of March, he assisted, bearing king Edward's crown before the king, in his office of high steward of England.

The restitution of the duke's estates, though apparently a liberal act of royal and national consideration for his real services, was yet far below his actual claims, had he condescended to put forward any claims upon this occasion. The estates which were restored to him were of two main classes, of which the first were those lands held by his vassals on the feudal tenure of military service, and which were legally determined by their taking arms against him in the rebellion. The second consisted of those lands which were in the hands of government or of military adventurers, who on the change of affairs had no hope of retaining them, and gave them up freely and without a murmur. He was largely indebted to the crown, under very peculiar circumstances; as the debts were incurred in the service of the crown, and had devolved to it by the forfeiture of creditors, such debts were ordered to be discharged. The duke's claim is indeed so well stated in the king's letters for putting him in possession of his estates, that we think it fit to insert the preamble here:—"It having pleased Almighty God in so wonderful a manner to restore us to our dominions and government, and thereby into a power not only of protecting our good subjects, but of repairing by degrees the great damages and losses they have undergone in the late ill times by their signal fidelity and zeal for our service, which we hold ourself obliged in honour and conscience to do, as soon and by such means as we shall be able: nobody can wonder or envy that we should, as soon as is possible, enter upon the due consideration of the very faithful, constant and eminent service performed to our father of blessed memory and ourself, upon the most abstracted considerations of honour, duty, and conscience, and without the least pause or hesitation, by our right trusty, and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, James, marquis of Ormonde, lord steward of our household, who from the very beginning of the rebellion in Ireland, frankly engaged himself in the hardest and most difficult parts of our service, and laying aside all considerations or thought of his own particular fortune and convenience, as freely engaged that, as his person, in the prosecution and advancement of our interest; and when the power of our enemies grew so great that he was no longer able to contend with it, he withdrew himself from that our kingdom, and from that time attended our person in the parts beyond the sea, with the same constancy and alacrity, having been never from us, but always supporting our hopes and our spirits in our greatest distresses with his presence and counsel, and in many occasions and designs of importance, having been our sole counsellor and companion. And therefore we say all good men would wonder, if being restored to any ease in our own fortune, we should not make haste to give him ease in his, that is so engaged and broken for us, and which his continual and most necessary attendance about us must still keep him from attending himself with the care and diligence he might otherwise do; we knowing well besides the arrears due to him, during the time he commanded the army, and before he was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, that from the time he was by our royal father put into the supreme command of that kingdom, and during the whole

time that he had the administration thereof, but wholly supported himself and our service upon his own fortune and inheritance, and over and above borrowed and supplied great sums of money upon the engagement or sale of his own lands, and disbursed the same upon carrying on the publick service, as well during the time of his being there under our royal father, as since under us."

In addition to the restoration of his estates, the duke obtained his ancient perquisite of the prizage of wines, which his ancestors had held immemorially, until Cromwell seized upon this right, and converted it into a branch of excise.

The settlement of Ireland was soon found less practicable than had been expected. There was a confusion of parties, whose inconsistent claims were grounded, some in pledges real or implied, some on right, some on possession, some on merits, and more than all, many on their power to give trouble and create perplexity. For the satisfaction of these, so far as such a result was consistent with the nature of things, the means were absolutely wanting, and a course of intrigue and litigation, violence, and misrepresentation commenced. Ireland, in which the hatred and terror of its recent and long disorders had not subsided, was filled with the noise of complaint: the numbers who had been ejected from their possessions looked for a speedy reinstatement; those who had obtained possession by authorized means claimed to be confirmed; and those who were possessed by usurpation feared to be deprived. The king was more desirous to conciliate those who might become formidable, than to satisfy the claims either of gratitude or justice. To the confederates he was pledged by a treaty of peace, concluded in his name and by his authorized lieutenant: the protestant army had the merit of a seasonable declaration in his favour, and of being the efficient instruments of wresting Ireland from the Cromwellians: numbers too were creditors, and had advanced their money on the consideration of Irish lands: many who had rebelled at home had served him abroad: but above all, there were those who had never for a moment, through so many dreadful trials of their constancy and loyalty, lost sight of their allegiance, and whose claims were therefore the most undoubted on every consideration. To satisfy these various demands, and to extricate himself from the weariness of business and the vexatious intrusion of complaint, the king was willing to sacrifice his own lands in Ireland. By the exertions of the earl of Orrery and others, a calculation of disposable lands was presently made, and a declaration already noticed,* published by the king. It was transmitted to the lords-justices, with instructions for putting it into execution. Its effect was to produce general dissatisfaction and remonstrance: those who had least claim to consideration were those who had most reason for content, as it was rather framed for conciliation than for justice. Among those whose case included the severest hardships, was a large portion of the Roman Catholic body, which had either taken no part, or a part manifestly enforced in the rebel-

* Historical Introduction, p. 27. This declaration failed to satisfy, as much by the concession of lands belonging to loyal subjects which had been taken possession of by the soldiers of Cromwell in lieu of pay during the rebellion, as from any or indeed all other causes.

lion. Justice manifestly demanded a full consideration of their rights, and such accordingly was not formally denied; but practically, all distinctions in their favour were encumbered with difficulties of an obvious nature, and these difficulties were aggravated by the operation of prejudices against them, which were partly founded in realities too obvious not to have imposing effect, and partly in the interested hostility of their opponents. They complained of the rigour of conditions, which made it impossible for any accused papist to prove his innocence, and justly complained that the conduct which was now decided as proving their disloyalty had not been matter of choice: that the lord-judges had excluded them alike from the service or from the protection of the crown, and compelled them to reside in the quarters of the rebels, who possessed for a long time the most considerable parts of the country. The answers to this remonstrance would, if recited, only serve to show the lengths to which sophistry may be ventured in support of open injustice. Among other fallacies, the necessity of assuming the mere fact of residence as a sufficient test was asserted on the peculiarly self-destroying ground, that in most cases there could be no other test; a statement which seems to involve the abandonment of the charge. But we dwell on these facts here only because they illustrate the real tendency of rebellion to draw down a frightful amount of retributive consequences upon a people. The prejudice which it awakens at a distance, where its guilt and horrors alone can reach, without any extenuating facts, is a permanent evil, against which a moment's reflection will show there is no counteraction in the nature of things; for while the report of crime and disorder travels far and finds numerous records, quiet honesty and good conduct make no report and find no place in history; and in the din and rumour of national insurrections, all who are involved must be considered as parties engaged: and this moral necessity is in the present case much increased by the fact, that the agency of ecclesiastical intrigue, and of the motives of a religious party, must, in the apprehension of the spectator, have seemed to identify the creed itself with the cause, and the Roman Catholic laity with the corporate politics of their hierarchy.

The Irish parliament was convened to pass the declaration into an enactment. The constitution of this parliament was regulated by the actual possession of the lands: being mainly composed of adventurers who had by several means obtained large estates of which the titles were either wrongful, uncertain, or requiring confirmation, their first and main effort was to secure the advantage which they held; and in this they were successful, so far as their possessions can be regarded as liable to the danger they feared. They also made some strong but not equally successful efforts, to secure the interests of the protestant established church in Ireland against the other protestant denominations which were then striving to obtain the ascendancy. On the discussion of the king's declaration, it found cordial support from a body whose objects it favoured, and accordingly the commons were in its favour; but it excited the indignation of the lords, who saw that its effect must be the destruction of the most ancient and noblest families in the kingdom. They put forward many strong objections, and clearly exposed the manifold grievances and wrongs which such provi-

sions as it contained must have inflicted on unoffending thousands: and affirmed that the king had issued his declaration on misinformation. Among other objections, they examined the proceedings of the court of claims, which they found to be dilatory, inefficient, and corrupt; but above all, they exposed in strong colours the iniquities of the "*doubling ordinance*," a project set on foot by the parliament during the great rebellion, in order to levy money by a loan on Irish forfeitures. For this it had been enacted that every adventurer who should advance one-fourth more than his original adventure should have it doubled on account, and receive Irish lands according to his claim so increased. It was computed that by this unauthorized compact, the lands lost to the king would amount to 142,000 acres. A clause was introduced into the bill with the king's consent, that the adventurers should receive lands to the precise amount of the *actual payments* they had made. The bill was, after various delays, drawn up and transmitted to the lords-justices, who made several alterations of their own, and then sent it over to England to be finally examined and confirmed.

The struggle of parties was thus transferred to England; and, considering the history of previous events and the state of opinion there, the cause could hardly have been carried into a court less disposed to equity. The deeds of the previous rebellion had impressed England with horror and contempt: the Irish party was without support, and destitute of prudence, discretion, or money: their enemies had all of these. The adventurers, as the purchasers of Irish lands have been technically called, had raised a large sum by subscription among themselves for the support of their claims.

In this state of affairs the Irish party had but one resource, and that in their infatuation they cast from them. The duke of Ormonde's influence, his tried love of justice, his temper, moderation, and disinterested character, all marked him as the fit advocate of those who had strong equitable claims and no friends. His advice was offered and his aid volunteered. His opinion was strongly expressed in a letter to Sir M. Eustace, who was an earnest advocate in their behalf, and is worthy of notice here:—"We are," says he, "in the heat of our debates upon the great bill; and I fear the liberty allowed the Irish to speak for themselves, will turn to their prejudice, by the unskilful use they make of it, in justifying themselves, instructing the king and council what is good for them, and recriminating of others: whereas, a modest extenuation of their crimes, an humble submission to, and imploring his majesty's grace, and a declaration of their hearty desire to live quietly and brotherly with their fellow-subjects for the future, would better have befitted the disadvantages they were under, and have prevailed more than all their eloquence. But it is long since I have given over any hope that they would do, or be advised to do what was best for them, or be persuaded that what might properly, and for their advantage be said by others, would not only change its nature coming from them, but hinder others from making use of their arguments, lest they might be suspected of communicating counsels with them; which is a reproach I will avoid almost as much as I will the guilt of being of their party."

In opposition to the advice of the duke, the Irish agents took a lofty

and arrogant tone, and threw themselves wholly on their merits. There were among them individuals whose enmity to the duke excited them to take all those means to hurt his reputation, which are ever so easily used, and so available among the multitude. His advice was imputed to his wish to sink the real merits of their cause: his well-known zeal for the protestant religion, so broadly marked in the whole conduct of his life, gave force to the base insinuation of a motive which was only worthy of the person by whom it was suggested. Instead of gratitude, the duke met insult and calumny, which wounded his feelings, though it could not affect a character which stood high above the range of such base missiles. The consequence was, that although he frequently interposed by his vote and influence to prevent injustice, which could be prevented in no other way, he studiously avoided taking any public part in the business of the settlement. "He adhered," says Carte, "so firmly to this resolution, that I do not find he was one of any committee to which that matter was referred by the council, until after he was made lord-lieutenant; reserving himself, however, for his particular friends, and such as having adhered to the peace, applied to him for certificates of their behaviour, and for his interposition in their behalf, which he never declined, being always ready to do them all the good offices in his power, as often as occasions offered."* The Irish party were wholly unsuccessful in their most especial efforts; and, as we have said, attributing their ill success to the private influence of the duke, they sent one of their agents to remonstrate with his grace. The gentleman who was sent on this errand conducted himself with such insolence, that he was sent to the Tower, but released on submission.†

The difficulties which arose in the inquiries which followed, and the serious obstacles which presented themselves to any effort at a satisfactory adjustment of claims, so opposite, and attended with so many perplexing considerations, led the king to the determination of sending over a lord-lieutenant. The duke of Albemarle was reluctant to become the arbiter of so many jarring interests and conflicting parties. He expressed to the king his dislike to the post, and strongly urged that the duke of Ormonde alone was competent to the execution of the desired settlement. Unfortunately for the duke, he could not shrink from an office which had upon him all the strong claims of the most peremptory obligation; and on the 6th Nov., 1661, he was declared lord-lieutenant in the council. His own sentiments on the appointment are expressed in the following extract from one of his private letters:—"You are pleased to concern yourself so much in my fortune, as to congratulate with me the addition of honour the king thought fit to place in my family, when he made me duke. The same friendship will dispose you now to condole with me for the very uneasy service he has designed to appoint for me in Ireland, as his lieutenant. In that employment, besides many other unpleasant difficulties, there are two disadvantages proper to me; one of the contending parties believing I owe them more kindness and protection than I can find myself chargeable with, and the other suspecting that

* Carte, ii. p. 236.

† Carte. Southwell.

I retain that prejudice to them which I am as free from. This temper in them will be attended, undeniably, with clamour and scandal upon my most wary deportment."

The account of this appointment gave general satisfaction in Ireland to all respectable persons who were not deeply connected with the movements of the more violent parties. All whose desires were confined to justice, or who felt confidence in the equity of their claims, were satisfied that no zeal of political feeling would interfere with the conduct of the duke of Ormonde: an advantage then not likely to be realized in any other person. Minds of an inferior stamp would be expected to act more decidedly from party views: and persons wholly disinterested in Irish affairs were prejudiced against the Irish. In Dublin, public rejoicings followed the intelligence—the provost and fellows expressed their joy in a latin epistle; the houses of parliament and convocation did the same, by letters and addresses.

In the mean time, the discussion of the Irish settlement continued to be carried on with increasing perplexity and acrimony before the council. As it proceeded, it began soon to appear that the first design of the king's declaration could not be carried into operation, as it was made under a false assumption, that the lands at the king's disposal would suffice for the satisfaction of all admissible claims: but it presently appeared that the whole island would be insufficient, and it became an anxious question upon whom the loss should fall. The arguments which were advanced on either side need not be repeated here; some of them are obvious, and some but specious. But among these, one at least was unfortunate for the cause of the Irish party, who were by far the more violent in their entire conduct through this controversy; from pleas of right the parties went on to mutual accusations. The Irish advocates were thus unwittingly betrayed, not merely into offending powerful parties by whose influence the decision might readily be governed, but in fact they thus raised topics which every party in England was anxious and willing to forget, and of which the very discussion was calculated to awaken uneasy apprehensions in the king and his friends. The horrors and atrocities of the Irish rebellion were retorted with all the effect which their recent impression but too well favoured; and the various communications which had been made with the court of Rome became also a fatal weapon. In reply to several papers presented by the Irish committee, the commissioners of the Irish parliament sent in several writings of this prejudicial nature, and containing "instructions given by the supreme council of Ireland to the bishop of Ferns and Sir Nicholas Plunket, their agents to the court of Rome, bearing date, Jan. 18, 1667; a draught of instructions to France and Spain, and a copy of the excommunication published in Jamestown." These papers were, by order of the committee, presented to the king and council, and the king was so violently incensed at their contents, that an order was entered, that "no petition or further address be made from the Roman catholics of Ireland, as to the bill of settlement, but that the bill for the act of settlement go on to be engrossed without any further delay, according as is already concluded; that Sir N. Plunket have notice given him, that his majesty's pleasure is, that he forbear to come into his presence and

appear at court any more; and that Mr Solicitor send all the provisos allowed of by the committee to be engrossed, and that the Irish make no more addresses, and that this be signified in letters to their friends in Ireland." Thus ended the debates in behalf of the Irish; and the bill, which had by these debates been long delayed, to the great uneasiness of the parliament of Ireland, was after the settling of some further provisos finished at last, and being sent over, passed the two houses at the latter end of May.

The Irish parliament appointed Sir T. Jones, Sir Paul Davies, Sir James Ware, Sir H. Tichburne and others, to attend the lords-justices, and request of them to prepare and transmit a bill for raising the sum of £30,000 for the Duke, on his accepting of the government, to demonstrate the sense of the kingdom, and in consideration of his "vast losses" in the service of Ireland. The duke's arrival in Ireland was deferred, on account of the approaching nuptials of the king with the Infanta of Portugal; a match against which the duke had strongly but vainly protested. His objections, together with those of the chancellor and the earl of Southampton, were listened to by the king in Tom Chiffin's closet, of which so graphic a sketch has been drawn by the pen of Scott.* They remonstrated with him, on the score of the religion of the princess, and the king replied, there were no protestant princesses fit for him to marry: it was replied that there were princesses enough in Germany, but the king answered in his lively style, "cod's fish, they are all foggy, and he could not like any of them for a wife;" upon this, says Carte, "the duke was satisfied that he would marry none but a Roman catholic."† To this Carte adds a curious story of the accident by which the duke had first discovered the secret of the king's religion. "The king had carefully concealed that change from the duke of Ormonde, who yet discovered it by accident. The duke had some suspicions of it from the time that they removed from Cologne into Flanders; for though he never observed that zeal and concern as to divine things which he often wished in the king, yet so much as appeared in him at any time looked that way. However, he thought it so very little that he hoped it would soon wear off upon returning to his kingdoms, and was not fully convinced of his change, till about the time the treaty of the Pyrenees was going to be opened. The duke was always a very early riser, and being then at Brussels, used to amuse himself at times that others were in bed, in walking about the town and seeing the churches. Going one morning very early by a church, where a great number of persons were at their devotions, he stepped in; and advancing near the altar, he saw the king on his knees at mass. He readily imagined his majesty would not be pleased that he should see him there, and therefore retired as cautiously as he could, went to a different part of the church, near another altar, where nobody was, kneeled down, and said his own prayers till the king was gone." At the period of this occurrence, considerable anxiety prevailed among the king's friends on the subject of his religion: some were of opinion that his open conformity to the church of Rome would have the advantageous effect

* Peveril of the Peak.

† Carte, ii. 154.

of obtaining for him the sincere assistance of the Roman catholic courts: while others, among whom was the duke, with more sagacity saw that such a step would entirely put an end to all his hopes. Some therefore urged him to declare himself, while others who would not even appear to think it possible that he had turned to the Roman church, yet endeavoured to counteract them by wiser counsel. The king was himself indifferent to all creeds, further than as they could be moulded to the shape of his inclinations, and with the ordinary mixture of ingenuity and flippancy which composes the character of the latitudinarian's intellect, had a convenient creed of his own: in a word, he amused himself by the assumption, that God must be so merciful as to forgive the most direct disobedience of the whole letter and spirit of his positive laws, and that he might therefore freely indulge the inclinations of a most abandoned and profligate nature, provided he exercised an occasional private devotion, which must of course have been a strange compound of mockeries and contradictions. The duke, who had kept the secret of his change of persuasion until after the restoration, then communicated it to the earl of Southampton, and they considered how they might best prevent any of the consequences which were to be apprehended. For this purpose they contrived to have a clause inserted in the act, that was passed for the security of the king's person and government, making it a *premunire* for any one to say the "king was a papist."

The duke was long detained from his duties in Ireland, by those of his office of lord-steward, which required that he should meet the queen on her landing at Portsmouth, and after by the arrangements and ceremonies attendant upon the royal marriage, so that the summer was far advanced when he was at liberty to depart for Ireland. The numerous company of Irish nobility and gentry which had been drawn to London in prosecution of their claims, accompanied him, and formed a train of splendour never before or since approached in the journey of a lieutenant to his government: and his reception in Dublin, no less remarkable for its magnificence than for the public enthusiasm it called forth, is called "an epitome of the restoration" by Carte.

The act of settlement now passed, and was accompanied by a long speech from the Duke, who expounded its provisions with their reason or necessity in such a manner as to place every thing in the most conciliatory aspect. His speech was printed by order of the house. The recess followed and he went to Kilkenny, where his daughter, lady Mary Butler, was married in October to lord Cavendish.

Notwithstanding the anxious precautions and explanations of the duke, the act of settlement gave very general, and in many respects justifiable discontent. Among those whose complaints were most grounded in real wrong, were the officers called the forty-nine men, who had loyally and strenuously served the king against the rebels on every side, without ever having received any pay, and whose arrears were unquestionably the prior claim on both the justice and gratitude of the king; but so numerous and so large were the grants into which he had been inadvertently led, that there were not in fact means over and above the restorations which justice demanded, and those iniquitous appropriations. Among these, the earl of Leicester

whose service had been but nominal, contrived to have £50,000 under the claim of arrears, charged upon the security of the lands for the purpose of arrears, and Sir W. Petty, obtained large grants of the same lands. So great indeed and so unquestionable was the injustice done to this meritorious and suffering class of claimants, that a bill was brought in to provide for their security.

The duke was doomed on the present, as on the former occasion, and as indeed through every stage of his life, to suffer by his own excessive disinterestedness, and by a public spirit which appears to have set aside all private considerations. Among his first acts, the most urgent and essential was the purgation of the army, from the dregs of the republican and fanatic spirit which rendered it less available for the immediate service. To effect this, money to a large amount was necessary; but from the circumstances already explained, it will be understood, that of money there was no provision and but little prospect. The duke met the emergency, as in former times, by a large disbursement from his private estate—at a time when others were endeavouring to secure whatever could be grasped by any effort. The necessity appears not indeed to have been slight for this step; for, not to speak of the rumours of meditated insurrection in Ireland, for which little spirit remained, there was a strong party in England, still hostile to the restoration, and willing, should they find means, to raise a popular insurrection. These, and not without reason, boasted of having 8000 men in the Irish army ready to join in the attempt to throw off the present royal family, and declare a commonwealth: a design favoured by the discontents which the act of uniformity caused among the puritans, whose clergy generally declared, that they would resign their benefices, sooner than conform—a declaration to which they for the most part adhered. We shall notice these particulars in a future stage.

The commissioners appointed for the execution of the settlement, having been objected to on the fair ground that they were parties concerned, another commission was appointed, of competent English lawyers and gentlemen having no interest in Ireland. Their awards were too impartial to please a large portion of the claimants, which comprised chiefly these adventurers and soldiers whose claims were either founded on usurpation, or upon their service under the commonwealth. The first cases disposed of were those of the Irish, who had been undeservedly dispossessed of their estates: on this claim the numbers who came forward and made good their claims, by proving their innocence, was great beyond the expectations or the wish of the adventurers, who became discontented and alarmed, and in consequence soon began to express their complaints, and plot resistance. Many of Cromwell's officers conspired to effect an armed rising, and appointed a committee for its direction: among the officers appointed upon this committee, one (a Mr T. Alden,) disclosed the secret through his friend colonel Vernon, and by the same channel gave intelligence from time to time of their proceedings. Among the conspirators were some officers who conceived the notion of surprising the castle; Mr Alden gave warning of their intention, but mentioned a time farther off than afterwards turned out to be the time actually fixed; as captain Hulet and lieutenant Turet, who had probably at first fixed

upon the 9th or 10th of March, according to the information, saw reasons to expedite their design. On the 5th of that month, a company was to mount guard, among whom they reckoned on fifty men, and a sergeant: they also contrived to obtain arms and powder from the store, by practising upon the simplicity or knavery of the store-keeper's boy, and made up their minds to attempt the castle on that night by the gate that opens towards Ship street. Alden learned this change of purpose on the very day; but as colonel Vernon was out of the way, he found no means to convey his intelligence to the duke of Ormonde. Fortunately, the duke had himself received notice the day before, from a person named Hopkins, whom Turet had engaged to join. Such preparations were made as could not have failed to repel the attempt, but the conspirators themselves were apprised of the discovery of their design and made no attack. Some of them fled for their lives, and others were taken; but their information was unsatisfactory, as they were not persons who had been trusted by the leading conspirators.

Among the troublesome occurrences of this period of the duke's life, not the least was caused by the exhibition of the same refractory spirit in the House of Commons. An address was presented to him, in which this branch of parliament embodied the complaints of the adventurers and Cromwellians. They complained of the liberal and strictly equitable proceedings of the commissioners, and proposed a new method of conducting the cases, which would soon have restored the griping and corrupt decisions of the parliamentary courts. In the cases which came usually before the court, the plaintiff was the person whose innocence was to be proved, and the defendant he who was actually in possession of his lands. They now proposed that the king should be a party, and no decision made before the attorney-general should have been heard against the plaintiff. To this absurd and anomalous expedient, it was in addition proposed, that the cases should be tried by juries, so described, as in effect to give the decision to the persons most interested, either by claim or party. Other regulations respecting the nature of the evidence, and others limiting the lauds and the claims, were proposed, and to the whole was tacked the false proposition, that the maintenance of the Protestant religion was dependent on the adoption of such proposals. The duke saw the injustice of these arrangements and was also much vexed and disgusted by the insidiousness and fallacy of this attempt to connect the church, which it was his main policy and desire to maintain, with such flagitious demands. The duke received their address coldly, and told them it should be taken into consideration. They were dissatisfied with this reply, and caused Sir A. Mervyn's speech, in which the address had been moved, to be printed. The king caused the printer to be taken up, and expressed his disapprobation in strong terms: and the duke wrote a letter to the parliament, in which he forcibly exposed the folly and mischief of their proceedings. They had, he represented, suggested the dangerous notion, that the protestant interest was in danger, in consequence of which many respectable protestants had received an alarm highly pernicious to that interest, as it both prevented English protestants from looking for settlements in Ireland, and caused many to sell at low rates the estates they had.

He explained to them the truth so obvious, and yet seemingly so hardly received, that the country only wanted peace to ensure the growth of universal prosperity: while the rights and interests of every class must suffer by the perpetuation of disunion and discontent. The commons retracted their proceeding, declared their abhorrence of the recent plot, acknowledged the lord-lieutenant's great care and vigilance in defeating it, and pledged themselves to support him with their lives and fortunes, in the maintenance of the royal authority.

Notwithstanding the check which it thus received, the main conspiracy went on with unremitting activity. The time of insurrection was fixed for May 25th, when the castles of Dublin, Drogheda, Derry, and other places of strength, were by simultaneous movements to be seized. There were meetings and consultations in Dublin and several parts of the country, to ensure the means and regulate the proceedings: several members of parliament, lawyers and military officers, were engaged in the undertaking, among whom the most active were a presbyterian minister, named Lackie, and a person of the name of Blood, who passed frequently into Scotland, under the hope of drawing the Scotch into the rebellion. Sir A. Forbes was sent down into the north, and soon succeeded in obtaining extensive intelligence of their proceedings, which were disconcerted by the arrest of major Staples, who had charge of the execution of the plan which they had concerted for the seizure of the towns. On the arrest of Staples, the greater part of the northern conspirators fled into Scotland.

In Munster the proceedings of the conspiracy were scarcely less active. A short extract will convey in the briefest form a view of the hopes, designs, and dependency of the persons engaged in it. Carte represents one of these, colonel Jephson, as explaining to Sir Theophilus Jones, whom he was anxious to gain to the party, "that they did not want an army, for there were 15,000 Scots excommunicated by the bishops in the north, who were ready within two days, and they doubted not but their own army would join them; that they had a bank of money in Dublin, sufficient to pay off all the arrears of the army, both in Oliver's time, and since the king's return, but he could not tell from whence it came, unless from Holland; that he had seen three or four firkins of it carried into Mr Boyd's house, and he could himself command £500 out of that bank the next day; that they had a wise council of considerable persons, such as would not be readily guessed at, who managed the business, and any body who should see the scheme, which was particularly set down in writing, would be convinced of its exactness; that Mr Roberts, who was auditor under Cromwell, had been for two months casting up the arrears of the army, and had now perfected the account, so that it was known what was due to every one, and such as would join them should be paid off everywhere; that there were 1000 horse in Dublin for securing the city, and Henry Ingolsby was to appear with them as soon as the castle was taken, and a flag put up, of which they no way doubted; that they intended to offer no violence to any but such as opposed them; that the duke of Ormonde's person was to be seized, but to be civilly treated; that several other persons were to be secured, and par-

ticularly he himself was to seize the earl of Clancarty, and colonel Fitz-Patrick; that every party had their particular orders to surprise each of the guards of the city; that one MacCormack was a great person in the action, and there were six ministers that went about Dublin in perukes, but laid them by when they were at prayers, and these were to be in the streets, to see that no plunder or disorder should be committed; that they had a declaration, of which many thousand copies were printed, ready to be dispersed, declaring that their undertaking was for securing the English interest, and the three kingdoms which were going to ruin by the countenance given to popery; that all the English should enjoy such estates as they possessed on 1st May, 1659; that religion should be settled according to the solemn league and covenant." He added, "that they would overturn the three kingdoms, and that the word which was to be given on the taking of the castle was, '*For the king and English interest.*'" Jones, without the loss of a moment, wrote down the heads of this conversation, which he disclosed next day to the duke.

The plan for the surprise of Dublin castle was one which, without some previous warning, would most probably have succeeded. Several persons were to loiter into the castle yard, separately, as having petitions, or on some other fair pretence, while eighty foot soldiers, disguised as mechanics and trades' people, were to remain outside, dispersed in different small groups, or with the appearance of idle loiterers, so as not to attract notice, until they should receive the signal concerted: this was to be given by a baker carrying a large basket of bread, who was to stumble in the gateway: it was supposed that the guards in the gateway would immediately scramble for the bread, and thus offer a full opportunity for the disguised assailants to force their way in before the nature of their proceedings could be suspected. Within twelve hours of the time appointed for this exploit, the chief conspirators were all arrested by orders from the duke of Ormonde; and the few of less importance who escaped, were actively searched for. Among these latter, the most remarkable was Blood, the most daring, unscrupulous, and active of all the conspirators; this desperado found shelter for a time in Antrim, and afterwards among the mountains of Ulster, where he pretended to be a priest. From thence he reached the county of Wicklow, where he lurked for a while, and under various names and disguises, travelled through the kingdom, endeavouring to reunite and revive the conspiracy. He expressed himself strongly on the advantage they would gain if the duke of Ormonde should be slain, asserting that his death would be of more importance than the possession of the castle of Dublin; and the impression soon became very much diffused that he would himself be very likely to assassinate the duke.†

The duke was very anxious to treat his prisoners with lenity, and a few who frankly acknowledged their guilt, he pardoned: but a notion had circulated, that conspiring to levy war was not treason, unless pursued into overt acts of rebellion; and it was felt to be essential to

* Carte, II. 267.

† Carte.

the peace of the kingdom, that this dangerous delusion should be removed by some examples. Bills were found against five of the prisoners, who were tried and found guilty, upon the evidence of several, most of whom had been engaged in the same conspiracy. These persons were executed.

The people of Ireland were in every quarter deeply anxious for quiet, there existed among them not the slightest tendency to disaffected feeling: and there was moreover a sincere and universal sense of affection and respect for the duke of Ormonde diffused among every class, with the slight yet dangerous exception of the remains of the republican party. This, most unhappily indeed, still composed the chief material of the army in both countries. The duke was anxious to adopt the only direct remedy, which was the purgation of the army; but money was wanting, and he was thus involved in great embarrassments. He made a progress into Ulster, by his presence to awe the disaffected, revive loyal feelings, and give confidence to the apprehensions of the peaceable; and felt himself also under the necessity of employing agents to watch the proceedings of those parties who were suspected of any dangerous design.

Among the embarrassments to which the duke was at this period subject, not the least perplexing or eventually pernicious to his personal interest, arose from the enmities excited by his straight and unswerving integrity in the employment of his patronage. The courtiers of Charles, who grasped at every office of emolument or trust, resented the refusals of the duke to mix himself in their low intrigues for preferment, and his disposal of the commands under his own appointment, to individuals whose claims were those only of fair and meritorious service. Among the enemies which he thus made for himself, the most conspicuous for talent, station, and court favour, was Sir H. Bennet, who had first to no purpose endeavoured to draw the duke into a cabal to make him secretary of state. While he was digesting his discontent at the duke's neutrality in this affair, the death of lord Falkland left a troop of horse at the disposal of the duke, and it was applied for by Bennet, for his brother, who had never been in Ireland. The king expressed great anxiety that the duke should take the opportunity thus afforded of conciliating Bennet: but the duke gave the troop to lord Callan, whose claim was that of long and active service. He had already refused it to his own son, the lord John Butler, and wrote to his friend, Daniel O'Neile, at the English court, a letter on the subject, in which among other things he says—"I think I told him (I am sure I might have done it truly) that many who had been deservedly officers of the field amongst the horse, and some colonels, were, with great industry and earnestness, desiring to be lieutenants of horse, and that he who was lieutenant of that (Sir T. Armstrong's) troop, had long, faithfully, and stoutly, served as major of horse. Figure to yourself how he and the rest would take it, to have a man never heard of, and who never was more than a captain of foot, made captain of horse over their heads; and then consider, if my part be not hard, that must lose a friendship, because I will not countenance so disobliging a pretension; and all the while, what is my con-

cernment or advantage, but the discharge of my duty? If Mr Secretary's brother were near upon a level with other pretenders, and I should not supply what were wanting in consideration of him, he had reason to reproach me with want of friendship; but sure it will be hard to live well with him, if the frankness of my proceeding with him shall be esteemed injurious, to be remembered upon all occasions, and retributed by crossing my desires, when they aim at just things, and such as tend to the king's service."

The countess of Castlemaine—whose unworthy interest with the libertine king gave her a power which fortunately she had not understanding to exert as perniciously as she might—contrived to obtain a letter for passing to herself a grant of the Phoenix Park and Lodge. The duke refused to pass the warrant, and stopped the grant. By a strong remonstrance he changed the king's purpose, and persuaded him to enlarge the park by a purchase of 450 acres, and assign the house for the accommodation of the lords-lieutenant of Ireland. When the duke next visited England, the lady who was thus disappointed, assailed him at court with torrents of the most pestiferous abuse, and concluded by expressing her hope to see him hanged: the duke listened to her invective without showing any appearance of concern, and in reply to the concluding compliment, told her, that he "did not feel the same wish to put an end to her days, and only wished he might live to see her an old woman."

Another remarkable instance in which the duke drew upon himself a heavy discharge of court enmity, was the case of the marquess of Antrim; but the particulars would demand far more space than we can here afford. This marquess was making suit at court for the restoration of his large estates which were forfeited in the recent rebellion, and in the hands of adventurers. The queen mother was his zealous friend, and determined to support his suit. The interest of the duke was looked for, or at least the weight of his sanction was thought a necessary corroboration of such a claim. The duke was reluctant to oppose the queen, or to take upon himself the invidious office of pressing the unworthiness of the marquess; yet it was still more repugnant to his sense of honour to be brought into a court intrigue for the perversion of justice, and he represented that their object could be easily effected without his mediation, which he could not offer without compromising his regard for truth. He was charged by the marquess' friends with enmity, and by his own enemies it was imputed to him, that he was privately using his influence in favour of the marquess, though he publicly affected to oppose him. The duke defended himself from both of these charges; an extract from his letter to a friend, expressing his own sentiment, is the most we can here afford to add upon the subject:—"I am still really persuaded of my lord St Alban's friendship to me, and that belief receives no abatement by his endeavours for the saving of my lord Antrim's estate. For it were as unreasonable to expect a friend should think always as I do, as that he should have the same voice, or coloured beard. I confess I cannot find any obligation, that was upon the late king, or that is upon this, to do extraordinary things for my lord of Antrim; and I am sure there neither were nor

are any upon me, but the queen mother's commands, and my lord St Alban's interposition, upon both which I set the value I ought. In this particular, and in that of the bill,* people take me to be more concerned than I am. They know me not, and traduce me that say I interiously wish his restitution; and that though publicly I oppose it, yet privately I assist him. On the other side they as much mistake me, that believe I affect his ruin, and an enmity with him. The first were unchristian, and the other a very pitiable ambition. I have been civil, as I ought to be, to his lady, when she made applications to me; and this must be taken for helping her lord. In my dispatches I have freely spoken truth concerning him and his business; and that is taken for hatred of him; but neither truly. My lord chancellor Bacon says in one of his essays, that there are men will set their houses on fire to roast their eggs. They are dangerous cattle, if they can disguise themselves under plausible pretences. I have done all I conceive belongs to me to do in the business of my lord Antrim. I cannot unsay what I have said in it till I am convinced of error: but if I be asked no more questions about him, I can and will hold my peace."

The act of settlement was unattended by the expected result, and only gave rise to endless clamour and litigation. An explanation bill was ordered to be prepared, and was rejected by the king, who referred the subject to the consideration of the lord-lieutenant and his council, to whom he gave orders to frame a new bill, so as to give the utmost attainable satisfaction to all who had any reasonable claim. The duke proceeded with his characteristic impartiality and caution, excluding the expectations of those who might not unreasonably have looked upon him as the head of their party, and only contemplating the claims of justice limited by the consideration of what was practicable and expedient for the general welfare of the country. It was endeavoured to secure the "forty-nine" officers—to lower the claims of adventurers—and to increase the fund for the redress of those whom the late court of claims had left unprovided for. A new bill on these principles was framed and transmitted; the several parties interested once more sent their advocates to London; and the presence of the duke being considered necessary, he committed the government to lord Ossory and also went over.

On his arrival, an order of council was made, that he should call to his aid such of the Irish privy council as were in London, with the commissioners for claims, &c., and with them carefully review the deliberations which had been entered into on Irish affairs, and advise what corrections or additions should appear expedient and just. This council met in August, and so considerable was the mass of papers, and representations, and petitions, of parties concerned, which they had to investigate, that their task was not ended till 26th May following. The several parties concerned made their proposals, in which, while all seem to have taken for a basis the same general view of their respective rights, each still proposed such an adjustment as best appeared to favour their separate demands: the main proposers were the Roman catholics, the soldiers and adventurers; and in looking closely into the

* The bill of explanation then transmitted into England.

detailed statement of their proposals, we are not prepared to assert that there was not on every side manifested as much fairness and regard to the fair claims of the others, as can be expected in every case of human opposition.* The contention was decided by the offer of the Roman catholics, who proposed that if the soldiers and adventurers would consent to part with one-third of the lands respectively enjoyed by them, on the claim of adventures and service on May 7, 1659, they were ready to agree to their general proposal. The proposal was accepted by all parties, and on the 18th May, 1665, in conformity with this general consent, it was ordered, "that the adventurers and soldiers should have two-thirds of the lands whereof they stood possessed, on May 7, 1659; that the Connaught purchasers should have two-thirds of what was in their possession, in September, 1663; that what any person wanted of his two-thirds should be supplied, and whatever he had more should be taken from him; and the adventurers and soldiers should make their election where the overplus should be retrenched, and the forty nine men should be entirely established in their present possessions."† On these resolutions the act was drawn up. The last step was the addition of a list of twenty nominees, whom the king was by name to restore to their estates. For this the lord-lieutenant presented several lists of persons held worthy of the king's favour by the earl of Clancarty, earl of Athenry, &c., &c. The king referred these back to the lord-lieutenant to select twenty such names as might seem to him most fit for that preference—an invidious and disagreeable task to be performed against the following day. The duke made out his list, and though none of the names were objected against, there was much complaint among the numerous persons who thought it a hardship to be omitted. Among these, Sir Patrick Barnewall alone had some reason for complaint, his claim having been such, that his name was only left out, on the assurance that he would otherwise be restored. He was undoubtedly "an innocent," but the court of claims had first postponed the hearing of his case, and then by the explanatory act, all claims were taken away from those whom that court had not declared innocent: thus, by a concurrence of errors, a grievous injustice was committed. He now applied to the duke, who made so strong a representation to the king that he received a considerable pension for life.

But the greatest sufferer by these arrangements was the duke himself, on whom the main weight of perplexity of Irish affairs always rested. With all his great ability as a statesman, he was utterly devoid of a prudent concern for his own affairs, and showed an improvidence in the care of his estate, and a readiness to abandon his own rights quite unparalleled in modern history. To supply the great deficiency of lands and the delay of ascertaining the extent of forfeiture, which perplexed the settlement, the duke consented to abandon large tracts of his property. The proposal was made that he should accept £5000 a-year in lieu of the whole of the forfeited parts of his estate: this offer was strongly objected to by Mr Walsh, his agent, on the ground that the lands were worth five times the sum: but the duke was reluctant to allow any delay of the settlement resulting from any demur

* See Carte, II. 303

† Carte.

on his part, and consented. This was not all,—for besides making this extraordinary sacrifice, a sum of £50,000, amounting not quite to double the annual rental of the property thus resigned, was secured to the duke, who allotted it for the payment of debts, chiefly incurred for the interests of the kingdom. Of these, the more considerable part of the securities, which had by forfeiture fallen to the crown, had been restored to the duke in reward of his services—with a stretch of generosity far beyond the ordinary conduct of the noblest men, the duke immediately wrote to Mr Walsh to pay off the whole. Such is but a cursory sketch of the history of these great and singular acts of disinterestedness, which seem to have made so little just impression upon the heated factions and unprincipled court-parties of his time. The neglect is indeed but seeming; for in the midst of all the injustice and rancour of those to whom the duke refused to be subservient, or the discontent of those whom it was impossible to content, the respect for his disinterestedness and integrity was universal. Nothing indeed more remarkably attests the truth of this than the style of censure adopted by those historians (for the most part recent,) whose political opinions incapacitate them from comprehending his real motives of actions. A tone of disparaging and captious insinuation wholly unsupported by even an attempt at direct statement, meets the careless reader and appeals to his prejudices, or conveys those of the writer, in some indirect form of language, hinting wrong motives for right acts, or a construction of intentions diametrically at variance with every plain indication both of conduct and profession; so that all the censures implied are uniformly in opposition to all the writer's facts. Such indeed is the proud test which history affords of the merits of this great statesman and still greater man: praise may be partial, but when the utmost reach of hostility can only extract material for a little timid inconsistency of language out of the history of a nobleman who stemmed the torrent of every faction, and attracted all the hostility of the rebels, the fanatics, and the unprincipled intriguers on every side; it surely speaks more for the duke than the language of panegyric can say.

The bill of explanation was next to be carried through the Irish parliament, a proceeding in which much difficulty was to be expected from the high and exclusive temper of that body, mainly composed of the adventurers, and generally of those parties which were in possession of titles to property which was liable to be rendered questionable by the bill. The duke left London, to prepare for this important affair: he was compelled to remain for some time in Bristol, to compose the disorders which had risen to a dangerous height in that city; and having succeeded in restoring quiet to the citizens, he passed over from Milford Haven, and landed at Duncannon fort, from which he proceeded to Kilkenny. The parliament was judiciously prorogued until the 26th October, to leave time for bringing round the more interested of the members, of whom the greater part were to lose a third of their claims: on the more moderate and public spirited of these the duke might hope to prevail, and lord Orrery was popular among the more violent, with whom he engaged to use his influence.

In the mean time the duke made his entry into Dublin, in a state of magnificence far surpassing any thing known in that city before.

or long after, till the visit of George the Fourth. All that the taste and wealth of the age could devise of magnificent and gorgeous was lavished to swell the solemnity of the scene, and do honour to one who had deserved so much, and from whom so much was yet looked for. Sir Daniel Bellingham, the first lord mayor of Dublin,* exerted himself to give effect and direction to the zeal of every class. The particulars may interest many readers, we therefore add them here in the words of Carte: "When his Grace was advanced within six miles of the place, he was met by a gallant train of young gentlemen, well mounted, and alike richly attired; their habits of a kind of ash-colour, trimmed with scarlet and silver, all in white scarfs, and commanded by one Mr Corker, a deserving gentleman, employed in his majesty's revenue, with other officers to complete the troop, which marched in excellent order to the bounds of the city liberty, where they left his Grace to be received by the sheriffs of the city who were attended by the corporations in their stations; after the sheriffs had entertained his Grace with a short speech, the citizens marched next; and after the maiden troop, next to that his Grace's gentlemen; and then his kettle drums and trumpets; after them the sheriffs of the city, bare-headed, then the sergeants-at-arms and their pursuivants; and in the next place followed his Grace, accompanied by the nobility and privy councillors of the kingdom; after them the lifeguard of horse. Within St James's gate his Grace was entertained by the lord mayor, aldermen, and principal members of the city on the right hand, and on the left stood six gladiators, stript, and drawn; next them his Grace's guard of battle-axes; before them his Majesty's company of the royal regiment; the rest of the companies making a guard to the castle. The king's company marched next; after the citizens; then the battle-axes; and thus through a wonderful throng of people, till they came to the conduit in the corn market, whence wine ran in abundance. At the new hall was erected a scaffold, on which were placed half-a-dozen anticks; by the tollsel was erected another scaffold, whereupon was represented Ceres under a Canopy, attended by four virgins. At the end of Castle street a third scaffold was erected, on which stood Vulcan by his anvil, with four Cyclops asleep by it. And the last scaffold was raised at the entrance into the castle gate, whereupon stood Bacchus, with four or five good fellows. In fine, the whole ceremony was performed, both upon the point of order and affection, to his Grace's exceeding satisfaction, who was at last welcomed in the castle with great and small shot; and so soon as the streets could be cleared of coaches, (which was a good while first, for they were very many,) the streets and the air were filled with fire-works, which were very well managed to complete the entertainment."

It will not be necessary to go at length into the means which were taken by the duke to carry the bill, against which there was entertained in parliament so much personal reluctance. To impress them with feelings of a more favourable kind, he first employed them for sixteen days in a most apprehensive investigation on the recent insurrection, in which several of their members had been implicated, and many could

* Carte, II. 313.

not avoid feeling the danger of being involved. The effect was salutary, and they soon began to manifest a tone of mind more submissive and favourable to that sacrifice of personal interests which the peace of the kingdom demanded. And thus by considerable address, and the seasonable interposition of topics, adapted to work on their fears, the bill was passed with little demur, and received the royal assent on December 23, 1665. Five commissioners were appointed to carry it into operation, with a constant appeal to the duke in cases of difficulty. The discharge of this important duty continued for many years to load him with embarrassments and vexations: and the more so as it was his continual duty to interfere for the purpose of preventing the alienation of the lands allotted for the purposes of the act, to influential parties who obtained private grants from the crown. Such grants he steadily set aside, and thus created for himself innumerable private enemies, dangerous from their influence and want of principle.

In 1663, the country gentlemen of England had been distressed by a general fall in the price of cattle, and a consequent difficulty in obtaining their rents. This they attributed to the importation of Irish and Scotch cattle and sheep, which on inquiry was found to be very considerable: the average importation from Ireland alone having been for many years sixty-one thousand head of black cattle. The House of Commons had in consequence ordered a bill to prohibit this importation. This bill passed quickly through the Commons. The measure had been carried with an anxious eagerness through the Commons, and with a view to evade opposition, had in fact been smuggled through as a clause in an "*act for the encouragement of trade*;" so that the duke of Ormonde only received an intimation upon the subject while it was passing through the upper house, and sent over the earl of Anglesey to protest against it in his name, and that of the Irish council. The act passed, and the destructive consequences were soon felt in Ireland. The council of trade, formed by the duke in Ireland, met to remonstrate upon this grievance: it was composed of numerous gentlemen of fortune, and of the principal merchants; from this body a strong remonstrance was transmitted to England. They represented the disastrous consequences of such a prohibition to Irish property, of which it so entirely destroyed the value, that all the farmers would be under the necessity of throwing up their leases. They pointed out the destructive effects which must also be sustained by his majesty's customs, so that the expense of the Irish army and civil list would be necessarily either wanting, to the total ruin of the kingdom, or to be defrayed by large remittances from England. They also shewed the injury which would be inflicted upon London, by a law which would withdraw the whole Irish trade from that city; as the entire stock of wines, clothes, and mostly all manufactured goods, for the use of the Irish nobility and gentry, were purchased there on a half-yearly credit, maintained by the returns of the Irish produce sold in England. They showed the suffering and inconvenience likely to ensue among the trading towns in England, by the rise of the prices of beef and mutton, and the consequent rise of wages. And further pointed out the serious injury to be sustained by the shipping interests on the

western coast, chiefly maintained by the cattle and coal trade between the two countries. Their remonstrance was transmitted by the earl of Ossory and the Irish council, to the duke of Ormonde then in England on the business of the settlement. The duke enforced their arguments with others derived from a more enlarged view of the political state of Europe at the time. Having strongly dwelt upon the unseasonableness of such an act, at a moment when Ireland had recently emerged from ten years of destructive civil war which had almost annihilated all her vital powers, he showed that by some law, or by the operation of some circumstance, every other resource was either cut off or reduced to little more than nominal: with Holland there was war; with France war was impending; the *act for the encouragement of trade*, shut them out from America; an English monopoly from the Canary Islands. He also repeated with strong additional weight, the forcible and home argument of the great loss which the revenue must sustain. He showed that the English fattening lands, which were mostly stocked from Ireland, must thus become a monopoly to the breeders of cattle. He exposed the arguments on the opposite side, and asserted that the consequences of which they complained were not attributable to the importation of Irish cattle; he observed the manifest absurdity of attributing the loss of £200,000, said to be sustained by English landlords to the importation of cattle to the amount of £140,000 from Ireland. He said that the recent revival of Lent in England must have diminished the consumption; the drought of the last summers must have hurt the farmers, the drain of emigration, the ravage of the plague, the stoppage of trade by the war with Holland. To all these reasons he added, that no such complaints had been heard of till recently, though the Irish cattle trade had been of old standing and had been much more considerable before the civil wars. Finally he brought forward many reasons to show that the injury thus done to Ireland must be eventually hurtful to England.

The king was convinced by these arguments, with many others which we have not noticed here: but he was himself dependent upon his commons, and had not the virtue or the firmness to oppose their narrow and selfish policy. The bill met with considerable opposition in the lords, where views of general policy were better understood, and considerations of national justice had more weight. There the earl of Castlehaven made a vigorous stand, and represented the great benefit which the commerce of Ireland had received under the sagacious and energetic care of the duke of Ormonde, "greater (he justly observed,) than it had experienced even from the earl of Strafford." His exposition converted many; but nothing better than delay was obtained. For the following three years the act continued to be the subject of the most violent party opposition and court manœuvre, and after being strenuously combated by the duke and his friends at every stage, and on every discussion, and feebly discountenanced by the king, it was at last, when the house of lords showed the strongest inclination to throw it out, carried through by the influence of the court and the interest of the duke of York. The effects were such as had been predicted by the duke of Ormonde and the friends of Ireland, but eventu-

ally turned out to the advantage of Ireland by turning the wealth and industry of the country into other channels, as we shall have to show further on.

During these proceedings, many troubles had occurred in Ireland, to engage the anxious attention of the duke. A party of forty plunderers, under the leaders Costello and Nangle, gave much trouble during the summer of 1666, but were in the end routed, and Nangle killed; after which Costello fled into Connaught, where, at the head of half-a-dozen desperadoes, he committed frightful havoc and plunder among the farm-houses and villages. At last lord Dillon, on whose estate he had committed the greatest depredations, sent out some armed parties of his own tenantry. Costello attacked one of these in the night, which he thought to surprise: he was however shot dead, and the whole of his gang cut to pieces. Thus ended an affair which but a few years before would have been a wide wasting insurrection. It clearly indicates the sense of the people, at this time pretty well experienced as to the real fruits of civil war.

Far more serious was a mutiny among the troops, of whom a large part were ill-disposed to the government, and all discontented at the irregularity of their pay, and the insufficiency of their maintenance. The duke received intelligence of a conspiracy, headed by colonel Phaire, captain Walcot, and other officers, to raise a general insurrection; and having sent full information to lord Orrery, who commanded in Munster, lord Orrery soon found means to seize a person from whom he learned that the conspiracy extended to England and Scotland, and that it was planned "to rise at once in all the three kingdoms: to set up the long parliament, of which above forty members were engaged; that measures had been taken to gather together the disbanded soldiers of the old army, and Ludlow was to be general-in-chief; that they were to be assisted with forces, arms, and money, by the Dutch; and were to rise all in one night, and spare none that would not join in the design—which was to pull down the king with the house of lords, and instead of the bishops to set up a sober and painful ministry; that collections had been made of money to work upon the necessities of the soldiery, and they had already bought several men in different garrisons, and that particularly they had given large sums to soldiers (some of which he named,) that were upon the guard in the castles of Dublin and Limerick, for the seizing of those places, whenever they were ready to declare. which would be in a few weeks; that each officer engaged in the design had his particular province assigned him, and answered for a particular number of men, which he was to bring into the field."

The earl of Orrery, with the promptness which was natural to his active and energetic character, took the most effectual means to suppress so dangerous a spirit within his own jurisdiction. He communicated with all the officers, and established a strict system of vigilant observation over the actions and conversation of the soldiers. He proposed also to empower the officers to arrest all suspicious persons, and to seize their arms and horses; but to this the duke objected. "I confess," he writes to lord Orrery, "I am not willing to trust inferior officers, civil or military, with judging who are danger-

ous persons, and fit to be secured, and their horses taken from them, a thing seldom performed without a mixture of private ends, either of revenge or avarice; and I know not what could more induce or extenuate the crime of rebellion than the taking up of persons or their goods upon alarms or general suggestions.”*

The duke was fully aware at that moment that the mutinous spirit which had thus showed itself in the south, and still more the indications of a similar temper in the north, were but the premonitory signs of a more dangerous and general disorder. There was fermenting in Scotland an insurrectionary temper which had its branches in England and Ireland; and the duke considered these outbreaks among the northern garrisons the more to be dreaded on account of their vicinity to the Scottish coast. A mutiny in Carrickfergus, in April, was easily appeased without the necessity of any severe or coercive remedy; and the garrison, encouraged by the dangerous lenity which had been shown, again broke out more fiercely in May, when they seized upon the town and castle of Carrickfergus. The earl of Donegal endeavoured to treat with them, but they rejected his offers, the mildness of which only served to encourage their insubordination. The duke, on receiving intelligence of the circumstances, sent orders to the earl to make no further offers, as it was become essential to the peace of the kingdom that the mutineers should be made examples of to the disaffected throughout the army. He immediately sent off his son, the earl of Arran, with four companies of his guards, the only troops on whom he felt any reliance; and not content with this, he soon after set off himself for the north.

The earl of Arran had encountered rough weather, which drove him within a league of the Mull of Galloway; but the storm abating, he was enabled to get into the bay of Carrickfergus on the 27th, and at noon landed his men without opposition. He was joined by the earl of Donegal, and by the mayor who had made his escape. From the mayor he received the assurance that the townsmen were on the watch to favour him, and if he could beat the mutineers from the walls, a party would seize upon a gate and secure his admission. The mutineers formed their own plan, which was to plunder the town and shut themselves in the castle: to secure time for this they sent to demand time till four o'clock, to consider what they should propose. Lord Arran was however apprized of their design and demanded immediate entrance, and on being refused, he ordered a smart fire upon the walls. The garrison, seeing that no time was to be lost, instantly commenced their retreat into the castle, leaving what they considered a sufficient party to defend the walls. The earl of Arran soon forced his way, with the loss of two men slain at his side, while the leader of the mutineers, one Dillon, was slain in the pursuit as they fled towards the castle. There were 120 men in the castle, strongly fortified, and having provisions for a month: but wholly without officers. They became terrified at the regular preparations for an assault, and quickly offered to treat, but lord Arran sent them word that he could not offer them any terms, and they presently submitted at discretion.

* Carte, II. 325.

Nine of them, who had taken a leading part, were condemned to death, and the remainder sent to Dublin, from whence they were transported to the colonies. The duke broke the four companies in which the mutiny had arisen, and left two companies of his guards at Carrickfergus.

These disturbances, with the alarm of a French invasion, were in one respect useful, as they had the salutary effect of drawing £15,000 from the treasury, which enabled the duke to appease the violent and not unreasonable discontent of the army. He had long conceived a plan for the organization of a militia for the defence of the provinces. With this view he made a progress into the south, to fortify the coast against the menaced invasion. It had been reported that 20,000 men had assembled at Brest, under the duke of Beaufort, in readiness to embark for Ireland, and already many of their ships had been seen off Bantry Bay, Crookhaven, and other near roads. The duke was received by the nobility and gentry on the borders of their several counties on his way. He had already sent round his orders, and transmitted a supply of arms and accoutrements, and now reviewed the corps which were assembled for his orders, to the amount of two thousand foot and three thousand horse.

The duke's efforts for the benefit of Ireland were much impeded by the entire disregard which prevailed upon the subject in the English council and parliament; while the influence of the duke, which had in some measure tended to counteract this neglect was fast diminishing under the zealous animosity of the powerful faction of his enemy, Buckingham, seconded by all the most leading and influential persons of that intriguing and profligate court, the seat of all dishonour and corruption. There the duke was feared by the king and detested by the base and underplotting courtiers who surrounded him; and among their favourite aims, the principal was an unremitting cabal against one who could not be other than an enemy to all their wishes. No occasion was lost to thwart his measures, to defeat his proposals, to calumniate his conduct, and misrepresent his character: all this the king, whose defect was not that of just observation, saw; but he was too indolent and remiss, and too much alive to the influence of his worthless creatures, to resist being carried away by the falsehood and baseness which was the atmosphere in which he breathed; and the further he departed from the paths of discretion and prudence, the more he became impatient of the awe which the duke's character impressed, and anxious to throw it off. Such was the undercurrent which was steadily resisting and preventing the policy of the duke's administration in Ireland. The progress of the national prosperity, which must necessarily be dependent upon the growth of its resources, was arrested in its infancy, and just at the trying moment, when the country had emerged from the very jaws of ruin, by a most unprincipled and ignorant measure. The stagnation of trade was general; the blow received by the landed interest was but the propagation of the same stroke; and the duke, making efforts the most strenuous ever made by an Irish lord-lieutenant, and sacrifices far beyond any recorded in British history, was doomed to struggle vainly against the profligate indifference and corruption of the court, the ignorance of the English commons, the disaffection of the

army, and entire want of the necessary resources for the execution of the necessary duties of a governor.

Some great and permanent results could not fail to follow from the combination of so much wisdom and determination. Through good and ill report, through obstacles and hostility, the duke held on his steady and courageous course. He awakened a spirit of commercial concert and intelligence which was the nucleus of industry and future progress: he organized a better system of national defence: the spirit of the people was quieted and conciliated without the sacrifice of any principle. It was next the duke's great ambition to remedy the commercial injury which he had failed to prevent, by finding new channels for the industry and fertility of the country. Having received a memorial from Sir Peter Pett, on the manufacture of cloth, the duke resolved to give all the encouragement in his power to the proposal for the introduction of such a manufacture as might not only employ the industry of Ireland, but also under favourable circumstances, be the means of opening an advantageous foreign trade. He immediately set up an extensive manufactory of cloth in Clonmel, giving the undertakers long leases, in which he reserved "only an acknowledgment instead of rent," and employed captain Grant to engage five hundred Walloon protestant families about Canterbury to remove into Ireland, where he settled them to advantage.

Still more early and more successful were the duke's efforts for the re-establishment of the linen manufacture, first set on foot by lord Strafford, but totally arrested by the rebellion. On his first coming over, the duke sent competent persons into the Low Countries to make inquiries, and to ascertain all the best methods, as well as the laws and regulations, by which this trade was governed and promoted. He procured five hundred manufacturers from Brabant; and considerable numbers more from other places on the continent, known for their success in the linen trade. He built houses for numbers of these in Chapel Izod, where cordage, sail-cloth, and excellent linen began to be produced in abundance: at the head of this establishment he placed colonel Richard Lawrence, who also set up an extensive woollen manufactory. The duke planted another colony of manufacturers in his town of Carrick-on-Suir; and thus by great exertion and expenditure, was permanently established the greatest benefit Ireland ever received from the hand of any individual.

The heavy blow which had been inflicted upon Ireland by the prohibition act, produced its effect to the full extent that was anticipated by the duke. To relieve in some measure the great depression which it occasioned, there was little in his power—that little he performed. He purchased provisions for the government stores to the largest extent that was possible, and, in doing so, endeavoured to relieve the largest amount of distress. He also applied to the king to enlarge the commercial liberties of the Irish, by a free allowance to trade with such foreign ports as were not specially interdicted, such as the foreign plantations, appropriated by certain charters, or such as the East India, Turkey, and Canary companies. The Scotch having followed the example of England in prohibiting the importation of Irish produce, the Irish council was allowed to prohibit all importation of every article

of trade from Scotland, from which a large amount of goods had been annually imported to the great detriment of Irish manufacture. Even in the conduct of this transaction, a most miserable and paltry attempt was made by the duke of Buckingham's faction, to lay a snare for the duke of Ormonde, against whom they were at the time endeavouring to hatch an impeachment. They proposed to the king, that no special allowance for the exportation of Irish wool should be inserted in the king's proclamation, but that "it would be best to let wools go out by licence, which his Grace would resolve of;"* by which, if the duke should inadvertently be led to give such unauthorized licence, he would become subject to be impeached upon a penal statute. The duke wrote to the earl of Anglesey, noticing the impossibility of his acting upon the mere understanding of the council, which not being matter of record, would easily be forgotten and present no justification for him. Against such a mode of effecting the pretended intentions of the council he remonstrated however in vain: no further notice was taken of the matter.

The duke of Buckingham was at the head of the duke of Ormonde's enemies at court. The cause of his enmity was the firm refusal of Ormonde to be concerned in the promotion of his plans, which were neither wise nor honourable. This refusal was the more resented, as the earl of Arran was married to the niece and heir-at-law to the duke of Buckingham, who had also made a will in her favour, which he cancelled upon being disobliged by the duke of Ormonde.

The increased profligacy of the English court at this time began to have its full effect in removing all sane council from the king, who fell entirely under the corrupt influence of advisers, who carried every point by the favour of his mistresses. The earl of Clarendon was the first victim of an infamous conspiracy, and having been impeached upon accusations so false that they were even without any specious foundation in fact, he was insidiously persuaded by the king† to leave the country, by which the malignity or the craft of his enemies, who merely desired to get him out of the way, was served. Clarendon was the fast friend of the duke of Ormonde, with whom he had no reserve, and his departure was therefore inauspicious for the duke's continuance in favour. "He seems," observes Carte, "to have fallen into the very mistake (which he remarks in the character of archbishop Laud,) of imagining that a man's own integrity will support him." A common error, itself the result of integrity which finds it difficult to conceive the length to which baseness can be carried. The earl of Clarendon was also the victim of the secret intrigues of Buckingham: there was an attempt made to conciliate the duke of Ormonde's assent to the sacrifice,‡ and the king wrote him a letter, in which he told him, "This is an arrangement too big for a letter; so that I will add but this word to assure you, that your former friendship to the chancellor shall not do you any prejudice with me, and, that I have not in the least degree diminished that value and kindness I ever had for you, which I thought fit to say to you upon this occasion, because it is very possible malicious people may suggest the contrary to you."

* Carte.

† Burnet.

‡ See a letter from lord Arlington to the duke, *Carte*, II. 352.

The earl of Clarendon retired into France, and an attempt to carry the proceedings to an attainder was defeated by the firmness of the House of Lords, always more slow to be warped to the purposes of either court-intrigue or popular faction, than the lower house, of which the mixed and uncertain composition has always rendered it the field of all the veering winds of influence from every quarter.

The same party which thus succeeded in removing the restraint of the earl of Clarendon's presence from the abandoned and profligate court of England, was as sedulously bent on getting the duke of Ormonde out of the way. Only anxious to watch over the sickly infancy of Irish prosperity, the duke took the utmost care to give no offence to any party of English politicians. But the duke of Buckingham was bent on the acquisition of the Lieutenancy of Ireland, and the place of steward of the household: and about the middle of October, in the same year, (1672) they contrived to draw up articles of impeachment against the duke of Ormonde, of which Sir Heneage Finch obtained a copy and sent it to him. The duke, however, had not only been upright, but being of an observing, cautious, and sagacious temper, and fully aware of the character and designs of Buckingham, he had ever preserved a guarded conduct, and, as in the instance already seen, kept himself within the letter of authority. Of the twelve articles which composed the impeachment there were but two open even to any specious doubt against him: of these, one was the trial by martial law, of the soldiers who mutinied at Carrickfergus; the other related to the quartering of soldiers in Dublin contrary to the statute 18 Henry VI. These charges are evidently too futile to be here entered upon, so as to explain their absurdity. The statute was manifestly misinterpreted, and the practice of quartering troops in Dublin followed by every lord-lieutenant that had ever been there, without the least comment. As to the other articles, they manifested such utter ignorance, that the duke remarked, "that they were either put together by some friend of his, or by a very ignorant enemy:" as expressed in the articles, they were all entirely unfounded; and most of them, had they been true, were yet no offences; while others were impossible to have been committed. An attempt was at the same time made to support this attack by another, consisting of two petitions, both of which were thrown out by the House of Commons, notwithstanding the efforts of the duke of Buckingham and his party.

The mischief produced by these proceedings in Ireland was very considerable; a general sense was excited, that tortuous claimants might find strong support against the duke. The members of his government also, were so scared, that they hung back in the discharge of their duties, and shrunk from the responsibility attendant upon every exercise of the powers committed to them. The duke, with all his caution, shrunk from no legal exertion of his power, and was left to act alone, under circumstances of trying emergency. Among other things we find him at this time writing to lord Arlington:—"I have so much reason to fear this may be the aim of some, that for all I am threatened to be accused of treason, on account of giving warrants for the quartering of soldiers; yet I am so hopeful that I shall incur no such danger, and so apprehensive that, if the army should be much discour-

aged or lessened, treason and rebellion would soon show themselves, that I continue to give the usual warrants, and to compel obedience to be given to them; and so I shall do, if his majesty vouchsafe to give it his approbation!"

Irritated by defeat, and urged by the ambitious cupidity of the duke of Buckingham, the enemies of the duke of Ormonde were incessant in their attacks upon him, and it soon became evident to all intelligent observers, that the restless animosity, and the great court-influence of that party, which appeared determined on his fall, could not fail to injure him at last. The weakness and uncertainty of the king, who had no affections but for those who were subservient to his humours or inclinations, left no hope from his firmness or justice; and the duke of Ormonde received repeated letters from his friends in England, advising him to come over himself; among these, one warning alone had in some degree the effect of exciting a sense of danger. The earl of Anglesey, who was menaced with similar accusations, received an intimation that he should not be molested if he would lend his aid in the fabrication of an impeachment of the duke of Ormonde: the earl refused and laid the entire correspondence before the duke. Still more serious was a similar communication from lord Orrery. We shall enter more into the detail of this, both because it actually determined the movements of the duke, and because it is our opinion that lord Orrery was unjustly accused to the duke; though it is, at the same time, quite apparent that the conduct of lord Orrery was not at the same time such as to render the suspicion unfounded: and we have also little doubt in the belief that he was afterwards drawn into the intrigue of the duke's enemies.

The earl of Orrery having written to desire that the duke would give him a cypher, upon receiving this, wrote a letter to the duke, dated Nov. 13, 1667, acknowledging the receipt of a letter from his excellency, communicating the articles of impeachment, and mentioning that he had been already aware of them, and adding, "and possibly that it was not without my service that you had them;" and making several comments, with which we shall not trouble the reader's attention. On November the 19th, the following letter in cypher came from the earl of Orrery to the duke:—

To the Duke of Ormonde.

" November 19th, 1667.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Earl of Orrery

" A letter this day from a good hand tells 379,

that a ^c31 ^h12 ^a29 ^r21 ^f11 ^e57 against ^{Duke of Ormonde} 378 is in the hands of
^{Duke of Bucks} 118 and ^{Lord Ashley} 112; that one ^L15 ⁱ13 ^t23 ^t47 ^l9 ^e63 ^t71 ^o80 ⁿ41
 is to ^a5 ^c7 ^u24 ^e22 ^{Duke of Ormonde} 9 378 in 170; and that the ^{adventurers} 86 90 are to
 give the rise for it.

^{Duke of Ormonde} " 378 will do well to be watchful over the earl of ^M16 ^e33 ^a29 ^t23 ^h12 ^e9.

Earl of Orrery

" A friend this post writ to 379, that he saw the petition of the

adventurers 86 to the ^{parliament} 406, that the acts of 17 and 18 of the last king might be made good; that they have a great many friends in ^{parliament} 406; so that it is believed, most which has been done, will be undone, and what the consequences thereof will be, God only knows.

"A good hand tells me they will *push* hard at ^{Lord Arlington} 111; and some warm whispers there are of a ^{letter} 325 which ^{Lord Arlington} 111 ^{s e n t} 25 21 13 23 in June, to ^{Duke of Ormonde} 378, of a strange nature, with which it is thought much ado will be made; and the ^{Duke of Ormonde} 378 will be upon ^{his oath} 733 846 about it, and ^{Sir G. Lane} 318, of which my friend says I should shortly hear more."

In the meantime the duke was strongly and repeatedly urged to go over to England. The earl of Orrery had also applied for a licence to leave his government, which he received. After which, the two following letters were written:—

To the Duke of Ormonde.

"Charleville, March 18, 1667

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"I have even now by the post received the honour of your grace's letter of the 10th instant, from Thurles. I confess I was somewhat surprised when I read it; for your grace was pleased to say, by your collections from some late passages in affairs, and from the deportment of some who are understood to be my friends, and of others whom your grace is sure are my relations, some suspicions might be raised in a mind more liable to that passion than yours is, to the weakening your confidence in my profession to you.

"To which I humbly answer, that if any who are understood to be my friends, or who certainly are my relations, have misdeported themselves towards your grace, the least favour I could have expected was, either that I might have been acquainted with the names of the persons, or with their faults, that thereby I might have been capacitated to have made them sensible of, and sorry for them; or else that the miscarriages of others, neither whose persons or offences are told me, might not prejudice me in your grace's good opinion; for I never did undertake to your grace, that all who call themselves my friends, or who really are my relations, should act in all things towards your grace, no, not so much as towards myself, as I heartily wish they would do. And since I can neither command their doings or their inclinations, it would not be consonant to your grace's usual justice and goodness, to let one who is your servant suffer for the faults of those whom you judge are not your servants, and over whom I have no authority. I should not have thought my lord Clarendon over-just, if he should have contracted a jealousy at your grace, because my lord Arlington, who is your friend and ally, appeared against him. But this I profess to your grace, that if any who says he is my friend, or who is a relation of mine, has done, or shall do, any thing which is offensive to your

grace, and that I am acquainted with it, I will resent it at such a rate, as shall evidence to him, that whoever offends you does injure me.

"And now, my lord, I must beg your pardon, if I should think that it is not consonant to those assurances you have been pleased to give me of your favour; and of never entertaining any thing to my prejudice, till first you had told me of it, and heard what I could say on it, to have made some collections from some late passages in affairs, (which had you been inclined to suspicion, might have raised in you,) that I was not so much your servant, as really I am, and yet never have told them to me till now, and now only in such general terms, as serves only to let me know I am obliged to your kindness, and not to my own innocency, if you do not misdoubt me. You are pleased to let me see your collections would have wounded me, but you are not pleased to allow me the means to cure myself, which my integrity would have done, had I particularly known those passages, which your grace only mentions in general. And although it is a happiness I much desire, to be so rooted in your grace's esteem, as to need only your esteem to maintain me in it; yet I confess, my lord, where I seem (at least) to be suspected, I would owe my vindication to your justice as much as to your favour. For since the insignificance of my condition is such, that I cannot by my services merit your esteem, I am covetous to evidence, that by no ill actions of mine I would forfeit it. I do therefore most humbly and earnestly beg of your grace, that I may minutely know those passages, through which, by your collections, I might be prejudiced in your opinion, that I may derive from my innocency, as much as from your grace's favour, and unaptness to entertain suspicions, my vindication. If I did not think myself guiltless, I would not thus humbly implore of your grace to descend to particulars. And if you think I am not, forgive me, I beseech you, if I say you are somewhat obliged not to deny it; since it is at my own request, that you make me appear such to myself.

"I was in hope, since I had for above one year avoided intermeddling with any affairs but those of this province, that I had thereby put myself into no incapacity of being misunderstood by any considerable person, especially that I was below being suspected by your grace. But alas! I find, that to be held guiltless, a man must not only be innocent but fortunate too. The first depending on myself, it is my own fault if I do not attain to it; but the last depending wholly upon others, I can only say it is my trouble, but not my fault, that I must miss of it.

"Give me leave, I beseech your grace, further to say that I have of late showed myself a true servant to you; and with this satisfaction (perhaps it may be thought vanity,) that none knows it, but those who I am sure will not tell you of it, for their own sakes. For I do not consider professions of friendship, as too many in this age do; I look upon them as the most binding temporal ties amongst men, and at such a rate I endeavour to keep them; and so I shall do those I have made to your grace, whatever misrepresentations may have been made of me. For whatever confidence your grace is pleased to have of me in the close of your letter, yet till that part of it, methinks the whole complexion of it is such, as I cannot but with real grief acknowledge,

I doubt your grace has received some impressions to my prejudice and therefore I do not only humbly hope, but also beg that you will afford me a rise to clear myself, by telling me particularly what you take amiss at my hands; and then I shall not doubt but your grace will again believe me.

"May it please your Grace,

"Your Grace's unalterable servant

"ORRERY."

"If it be not too great a confidence, I would humbly beg that my lady duchess might see, whether in this letter I have begged any thing unfit for your grace to grant; for I am above expression, ambitious to continue right in her good opinion."

To the Duke of Ormonde.

"Charleville, March 16, 1667.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"Above six hours after the post was gone from hence to Dublin, I received, by my lord Kingston's favour, the honour of your grace's letter of the 12th instant, for which, and for the leave which your grace is pleased to give me to go for London, with the great care you have condescended to take for my patent of licence; and for a warrant for one of his majesty's ships to transport me, I pay your grace my most humble acknowledgments.

"But, my lord, how can I go for England, or indeed stay here, with any satisfaction, while the impressions of your grace's letter to me of the 10th instant, from Thurles, are remaining in me? For they are such as I can scarce mind any thing, till I have vindicated myself from those suspicions; and therefore I have suspended my journey, till I have received the honour of your grace's answer to my letter of the 13th instant. If the humble desires I have made to you in it be granted, (as I more than hope they will be, because they are just,) your grace will soon prove me faulty, or I shall soon prove I am not. If the first, I shall even in my own opinion judge myself unfit to serve this kingdom and your grace; if the last, then I shall be cheerfully ready to serve both, when I am instructed by your grace how to do it.

"There is no great doubt, but that a person of your eminency will have enemies, since one of so low a quality as I, am not, as I feel, without them; and whatever your grace's may design against you, mine will not fail to represent them to you, as things which I promote, or at least am concurring in; and therefore I am the more confirmed not to stir, till I have fully cleared myself, because, while I am under your grace's doubts, all misrepresentations of me may, with less difficulty, be received. And if while I lived a country life, and at a great distance even from the scenes of business, those who are not my friends, have had so much power by their suggestions, as to incline your grace to think it fit to write to me your letter of the 10th instant, what will they not be able to do when I am at London, if any who are not your grace's servants should attempt to prejudice you, as some, I find by your grace's letter, have already endeavoured to do?

"Possibly your grace may consider these as but speculations, and nice

ones too: but I, who am seriously concerned in what I write, and perfectly desirous, not only to keep myself innocent, but also to be esteemed so, and to avoid even the umbrages of suspicion, have judged the putting a stop to my journey, and what I have now written to be absolutely necessary. For I am the uneasiest person living to myself, while I am under the least jealousy of one, whom I truly love and honour, especially when I see I am in his suspicion: and yet the particulars on which his suspicion is grounded are not told me, nay when some of them cannot, by the strictest rules of justice, be equitably interpreted to my disadvantage.

"I know not whether those principles I act by in friendship be different from those of other men, but I never choose to make a man my friend whom I can suspect, or never suspect him till I tell him expressly every one of all the particulars on which my suspicion is built, that I may soon convince him of his fault or see my own.

"I most humbly beg your grace's pardon for the freedom of this letter, since it proceeds from the duty and respect I have for your grace; and for the cause's sake be pleased to excuse the effect.

"I look upon a trust as the greatest obligation to be trusty; and if I doubt my friend before proof, I should conclude I had wronged him.

"In the last place, I beseech your grace seriously to consider, whether I can have any inducement (as some of my enemies I doubt would persuade you I have,) to lay designs against you. Can they be such fools as to fancy I would attempt to get your grace out of the government, or to get into it myself. I solemnly protest, in the presence of God, that if I could have the government of this kingdom, and that I had abilities of mind and strength of body to support it, and that there were no debts due to the civil and military lists, and a constant revenue to maintain both, yet I would refuse to undertake it; for I have seen enough of this world, to make me find a country life is the best life in it. But since the infirmity of the gout, the weakness of my parts, and the misery this unhappy kingdom seems to be plunged into, do require exceedingly greater abilities to preserve it, than ever I can so much as hope to attain unto, as I would not be so treacherous to the king, my master, to my country, and to my friends and posterity, as to seek for that authority, which must ever in my own judgment, (and I protest to God I do not dissemble,) be very prejudicial, if not ruinous, to them all.

"This much as to what concerns my own self. Now, as to what concerns my endeavours of getting any other into the government. I would fain know whom they can believe, or so much as say, I would do that for, if I had the power to do it; (for I swear I know it not myself,) yet sure he must be a man that has laid greater obligations on me than your grace had, (and such a one I vow I know not,) for whom I would lose you to oblige him. If neither of these can rationally be believed, as I hope (after what I have vowed,) they will not be; then it is less rational to fancy that I would be plotting against your grace, and yet resolve to live under your government. I should be as much a fool as a knave to do it; and such as truly know me, will not easily believe, that ingratitude is a vice I am practically addicted to.

I know not that I have ever revenged myself on my enemy, when I used the power; and therefore I am not very likely to attempt against my benefactor when I have not the power.

"Neither is there any thing in your grace's interest and mine which is opposite; you are a devoted servant to his majesty, and may I perish and mine when I am not the like. You and your posterity are to suffer or flourish, as this kingdom does decay or thrive; the like I may say of me and mine. You are in the employment fittest for you; and I in the highest employment that ever I will aspire to. To which I cannot but add, that I did never yet my own self beg any thing for my friends, or for myself that your grace did deny me; which is more than I can promise to myself from whomsoever shall succeed you. In God's name, what can be then in it, to enable my ill-willers to bring me under that unhappiness I fear I am in? I do therefore, with all the earnestness and humility in the world, beseech your grace, either to free me now and for ever from it, on terms which may let you find I did not deserve it; or get me what satisfaction your grace shall think fit for my place of president of Munster, and I will go spend the rest of my time in my own house in England, and never see this enchanted kingdom more. I shall taste a thousand times more delight in that retirement, than in this employment, while I am under such misdoubts. Your grace knows, that as nothing but friendship can acquire friendship, so nothing but trust, and a full clearing of distrust, is an essential part of it. Let me therefore be but believed an honest man, till I am proved to be otherwise, and then I dare confidently conclude I shall be still esteemed, as I really am,

"May it please your Grace,

"Your Grace's own unalterable servant,

"ORRERY."

A subsequent letter contains the following passage: "Whatever invitations I have had to appear against your grace, they were made to a particular friend of mine, who is of the parliament of England, who enjoined me secrecy in what he wrote or sent me, and only obliged himself to acquaint me with the persons which should accuse your grace, and with the matters of their accusation, in case I would join in both, which my resolutely refusing to do ended that negotiation; and the part I acted in it, is so far from being a generosity, (though your grace's civility is pleased to call it so,) as it was but a bare duty both to your employment and to your person, besides what I do particularly owe to your grace on many accounts, so that though I had the private contentment of being above such a temptation, yet I wanted the means to tell your grace who were your enemies, or with what arms they intended to assault you; which (as the state of things stood,) I could not learn, unless I became your enemy, or were false to my promise, both of which I equally abhorred to be. This being on my word and credit the truth, I humbly hope your grace will believe that I stand innocent as to what your grace's last letter has mentioned; and therefore I presume to think that your grace (in your turn,) will be pleased to let me clearly know, what in your letter of the 10th instant, you did obscurely (as to me) intimate in it. for I shall be at no rest, till I am clear in

your grace's belief, (after due proof,) as I am in my intentions, nay, I may say, as I am in my actions."

There are other letters equally strong, and the duke was quite satisfied, though there occurred many circumstances to awaken a doubt of the fairness of the earl's intentions: nor was it the least confirmatory circumstance, that the same suspicion was very general, of which the following anonymous letter may serve as an example:—"It is a good while, now, since first my lord-lieutenant hath been misrepresented here; and if reports were turned to make good as well as draw up censures, besides the unactive humour and temper many charge against him, I am informed there are those yet behind the curtain who only wait an opportunity to join hands with the earl of Meath, to promote and strengthen a higher charge. Orrery is this night expected in town, and to lodge at my lord Conway's; and as great a master of good aspect that way, (it is my own observation indeed, but no groundless one,) as Anglesey would seem to be, it will not be long (if they can but divine or promise the least success to their prosecution,) before his grace find that gentleman discover himself another Mountmorris. We live amidst great frauds, because with persons who seem most what other than they are. I fear me I dare not promise for the secretary, what perhaps he would fain make my lord duke believe him to be, his friend. Be the inducement what it will, it is observable, a man doth ever his own business best, who trusts it not to another's management: and since his grace hath been struck at in the dark hitherto, all that have a love and service to his great integrity and merit, hold it safest, as more honourable, he should baffle their malice the same way he doth all other his great actings, even to the eyes of the world. I would not be thought now so vain, as to imagine I looked beyond what his grace doth; but with all submission I crave leave to offer, what my great duty, and as great zeal prompted me to, and that is to presume he hath more and greater enemies than he thinks he hath. The comprehensive bill hath made almost a great uproar among us; and the honest old gentry of England are so much the church's sons still, that hitherto, notwithstanding all the vigorous and powerful thereof, they have been able to suppress it: but the debate is to be resumed again next Wednesday; and then having got new strength, the secretaries expect no less than undoubted conquest; and amongst the aids promised them, I have it from good authority, that a great minister here hath undertaken his grace shall be for the toleration, and use his interest to effect it; which God forbid, that he, who never yet had blot on his scutcheon, upon any account, either in church or state, should ever have his name sullied, to be upon record among the schismatics, as an enemy to his mother, the church. But better things are believed of his grace, by all who have an honour for him; and when he comes over, no doubt this kingdom will find it."

Indorsed.—"Letter to the Duchess of Ormonde, from an unknown person, left with the porter of my lodgings, at Whitehall: received April, 21, 1668."

The protestations of the earl of Orrery do not permit us consistently, with the view we have taken of his character, to infer that he was at the time of these letters directly engaged in the conspiracy against the duke, of which there is no doubt. It is nevertheless difficult wholly to reject suspicions warranted by so many circumstances: the earl of Orrery was engaged in the strictest ties of political interest and personal friendship with the very persons from whom all danger was to be apprehended. We think it also essential to a just conclusion, to take into account the shrewd and calculating disposition of this nobleman: nor can we omit the consideration, that they who were the enemies of the duke of Ormonde were his friends, and were not unlikely either to rely on his aid, or to throw proportional inducements in his way. The duke indeed, was completely satisfied by the letters above cited, but he must have been aware of the natural effects which circumstances would not fail to produce on the earl of Orrery, and which we believe to have been the actual result—that after a struggle between his regard for the duke, and other considerations affecting his own interest, he acceded to the wishes of those who wished for his aid. He had early applied to the duke for licence to go to England, but as appears from his letters, deferred proceeding for several months: we consider the delay to have originated in the vacillation arising from the conflict of opposite purposes. But when finally he prepared to depart, it became plain enough which way the scale was inclining; and the duke of Ormonde, long urged to appear in his own behalf, at last thought it high time to confront the base but powerful faction who were actively banded for his ruin. On the 24th April he left Dublin and arrived next day at Holyhead, having committed the government to lord Ossory.

His reception in London was impressive and magnificent: numbers of the nobility and gentry went out to meet him in their coaches, and he entered the city with a large procession of rank and respectability, which would have been still more considerable but that the houses of parliament were sitting at the time, and engaged in a debate of great warmth and interest. This circumstance, though quite unsought on the duke's part, wounded the king's pride and mortified Buckingham, who nevertheless visited him immediately, and protested that he was quite unconcerned in any design to injure him. By the king he was also received with the wonted kindness, or rather respect, for the king stood in awe of the duke, who was far too dignified and frank for his regard.

The charges against the duke did not, however, long suffer him to be in doubt about the intentions of his enemies. The arrival of lord Orrery was the signal of attack. The earl of Orrery was the fast friend of the leading members of the cabal against the duke, and in addition to the remarks already made it is also with truth observed, that he had himself a strong interest in some of the most important decisions to which these charges might lead. The duke had advised the reduction of the Irish establishment, or the increase of the means for their support. Lord Orrery's interest lay in the full maintenance of the military establishment; he at once, on arriving in London, asserted that the revenue was sufficient, but that it had been misapplied. The accounts were examined, and the facts did not bear

out this assertion: the payments were found to have been for the most part essential, and fully amounting to the receipts, but two sums had been ordered by the duke, and of these one was to the earls of Anglesey and Orrery, and the other to a Mr Fitz-Gerald, but neither had been paid: the duke was on this score free from imputation. Much of the waste had however arisen from a source independent of every Irish authority, the king's own warrants, by which large sums had occasionally been disbursed in the Irish treasury. The earl of Anglesey, who was treasurer of the navy, and was involved in this charge, was found quite free from blame.

The reduction of the Munster army was in consequence decided on, and it was also considered advisable to call an Irish parliament, much to the annoyance of the earl of Orrery, as his own enemies in Ireland had been maturing charges against him as president of Munster, on an impeachment in the Irish parliament. The conspiracy against the duke and the earl of Anglesey ended in the establishment of these facts. that the revenue had not been adequately collected, and that there was a considerable arrear. It was ascertained that the expenses of the establishment had always exceeded the revenue; but that the excess had been diminishing annually during the duke's administration.*

The charges against the duke were altogether relinquished as wholly groundless; but the eagerness of his enemies was unsatisfied, and he was still pursued with the same relentless animosity. The system of operations was necessarily changed. Failing to find a weak point for an assault upon his reputation, his virtues were turned against him: it was quickly seen by the keen eye of court malignity, that the friendship of Charles was an unwilling tribute to one whom he feared; for with the profligate respect is fear or dislike. It was therefore now resolved to render him unpopular with the king, and also to practise upon the pride of the duke himself.

The duke's own friends had advised him to resign a station which was the mark of envy and treachery. But this was a step to which there lay some very strong objections: there was in reality not a single person competent to fill his place, who could be trusted with the interests of Ireland; and the duke having given up 400,000 acres of property for the sum of £50,000, which was allotted for the payment of his creditors, was also aware that he would lose the money if he should leave the country.

During the following nine months the duke was kept in a state of suspense as to the intentions of the king. From the perusal of a considerable mass of letters and other documents, we are enabled to infer with considerable certainty the real course of proceeding which was adopted by his enemies, and sanctioned by the king with some reluctance, and not without a sense of shame: profligate and unprincipled, he was not without sagacity and good taste, and understood but too well the baseness and insignificance of those who were necessary to his vices. Failing miserably in their efforts to cast disgrace upon the duke, whose character rose *undique tutus* from their shallow and pre-

* Carte. II. 371

capitate accusations, the next effort was to proceed by court intrigue, to bring round the indolent and complying humour of the king, and in the mean time to cast an impenetrable obscurity around their real designs. For this purpose the duke was courted and imposed upon by professions and pretexts: the king assured him that he should not be removed from the government, and his enemies appeared to have relented in their purposes. The duke was too sagacious to be wholly deceived, but too honourable to comprehend the whole extent of their hypocrisy: he could not help perceiving that he was sedulously excluded from all councils upon Irish affairs, while he was carefully consulted upon every other topic. From this, and from the oft-repeated advice of pretending friends, he was soon led to suspect that the object of the court party was to "unfasten" him first from his position, and then to remove him wholly. We shall here offer a selection of extracts from his confidential correspondence with his son:—

August 4th, 1668.—"I have expostulated with my lord of Orrery the unfriendliness and disrespect of his making propositions, so much relating to my employment, and contrary to his promise, without acquainting me with them. What his answers to so unavoidable a charge you may guess; but they were such as I was content to receive for that time." * * * * *

"It is evident my lord of Orrery would avert the disbanding of any part of the army, and at least delay the calling of an Irish parliament which engages him in undertakings very hard to be made good. Time will show the issue of all." August 15th, 1668.

"All that can be said of the publick is that discontent and despondence was never more high or universal, nor ever any court fallen to so much contempt, or governed with so little care to redeem itself. All that can be said in favour of the times and government is, that (for ought I can find,) justice betwixt man and man, and that upon offenders, is well distributed in the courts of judicature; but certainly the favours, recompenses and employments, are not so. * * *

"As to my private, it is certain, the insinuations of my enemies (who will be found to be the king's in the end,) had prevailed with his majesty to believe that I had not served him with that care and thrift which the state of his affairs required. And, I am not free from doubt, but that those suggestions may have drawn some engagement from him, not to admit of my return into Ireland, with which he now finds himself embarrassed, especially they failing to make good what they undertook to discover, of my mismanagement. Whether my interest and innocence will prevail, or their malice and artifice, is the question." September, 1668.

"On Thursday last, by former appointment, Mr Treasurer and I dined at my lord Arlington's; the design being that we three might freely talk upon the subject of the alteration of the government of Ireland. The endeavour on their part was to persuade me to think it reasonable and without prejudice to me, that (retaining the name and appointments of lieutenant,) I should name fit persons to govern in my absence, and by applying themselves to me upon all occasions. I answered (with all submission to the king's will) that to make any change in the government till I had been once more on the place, would be understood to

proceed from the king's dissatisfaction with my service, and would inevitably bring ruin and disgrace upon me, and be matter of triumph to my enemies and dejection to my friends. Yet if I could be convinced how it would advantage his majesty to have me removed, I would, as I have always done, prefer his service and prosperity to any interest of my own. But (I said,) that without entering into panegyrics of myself, I knew nothing fit for the king to do in Ireland, which I was not as well able to do as any he could employ.

"Many other things interposed in our discourse, whereof at length the result was, that my lord Arlington said he was verily persuaded I might have the matter ordered as I would myself. When we were ready to break up that conversation, I told his lordship, 'I had long and patiently observed myself excluded from all conversations relating to Ireland; that it was not in my nature to thrust myself upon business, especially such as seemed industriously kept from me; but that on the other side, I would not willingly be thought empty of thoughts fit for his majesty's knowledge and consideration, and doggedly sit silent out of discontent.' His advice to me was, to speak freely of the affairs of Ireland with the king, and my lord keeper. Last of all, I desired him to let me know what was misliked in my conduct, which might do me prejudice with the king. He answered, that all he could observe was, that it was held a negligence in me to suffer my lord Anglesey to pervert so much of the public money as he had done; that it was evident the revenue exceeded the establishment, and yet the army was vastly in arrear. I answered that this was what I foresaw would reflect upon me in the execution of that commission, which I was told should not in the least touch me. However, it was hard to impute my lord of Anglesey's faults (if any he had committed,) to me, especially since his majesty knew that I had by express warrant commanded him to prefer the establishment to all other payments." November 21st, 1668.

"My last was of the 13th instant. That very evening I had notice the king intended the next day, at a committee of foreign affairs, to declare his resolution to change the governor of Ireland: which accordingly he did, and my lord Privy Seal to succeed. His majesty declared without any stop or hesitation (which sometimes happens in his discourse,) 'how well he was satisfied with my thirty years service to his father and himself; that the change he now made was not out of distrust or displeasure, as should appear by admitting me into the most secret and important parts of his affairs; and that nobody should have an higher or nearer place in his esteem or confidence.'" February 16th, 1668.

The king's respect for the duke of Ormonde amounts to something very like fear, he was "willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike," and after his mind was fully made up to dismiss him from his office, he waited many days and made many abortive efforts to put his plan into execution. He sent lord Arlington to him for his commission, but the duke told this lord that he had received his commission from the king's own hand, and would return it to no other. He then went to deliver it to the king who denied the message. Two days after, the duke received another visit from lord Arlington, who delivered the

same message, and received the same answer. Again he waited upon the king, who again disclaimed his message. In the next meeting of the privy council, however, he declared the dismissal of the duke, and the appointment of lord Roberts in his room. On receiving an account of this, the duke once more went to expostulate with the king, and to his surprise the king denied the entire proceeding: he then however sent a gentleman, who was a connexion of the duke's, to explain, that he had actually made the change, but denied it because he saw the duke was heated and might say something not respectful. He assured the duke that he would still "be kind to him, and continue him lord steward," and pleaded the necessity of his affairs.*

What confidence the duke of Ormonde may have felt in any assurance of the king's we cannot say; but he shortly after received a mark of honour and respect above the power of the lying and time-serving monarch who then disgraced the throne of England to confer.

The duchess of Ormonde had repaired to Ireland to reduce the establishment which the duke had found necessary as lord-lieutenant: on her return, he went to meet her, and having stopped at Oxford, he was entertained by the university, and complimented with the degree of doctor of civil law; and the chancellorship being vacant by the resignation of the earl of Clarendon, the choice of the university fell on the duke. The university was guided in this election by the advice of Gilbert Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom this high dignity had in the first instance been offered: it was declined by the archbishop on the score of his age and great infirmities, but he assured the university that he could think of no one so fit for the office as the duke of Ormonde. We give a portion of the primate's letter: "A person whom I cannot mention but with all characters of honour; who, besides the eminency of his birth and dignities, hath made himself more illustrious by his virtue and merits, by that constant integrity he hath in all fortunes borne to the king and church; and (which concerns them more particularly) by his love of letters and learned men. His quality will dignify their choice, his affection for them will improve his care over them, and his interest will be able at their need to support them." The duke was inaugurated with great solemnity in London, on the 26th of August, by the vice-chancellor, assisted by the bishops of Winchester, Oxford, and Rochester, with a numerous attendance of doctors of all the faculties, and members of the university, who walked in procession to Worcester house, where they were joined by the bishop of London and the archbishop of Canterbury. Here they took their places in solemn order in a large room, and the cause of the convocation having been declared, the duke of Ormonde came from a side-room, attended by the earls of Bedford, Ailesbury, Dunfermline and Carlingford, and having taken his place, was addressed in a set speech by the vice-chancellor. The duke then had delivered to him the seals of the office, the book of statutes, and the keys; and next took the oaths required on the occasion, after which the members of the university took the oaths of duty to the chancellor, and lastly, the duke made a speech, in which he thanked the university, assured the convocation of his determination to maintain their rights, preserve their

* Burnet.

statutes, encourage learning, and give his protection on all occasions to that learned body in general, and to every deserving member of it in particular.* This election does equal honour to the university and to the duke. No public body has uniformly stood so high as the university of Oxford, for the high and disinterested ground it has ever taken on every question in which principle has been concerned; and while this character is honourably exemplified in the act by which it honoured and exalted a nobleman, who was at that moment an object of rancorous persecution to the most powerful faction in the kingdom, armed with the influence of the court: it nobly attests the true character which the duke's whole life and actions maintained among the wise and good men of his age.

The duke, whose honours were for the most part hardly earned, was of a disposition to be peculiarly affected by such a mark of respect. It was his temper to sacrifice his ease and interest to the good of the kingdom; and it was to posterity that he looked for his renown. A conversation which he had about this time with a friend, may be quoted as the faithful expression of his sentiments, in connexion with a fact very remarkable through his entire history:—"He had been a little before (as he was taking a walk early in the morning with Sir Robert Southwell, in the Pall-mall,) discoursing of the vicissitudes of fortune, how it had still befallen him to be employed in times of the greatest difficulty, and when affairs were in the worst situation; how his employments had been thrown upon him without any desire or application of his own; how, when he thought his actions were most justifiable, they commonly found the hardest interpretation, and concluded at last, 'well, (said he) nothing of this shall break my heart; for how ever it may fare with me in the court, I am resolved to lie well in the chronicle.'" Such indeed is the sense of all the truly illustrious, the "last infirmity of noble minds," and never more truly exemplified than in this great man, to whom history, but partially true, has not wholly done justice yet. For so trying and complicated was the maze of faction with which he had to contend, and unhappily so permanent have been the animosities and prejudices, of which he was, during his life, a central mark; that all the basest calumnies, and most contemptible misconstructions of party-spirit, are still suffered to have a place in every history which aims to please a large class of the public; so that the numerous libels which were the foam and venom of the vile faction by which he was baited at this period of his life, have had but too many echoes from writers, whose injustice is the disinterested result of their prejudices, which have prevented them from deliberate and impartial inquiry. At the time of which we write, the enemies of the duke finding themselves wholly unable to establish any case to his discredit, endeavoured to avenge their failure by the most scandalous publications, full of those vague charges, that go so far with the multitude, which is ever strongly impressed by violent language and easily imposed upon by any sort of specious mis-statement. But of the numerous libels at this time published to injure the duke, it may be said that they contain in themselves the antidote for all their venom: the principles adopted by these writers, and the persons whom they put forward as deserving

* Carte, II.

of public confidence, sufficiently neutralize their accusations, or convert them into honourable testimonies of worth. Of the greater part of these the duke of Buckingham was the instigator, and of many there is stronger reason to suspect him the author. He was irritated to find the acts which had occasioned the ruin of Clarendon, insufficient to put the duke of Ormonde as wholly aside as he thought necessary for his purposes. It was a serious mortification after all his undermining, to find that there was still a presiding spirit superior to fear, and at enmity with falsehood, to discountenance his intrigues and repress his craft in council. He was therefore unremitting in raising up enemies and complaints against the duke. In these he was mostly defeated, by the extravagance or the notorious untruth of the statements; in others he gave considerable trouble and vexation. Among these latter, the most remarkable was a complaint brought forward by the earl of Meath, who charged the duke with having quartered soldiers on his tenants, in the liberties of Dublin, which he asserted to be treason; and made several allegations of oppression and injury, sustained from the duke's officers and men. He refused, however, to substantiate his charges by any proof: on inquiry it appeared that the soldiers had fully paid for every thing they had received: that the army had always been quartered in Dublin, under every government; and that the duke had not brought but found them there. These accusations being thus found insufficient, lord Meath, who was evidently instrumental to the duke of Buckingham, was sent back to Ireland to look for further proofs, and additional matter of accusation. In the end, however, he found himself compelled to apologize to the council for the insufficiency of his case: which he would not even venture to bring forward, until the duke of Ormonde himself, indignant at the propagation of groundless reports, and considering the fullest investigation as the best security for his reputation, had lord Meath summoned, and a day fixed for hearing him, and investigating the case. Lord Meath would most willingly have come forward with a strong statement, but he shrunk from the investigation.

An attack of a more artful and invidious kind was made in a pamphlet containing certain queries upon the subject of the grants of land and money which had been made to the duke. And it is not easy to conceive a more detestable tissue of injustice, sophistry, and misrepresentation. Through the entire there is an obvious appeal to the ignorance of the English public on the facts; by a daring and broad mis-statement of every one of them, which could not for a moment pass in Ireland or bear any species of investigation. The actual claims of the duke are overlooked, his legal rights passed by, the greatness of his losses unnoticed, and the abortiveness of the grants themselves dishonestly sunk: the *suppressio veri* was never more thoroughly exemplified. But these accusations were only for the ear of the multitude, they were designed to create a prejudice in the House of Commons, which it was easier to corrupt, to alarm, or to exasperate, than to convince by fact or reason. We cannot, without a far greater sacrifice of space than is consistent with the plan of these lives, enter at length into the considerable mass of accompts and statements which would be essential to a just view of this question. Some facts we have already

mentioned; we can only sum them here very generally and briefly. One large grant consisted merely of a confirmation of the duke's legal claims to estates which had been granted by his family, on conditions according to which they had actually reverted to the donor. The most elementary principles of the laws of property, the basis of all law, must be set aside before this can be spoken of as a grant. Yet this right, amounting to 400,000 acres, the duke resigned to facilitate the settlement, in consideration of a sum not amounting to a tenth of the value, and this was itself apportioned for the payment of creditors whose claims should have been met by the government. This small sum was never paid to the duke. A grant of £30,000 from the Irish parliament is among the imaginary gains of the duke; and doubtless it is an honourable testimony of public approbation: but if the Irish parliament really imagined that it was any thing more, they committed an oversight of considerable magnitude, as their grant was coupled with conditions which turned it into a grant to the duke's tenants, and not to himself. The whole of the remaining grants fell far short of his great losses, and were not in any case more than partially paid. We may conclude on this by extracting the statement of Carte, where the whole can be seen at a glance.

The Duke of Ormonde, creditor.

To loss of nine years income of his estate in Ireland, from October, 1641, to December, 1650,			
£20,000 a-year,	£180,000	0	0
To spoil, and waste of timber, buildings, &c., on it,	50,000	0	0
To debts contracted by the service of the crown during the troubles,	130,000	0	0
To seven years rents of his estate, from 1653, to 1660, recoverable from the adventurers and soldiers that possessed it,	140,000	0	0
To the value of estates forfeited to him by breach of conditions, the remainders whereof were vested in him, but given up by the act of explanation,	319,061	5	0
	£869,061	5	0
To arrears of pay as lord-lieutenant, commissioned officer, &c.,	62,736	9	8
To ditto, for fourteen months, from July, 1647, to September, 1648, at the rate of the allowance of £7893 a-year to the earl of Leicester, during his absence from Ireland,	9,208	10	0
To ditto, for nine years and four months, from December, 1660, to June, 1669,	73,668	0	0
Total of losses and credits,	£1,014,674	4	8

The Duke of Ormonde, debtor.

By receipts on the £30,000 act in Ireland,	£26,440	0	0
By ditto, on the grant of £71,916,	63,129	10	8
By ditto, on the £50,000, granted by the explanatory act,	25,196	1	11
By savings on the grant of forfeited mortgages and incumbrances,	5,655	12	10
By rents received from the lands given up by the explanatory act,	5,626	2	6
By houses, &c., on Kilkenny, Clonmel, &c., valued by commissioners at £840 12s. a-year, at ten years purchase,	8,406	0	0
By lands allotted on account of his arrears, set at first for £1194, but afterwards improved and set in 1681 at £1594 a-year, but being subject to a quit-rent of £449 a year, their improved yearly value is but £1165 at ten years purchase,	11,650	0	0
Total of profit,	£146,083	7	11
Total losses and dues to the duke of Ormonde,	£1,014,674	4	8
Deduct as by particular of profits,	146,083	7	11
So that the duke's losses by the troubles and settlement of Ireland, exceeded his profits	£868,590	16	9

This statement has the best authority, as it has been drawn not from any loose verbal account, or any individual representation prepared to meet objections, but from the careful comparison of several accounts and vouchers belonging to the actual agency of the duke's affairs, and selected from the mass of his private papers, drawn up by his agents.* They leave no doubt upon the one fact, that the whole result of all the main transactions of his public life was loss to the enormous amount of the above sum—nearly a million. The truth indeed is otherwise so apparent, that it is not easy to understand the insinuations of a certain class of historians, but by allowing largely for the fact that narrow and illiberal minds are incapable of comprehending any motives that are not low and sordid. We do not, for our own part, insist upon a perfect freedom from motives of a personal and interested nature, either for the duke of Ormonde, or any other man, as shall appear in the estimate which we shall presently have to offer of the great man who has occupied so large a portion of our notice.

The virtues which rendered the duke of Ormonde's character proof against a virulence of factious and personal animosity, armed with a degree of influence and authority under which any other person of his generation must have sunk a victim, was itself the main cause of all that enmity, and contributed to its increase during the six years which he spent in England. In this interval, the real dignity of his character was placed in a more conspicuous light than often happens in the history of eminent men. The circle in which he daily moved was

* Carte, II. p. 408.

singularly distinguished by talent and profligacy, and combined all the lofty and brilliant pretensions which, so combined, can make vice imposing and cast virtue into the shade: every aim, act, and thought, was a mockery of all grace and goodness, and the whole scene, with all its actors and actresses, was a vanity-fair of intrigue, corruption, infidelity, and indecency. Amidst this trying scene, the duke of Ormonde may be said to have "stood alone:" hated by the insolent courtier; feared by the corrupt and small-minded, but not malignant, monarch, who in the midst of his folly, weakness, and vice, had enough of natural good sense and tact to see and feel the real greatness of a servant of whom he was not worthy: an object of the most inveterate dislike to the miscreant combination of useless talents and efficient vices which ruled the ascendant at court; and of aversion and detestation to the abandoned women, whose favour was there the only road to a perverted respect and favour: the duke held his position unwarped from his high course and unabashed by the meretricious insolence of the court: neither assuming on one side the haughtiness of principle, nor on the other, condescending to countenance what he did not approve, or conciliate those whom he despised; but calmly and steadily watching for the occasion to do good, or neutralize evil. He was indeed disliked at court chiefly because he refused to countenance those degraded women, who humbled themselves that they might be exalted, in a sense widely differing from the divine precept; and the king, who was ruled entirely by these, and by persons who stooped to court their good offices, was compelled to preserve a demeanour of the utmost reserve to him, scarcely looking at him, and only addressing him when he could not avoid it. Nevertheless, he seldom failed to appear at court and take his place at the council, where he always gave his opinion frankly, and without either reserve or deference to any. Such was the general posture which he held in this interval: one far more trying to him than the embarrassments and emergencies of his official life. The remarks of his biographer on this period of his history should not be omitted:—"His grace remained for several years after in court, under great eclipse and mortifications; but, having a peculiar talent of bearing misfortunes with an invincible patience, the bystanders thought this to be the most glorious part of his life; and this was the very expression of his grace archbishop Sheldon to me on this occasion. However, in this state, he spared not to be chiefly instrumental to get the Irish innocents discharged from their quit-rents, and to free them also from satisfying the demands about the lapse-money,* &c., and to contribute in every thing to do them justice, notwithstanding their animosities against him."†

The disfavour of the court did not protect the duke from the animosity of those who lived in the sunshine of its favour; even in disgrace his greatness could not be forgiven by those to whom to be virtuous alone was a full ground for the bitterest enmity; even in adversity and neglect, he was pursued with the animosity of defeated competition; his very existence seemed to cast a shadow on their baseness; and as he could not be disgraced by calumny or impeached

* Lapse-money was a sum of money deposited, which, if the purchase of lands was not completed by a certain time, was to be forfeited by the act of settlement

† Southwell.

by real chicaneries, nothing remained but assassination. We may here instance the attempt to assassinate him by Blood, who, there is little doubt, was in the pay of Buckingham, although something may be allowed for private enmity. Enmity alone, when the cause is considered, would not have been sufficient to induce an attempt of such singular desperation: the prosecution of Blood, as an active ring-leader of insurrection by the lord-lieutenant, was so merely official, that it was in a great measure divested of all personal character.

The duke had attended the prince of Orange to an entertainment made for him by the city of London, and was on his return home. The hour was late, and the night dark; he had reached St James' street, at the end of which he then resided in Clarendon house; his six footmen, who ordinarily walked on the street on each side of his coach, had loitered, and there was nobody near but the coachman, when suddenly as the coach entered the Hay Market, (then a road,) it was surrounded by five horsemen: they dragged the duke from the carriage, and mounted him on a horse behind the rider, who was a large and strong man. The coachman drove as fast as he could to Clarendon house, which was fortunately at hand, and there gave an alarm to the porter, and to a Mr James Clarke, who was waiting in the court; these immediately gave chase, and ordered the other servants to follow as fast as they could. In the mean time the mysterious horsemen pursued their way: they could have killed the duke with ease, and made their escape in the darkness of the night, but the inveterate temper of Blood, or of his employer, was unsatisfied with such a simple execution of their intent. It was perhaps thought that assassination would lose its atrocity by using the implements of public justice; whatever was the feeling, Blood determined to hang the duke at Tyburn. This resolution saved the duke; preserving his usual composure, he calculated that he should be pursued, and judged that the principal chance in his favour would be secured by delay. Blood rode on for the purpose of preparing the gallows. The duke availed himself of the circumstance, and by struggling violently with the miscreant who rode before him, he prevented him from going faster than a walk: they had got as far as Knightsbridge, when the duke, suddenly placing his foot under the man's, and clasping him firmly, threw himself off; and both coming to the ground, a struggle commenced in the mud, in which the duke, though at the time of this incident, in his sixty-third year, resisted all the efforts of his antagonist until lord Berkeley's porter came out from Berkeley house, before which the struggle had taken place: the duke's own servants now also came up. On their appearance, the fellow disengaged himself, and got on horseback; but before he made his retreat he fired a case of pistols at the duke. It was however too dark for an aim, and he was in too great a hurry to escape, as numbers of people had by this time taken the alarm, and a crowd was rushing together from every quarter. The duke was quite exhausted by the long struggle, and much wounded, bruised and shaken by the heavy fall, and it was found necessary to carry him home, where he was for some days confined to his bed.

The perpetrator of this daring outrage was not discovered for some

time, until an attempt to steal the crown and regalia from the Tower, led to his seizure. The king, who seems to have had some weakness in favour of dissolute characters, was curious to see Blood, and to examine him himself, and the adroit ruffian had the tact to catch the character of his royal examiner at a glance. He won his favour by the assumption of the most cool audacity, acknowledged every fact, and gave such reasons as best suited the purpose and the temper of the king. Among other things, he was asked why he attempted the duke of Ormonde's life? he answered that the duke had caused his estate to be taken away, and that he and many others had bound themselves to be revenged. He now told the king that he had been engaged with others to assassinate himself, by shooting him "with a carabine from out of the reeds by the Thames' side, above Battersea, where he often went to swim: that the cause of his resolution was his majesty's severity over the consciences of the godly [he must have had strange ideas of godliness] in suppressing the freedom of their religious assemblies; but when he had taken his stand in the reeds for that purpose, his heart misgave him out of an awe of his majesty, and he not only repented himself, but diverted his companions from their design." He then told the king, "that he had laid himself sufficiently open to the law, and he might reasonably expect to feel the utmost of its rigour, for which he was prepared, and had no concern on his own account. But it would not prove a matter of such indifference to his majesty; for there were hundreds of his friends yet undiscovered, who were all bound to each other by the indispensable oaths of conspirators, to revenge the death of any of the fraternity upon those who should bring them to justice, which would expose the king and all his ministers to daily fears and apprehensions of a massacre. But on the other side, if his majesty would spare the lives of a few, he might oblige the hearts of many, who (as they had been seen to attempt daring mischiefs) would be as bold and enterprising (if received to pardon and favour) in performing eminent services to the crown."

The effect of this bravado upon the king might well have been calculated upon: Blood was pardoned. The dastardly spirit from which this mockery of mercy proceeded, was broadly distinguished from heroic magnanimity and royal clemency, by the derogatory and disgraceful addition of a pension and of royal favour. Decorum required that the duke's consent should be obtained, and Blood was desired to write to him: lord Arlington went from the king to inform his grace that it was his majesty's desire that he should pardon Blood: the duke answered, "that if the king could forgive him the stealing of his crown, he might easily forgive him the attempt on his life,* and since it was his majesty's pleasure, that was a reason sufficient for him, his lordship might spare the rest."† Blood was not only pardoned, but had an estate of £500 a-year settled on him in Ireland, and was admitted to that inner circle of court favour, to which indeed it is to be admitted, he was no inappropriate accession. To these remarks we may here add those with which Carte concludes his account of the transaction:—"No man more assiduous than he, in both the secretaries offices.

* Carta.

† Ibid.

If any one had a business at court that stuck, he made his application to Blood, as the most industrious and successful solicitor, and many gentlemen courted his acquaintance, as the Indians pray to the devil that he may not hurt them. He was perpetually in the royal apartments, and affected particularly to be in some room where the duke of Ormonde was, to the indignation of all others, though neglected and overlooked by his grace. All the world stood amazed at this mercy, countenance, and favour, shown to so atrocious a malefactor, the reason and meaning of which they could not see nor comprehend. The general opinion was, that Blood was put upon this assassination by the duke of Buckingham and the duchess of Cleveland, who both hated the duke of Ormonde mortally, and were powerful advocates to solicit and obtain his pardon. The reason assigned by the criminal for his attempt upon the duke was considered as a mere excuse, for his grace had done nothing particularly against him, more than against others concerned with him in the same conspiracy, and put into the same proclamation. If Blood's estate at Sarney was forfeited for his treason, and upon his attainder granted by his majesty to Toby Barnes; or if his accomplices were executed after a full conviction, all this was done in the full course of government, and must have been done by any other lord-lieutenant, as well as the duke of Ormonde. Blood knew very well his own guilt, and had no reason to resent any thing in this proceeding of his grace; nor do acts merely ministerial use to produce in any, such resentments as cannot be satisfied without the assassination of a minister, who, in the discharge of his duty and the trust reposed in him by his prince, could not have spared his own father in the same case.* Carte adds several arguments to prove that there was no person so likely to be the instigator of this attempt as the duke of Buckingham. Among these, one of great weight is derived from the fact, that the designs of this splendid villain were materially interfered with by the mere presence of the duke of Ormonde. There was some discouragement in the very existence of an enemy whose character was hedged round by the respect of all the wise and good: the intrinsic value of whose opinions on every concern of importance gave him a degree of weight even in the council; and who, considering the unsettled and dangerous condition of Ireland, was still likely to be entrusted again with power, and to obtain without an effort, the restoration of those honours, appointments, and influence, which his unprincipled and in every way unworthy rival was working through a hundred dirty channels to secure for himself and his accomplices.

We must, for the present, pass by the history of Irish affairs: they are indeed of little historical interest, and may be more fully brought together in some one of the following memoirs, as belonging to the train of events and circumstances which preceded and accompanied the revolution of 1688. During this period of his life—one of court disfavour, but of honour in the better judgment of Europe—the duke of Ormonde was engaged in the council upon the consideration of all matters relative to English or foreign affairs, but entirely excluded

* Vol. II.

from the committee on the affairs of Ireland. It is true that he was appealed to by that class of the Roman catholics, who had refused to accede to the communications of their brethren with the Roman court, and who had joined in the remonstrance: there was at this time a secret court-party in favour of the views of that court, and the ultrapapists were not only favoured, but their enmity against their more moderate and loyal brethren seconded by acts of persecution which we shall not now detail. They applied to the duke, who wrote in their favour to the lord-lieutenant, but to no other purpose but that of drawing upon himself the mortification of a slight. We here add a part of one of the duke's letters on this subject, as it sufficiently explains the whole, and places his conduct in its proper light:—"And now, my lord, that you may not judge me to be impertinent in my interposition in the matter, and in your government, give me leave to tell you why I take myself to lie under more than the ordinary obligation of a counsellor to mind his majesty of the remonstrators, and to endeavour to free them from the slavery and ruin prepared for them for that reason, however other pretences are taken up. Some of those very remonstrators, and other of their principles are and were those who opposed the rebellious violence of the nuncio and his party, when the king's authority then in my hands was invaded, and at length expelled that kingdom, for which they suffered great vexation in foreign parts, when the fear of the usurpers had driven them out of their own country. These are the men who, on the king's return, in their remonstrance disowned the doctrine upon which those proceedings of the nuncio were founded; and these are the men very particularly recommended by the king to my care and encouragement, during all the time of my government. And now, I leave it to your lordship to judge, whether in duty to the king, with safety to my reputation, or in honesty to them, I can receive so many complaints of oppression from them as I do, and not endeavour that at least they may quietly enjoy their share of that indulgence which his majesty vouchsafes to others of their profession, free from those disturbances which are given them upon that account by those who abetted the contrary proceedings. I have drawn this to a greater length than is necessary, being directed to one so reasonable as your excellency, but it is my desire to acquit myself from the imputation of so mean a thing as seems to be laid to my charge, and to show that in this matter I have done nothing but what may consist with my being as I am,—My lord, &c.,

"ORMONDE."*

In 1673, the lady Thurles, mother to the duke, died at the advanced age of eighty-six. He had for some time meditated a visit to Ireland, and his determination was probably hastened by this event. He was perhaps also wearied with the long continuance of galling humiliations which he was compelled to sustain in his attendance at court, and under which any one but himself must long before have given way. By this time, at which we are arrived, these annoyances had greatly increased: so great was become the ascendancy of the rout of knaves

* Carte, II.

and prostitutes, which made up the Comus court of Charles, that the duke, without any distinct quarrel with the king, was universally understood to be out of favour. No one in habitual attendance, or in any way dependent on the smiles of courtiers and their patronesses, dared speak to the lord steward, whom it was, says Southwell,* "a melancholy sight" to see walking alone along the galleries with his white rod of office. The king, who really esteemed the duke, was not exempt from this degrading influence, and was under the awkward necessity of maintaining an air of neglect towards one whom he could not help feeling to be greater than himself. The duke maintained his wonted high and grave composure in the midst of all this tinelled insignificance and varnished display of pride and scorn, and the monarch sometimes felt his own littleness and stood abashed. One day when the duke was engaged in conversation with a company of foreign noblemen who attended the court, this effect became so apparent, that the duke of Buckingham galled by the superiority of one who repaid his hate with scornful indifference, could not help stepping up to the king, and whispering in his ear, "I wish your majesty would resolve me one question, whether it be the duke of Ormonde that is out of favour with your majesty, or your majesty that is out of favour with the duke of Ormonde? for of the two, you really look the most out of countenance." In fact, the king not only avoided speaking to the duke, but constantly endeavoured to avoid his eye, "by industrious looking another way,"† though occasionally in moments of embarrassment, he would take him aside to ask his advice. One of these occasions is related by Carte, when having given the seals to Shaftesbury, he took the duke aside into the recess of a window and asked him if he did right: the duke replied, "your majesty has no doubt acted very prudently in so doing, if you knew how to get them from him again."

But to return to our narrative, the duke now came to the resolution to return to Ireland and look after his own affairs. He left Clarendon house in the beginning of June, with the duchess and family, and proceeded to Bath, the waters of which had been advised for his gout. After remaining there for a fortnight, he sailed for Waterford, and arrived there after a fair passage of twenty hours, on the 27th June, 1674. From thence he went to Kilkenny, and soon after to Dublin, in order to pay due respect to the earl of Essex, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland. But this lord, infected with the general disease of court antipathy, and offended by the popular reception of the duke by the city of Dublin, received him with a coldness which was not only felt by the duke, but noticed with general indignation. In Dublin, and still more in the county of Kilkenny, the demonstrations of public respect and affection were so remarkable as to give a full and not very gratifying refutation to the notion which had been long and industriously circulated, that he was disliked in Ireland. In Kilkenny he amused his leisure with the usual recreations of country life, having like every active-spirited person inured to rural life, a strong taste for hunting and hawking.

It was during this period of the duke's life that his eminent son, the

* Life of Ormonde.

† Carte.

earl of Ossory, the heir of his worth and talent, though unhappily not of his honours, was rising into illustrious eminence, by his distinguished services in the navy, when he rose to the rank of admiral. We shall notice the main incidents of his life in a separate memoir. But we must here take the occasion to present the reader with a new and most interesting aspect of the duke's character, which may perhaps have hitherto been looked for as an essential feature; for never in a christian country, and in the record of christian ages, has there been a character like the duke's without piety. When we look to his moderation in success, his calmness in the most trying difficulties, and his noble resignation under the combined visitations of wounding slander, the ingratitude of the court, and the embarrassment of his private affairs; when we contemplate his constant and strenuous maintenance of the protestant church, and the devotion he showed to the maintenance of those principles which he regarded as sacred, with the perfect disinterestedness shown by his ready and frequent abandonment of all those advantages which are mostly the entire aims of public men; we are compelled to search for the profound and elevated principle which sustained him throughout, one, so far beyond the standard of worldly worth and wisdom, in some influence above their range. On this subject we are enabled not only to offer the valuable testimony of his old and faithful friend, Sir R. Southwell, but the still more direct proof of his own devotional compositions, which indicate a high and pure as well as fervent and zealous devotion, breathing the language of every christian grace:—"I continued," writes Southwell, "for this month with his grace, and lay so near him, as often in the night to hear him at his devotions. He had composed some excellent prayers on several occasions, which have since appeared among his papers. He would often discourse to me of the emptiness of all worldly things—of honours, riches, favour, and even of family and posterity itself." Of the prayers mentioned in this extract, we here insert that which was the fruit of the duke's affliction on the death of his illustrious son.

His prayer and humiliation on the death of his son, the earl of Ossory.

"O God, by whom and in whom we live, move, and have our being, I own and adore thy justice, and magnify thy mercy and goodness, in that thou hast taken from me, and to thyself, my dear and beloved son. My sins have called for this correction, and thou didst hold thy hand till thy patience was justly wearied by my continual and unrepented transgressions; thou gavest thy blessed Son for my redemption; and that such redemption offered on the cross for me, might not be fruitless, thou hast sent this affliction to call me to repentance, and to make me inwardly consider and behold that Saviour whom my accursed sins have nailed to the cross and pierced to the heart.

"From my childhood to my declined age thou hast made use of all thy wondrous and manifold methods of drawing me a sinner to amendment and obedience; but alas! how hitherto have they been in vain? Thou madest me prosperous and unsuccessful, poor and rich; thou broughtest me into dangers, and gavest me deliverance—leddest me into exile, and broughtest me home with honour; and yet none of thy dispensations have had natural or reasonable effect upon me: they hav

been resisted and overcome by an obdurate sensuality. So that, if in thy infinite mercy thou wilt yet make any further experiment upon me, and not leave me to myself, the most heavy of all judgments, what can I expect, but that afflictions should be accumulated till my gray hairs be brought with sorrow to the grave! This, O Lord, is my portion, and it is justly due to me: I lay my mouth in the dust, and humbly submit to it; yet, gracious God, give me leave with comfort to remember that thy mercy is infinite, and over all thy works. In that mercy, and merits of my Redeemer, Jesus Christ, look upon me; turn thy face to me, and thy wrath from me. Let this sore affliction melt or break my heart; let it melt it into godly sorrow, or let the hardness of it be even yet broken by heavier calamities: however, at last return, O Lord, and heal me, and leave a blessing behind thee: the blessing of a true repentance, and a constant amendment; the blessing of fervent devotion, of universal obedience to thy holy laws, and of unshaken perseverance in the ways of thee my God.

"This I beg in the name, and for the sake of the all-sufficient sacrifice and merits of my blessed Redeemer, in the words he hath left us to pray."

During his stay in Ireland, it also happened that his third son, lord John, was married to the lady Ann Chichester, heiress to the earl of Donegal. He was created earl of Gowran; but died in the following year, owing to disease contracted by the excesses of his youth. While he was in his last illness, the duke wrote him a letter, which the bishop of Worcester described to Carte as one of the finest specimens of moral and christian remonstrance he had ever seen. He had, however, unfortunately lost the copy of it, which he had been unable to obtain. In relation to the dissolute habits of the same young lord, a *mot* of the duke is preserved. A friend of the duke's family had built a chapel, and had solicited among his acquaintances for contributions of an ornamental nature, to set off the interior. When Mr Cottington visited the duke, he told him of his son's munificent gift of the ten commandments, for the altar-piece. The duke observed, in reply, "he can readily part with things that he does not care to keep himself."

The duke's retirement was at last to receive a temporary interruption; and whether reluctantly or not, he was doomed to be once more involved in the turmoil of affairs. The situation of the king was becoming involved in perplexity. He was by nature, and by the principles he held, unfit for the time: his religious persuasion placed him in a false position. Secretly pledged to one line of action, and to the support of one interest, he was loudly called on by the voice of Europe, and by the expectation of England, to pursue an opposite course and take a different part. He was, rather by the revolutions of European politics than by his own power, called on to act as the arbiter of the Continent; and his people expected that he should support the protestant interest. The heart of England was with the Prince of Orange, who was universally regarded as the champion of protestantism throughout Europe; while, on the other hand, Charles and his brother, the duke of York, were by every tie bound to the king of France. The king was slowly and reluctantly compelled to give way to his parliament, which he endeavoured to cajole; and some disgraceful and unconstitutional pro-

ceedings took place, during which a breach occurred between him and his minion, Buckingham, who was beginning to wax too licentious in his insolence, and too extravagant and dangerous in his freakish politics, to be easily endured by one who knew his baseness, and had only countenanced him for his companionable vices. In the midst of the perplexities of this busy period, the affairs of Ireland became troublesome, and the king felt himself compelled to have recourse to the duke of Ormonde.

The Norwich frigate was ordered to Waterford for the duke, and he, though beginning to feel the necessity of quiet to his bodily health, could not refuse to obey. It was indeed, he felt, a critical moment for the protestant interests, and his presence was wanting. At first, indeed, on his arrival in London, he was disappointed to find that the king, whose temper was the weathercock which shifted with every breath of persuasion, had in that short interval fallen into a relapse of his usual feebleness: he seemed to have been sent for to be treated with neglect. He was thinking of a return to Ireland, when he was again sent for, and his advice asked on the affairs of Ireland. The principal subject to be discussed was a question on the farming of the revenue: there were two undertakers, Mr George Pitt and viscount Ranelagh; Ranelagh had been under great obligations to the duke of Ormonde, but coming over from Ireland, he joined the cabal against him. He made such representations to the king, that he obtained a contract for the management of the Irish revenue, in consequence of which great discontents were soon excited in Ireland. The people and the king soon found reason to complain; and it was thought that lord Ranelagh alone was not a loser by the contract. When the duke's advice was asked, he exposed in detail the sufferings of the Irish people, and the frauds of the undertakers. Ranelagh, irritated by such an exposure, and fearing for his suit, made a long speech at the board; in the course of which he observed, that for a period of ten years before his undertaking, the revenue had been very much mismanaged: this he repeated so often, and coupled it with so many insinuations, that the duke insisted upon his being compelled to explain himself. For this purpose he was ordered to attend at a board held for the purpose. The king was himself present, when the following conversation took place. After the lord-keeper informed lord Ranelagh that he was summoned to explain certain expressions which seemed to involve reflections upon the conduct of the duke of Ormonde: lord Ranelagh answered:—"My purpose was not to reflect on my lord of Ormonde, or any body else; but to give his majesty a state of his affairs, as they stood before my undertaking.

"*Duke of Ormonde.*—But your lordship was pleased to name often the word mismanagement; and if that related to the time that I governed, it must reflect upon me, and I am willing to give your lordship all manner of provocation, to speak plain in that particular.

"*Lord Ranelagh.*—I named nobody, but the things themselves will lead to the persons. I am content what I said be referred to a committee for examination. For if I said your majesty's affairs were mismanaged, it was true, and it plainly so appeared to your majesty, by

what I said; and I say so again, that the management was as bad as possibly could be.

"Duke of Ormonde.—Sir, I am of opinion with that noble lord, that the things themselves will find out the persons; and I also join issue with him in the expedient of a committee, and pray your majesty, that matters be transacted in writing, that what is alleged on either side may be more liable to this examination. For, I think long accounts use not to be stated by an oration; and that in such a discourse when well studied and long thought on, there may as well be conveyed in it a libel as a vindication.

"Lord Ranelagh.—My lord, I think short speeches may contain as much libel in them as long ones.

"Duke of Ormonde.—But, Sir, I desire to hear it laid to my charge, that I mismanaged your affairs. That is the thing still insinuated, though not said; and therefore I must challenge the proof of that mismanagement, or charge the informer with untruth.

"Lord Ranelagh.—Sir, I thought this had not been a place for such expressions; and I shall here find myself at some disadvantage.

"The king.—No, no,—untruth—that—

"Duke of Ormonde.—Sir, I said untruth; and there is no man whatever, who exceeds me not in quality, to whom I will not say the same, till his proofs do show the contrary. My lord was pleased to say, he named no man; but by experience of his lordship's dealings towards me, I have sufficient motives to keep me from imagining he meant any one else: and yet I presume to think, that for the time of my management there, I can show your majesty as fair accounts as any man whatsoever. And pray, my lord, since you will not name the persons, what are the things you call this mismanagement?

"Lord Ranelagh.—Sir, I call that mismanagement, when your majesty's revenue, that is intended for the public, and to the payment of your majesty's establishment civil and military, shall be diverted by private warrants, contrary to instructions, and your army thereby be left so shamefully in arrear.

"Duke of Ormonde.—Sir, if my lord can name any one private warrant issued to my proper advantage, or by my own authority, let him name it.

"Lord Ranelagh.—No, my lord, I cannot say that such warrants were to your own advantage; but I say that the private interest in such things was preferred to the public.

"Duke of Ormonde.—Why then, my lord, since you will not name one of that kind, I will; and that was a warrant to pay your lordship £1000, which was, I am sure, not to my account, but to your own. However, you brought a warrant from his majesty, who did command it, and I gave obedience.

"Lord Ranelagh.—I confess I had £1000, but it was in part of a greater debt due to my father, and all that I had for fifteen years' service.

"Duke of Ormonde.—Sir, I am well content that all these matters be referred to the examination of a committee, and I pray you give your commands to the lord Ranelagh, to put all in writing.

"*Lord Ranelagh*.—I am ready to do so whenever your majesty commands."

His lordship being withdrawn, the lord-keeper said, surely to give obedience to your majesty's commands is no mismanagement, nor ought to be reputed as such. Whereupon it was ordered that lord Ranelagh should give in a state of the fact, and the particulars of the mismanagement for the ten years before his undertaking.

Lord Ranelagh continued to spin out the time in various delays, for several months, but was at length compelled on an application from the duke to bring forth his statement. It was replied to by the duke, in a paper of considerable length, and remarkable clearness and ability.* On a full investigation of both statements before the council, the king declared the duke's statement to be perfectly satisfactory. On this head, it only remains to be added, that on the subsequent examination of lord Ranelagh's own accounts, they were not found so clear from fault, as the result was a decree against him for £76,000, and he was only enabled to escape the consequences by obtaining the king's pardon.

The discussion was in the highest degree serviceable to Ireland, as it placed before the king and council a most plain and perspicuous view of Irish affairs, and enabled them to perceive the selfish intrigues of which that kingdom had been the principal victim, with the comparative merits and demerits of the parties by whom they had been carried on; and lastly, the conspicuous integrity and wisdom of the entire conduct of the duke of Ormonde. This result was soon apparent: in the month of April, 1677, the king, who for a year had avoided speaking to the duke, sent a message that he would come and sup with him. He came accordingly: the entertainment was costly, and the conversation was gay, unrestrained and cordial; but all passed without the slightest allusion to political affairs, until the king was departing, when he signified to the duke his design to employ him again in Ireland, for the government of which he publicly declared him to be the fittest person. Of this indeed every one was fully sensible, insomuch that nothing but the baneful influence of court intrigues and interests had prevented the fact from being sooner recognised. But a court intrigue was now in effect the means of removing the obstruction which had so long withheld the king from doing justice. The duke of York, who hated the duke of Ormonde for his protestant zeal, was now alarmed by an endeavour to obtain the government of Ireland for the duke of Monmouth, whose intrigues to be declared heir to the throne of England might in the event become formidable. To avert this consequence, all other sacrifices of prejudice were slight, and none but a person of the first talent and integrity, whose appointment would satisfy the nation and arrest the expectation of the bastard prince, could be relied upon. Under this sense the duke of York not only withdrew his opposition, but it is thought lent himself warmly to the appointment of one whose character he respected, and in whose stanch and untainted honesty and firmness he had the fullest confidence.

The duke of Ormonde set out for Ireland in the beginning of August. On his way he stopped at Oxford, and was splendidly received and

* This will be found in Carte, II. 454.

entertained by the university, as its chancellor.* He had deferred his arrival until after commencements; as it was feared that he might be pressed to give degrees to many persons of rank in his train, whose pretensions were not acceptable to the university. Though the usual time was past, and the ceremonial of commencements over, many were urgent in soliciting for the honour of a degree; but the duke only created twenty doctors, one of whom was his son, the earl of Arran, and the viscounts Galmoy and Longford, Robert Fitz-Gerald a son of the earl of Kildare, and some other gentlemen of high rank, all being of his own immediate retinue.

The earl of Essex had received permission to consult his own choice, as to the manner of resigning the government; and his conduct was complimentary to his successor. He would in any other case have delivered the regalia to the lords-justices; but as he wrote in his letter of April 28th—"since his majesty hath been pleased to pitch upon a person who had so much experience in all the affairs of this kingdom, and so eminent for his loyalty, this made him stay till his grace should arrive, that he might himself put the sword into his hand:" he not only remained for the duke's arrival, but himself ordered the ceremonies with which he was to be received.

The duke had upon former occasions suffered so much vexation on account of the frauds which had been committed by those who had been entrusted with the revenue departments, that he now made it his special care to endeavour to detect and control all malversations of this description. For this purpose the king's instructions were so framed as to bring all orders concerning grants, money, the releasing or abating of agents on crown debts, under the control of English officers, after being submitted to the investigation of the lord-lieutenant. So that he was no longer liable to be made answerable for mismanagement, neglect or fraud, which he had no power to control. Other arrangements of the like effectual nature were made to guard against the alienation of any part of the revenue, until the civil and military establishments should first be fully provided for. And by these, and a variety of wise provisions and precautions suggested or adopted by the duke, the army was brought into condition, and the whole establishment rendered efficient and economical.

During the three years which it required to effect these great and beneficial changes, the duke managed to effect many public improvements: he laid the foundation of the military hospital near Kilmainham, and built Charlesfort to secure the harbour of Kinsale. Every fort in the kingdom was in ruin, and the expenses necessary to put the country into a state of defence were found, on accurate inspection, to be so far beyond any means at his command, that he considered it advisable to call a parliament. Many evils were to be remedied, and many abuses in the settlements of property to be corrected, to quiet the apprehensions of the public, and repress the progress of an oppressive and exasperating chicanery on the pretence of commissions of inquiry; and the king assented to the duke's wish; but the explosion of that vile conspiracy, known by the name of the popish plot, broke out, and for a time put a stop to every other proceeding.

* Carte. II. 46.

The difficulties into which the duke was thus thrown were not inconsiderable. The impression produced by the belief of this imposture in Ireland was likely to affect two opposite parties: there were those who would be but too ready to enter with alacrity into any disaffected action; and there were those who would give way to suspicion and terror, and exert the utmost of their influence to carry precaution to the extreme of unjust severity. Against both the duke had to guard: he took effectual means of prevention and restraint, without resorting to any harshness; and by his mild, though firm precautions, completely kept off the dangerous infection of that spurious conspiracy—the most strange compound of insane credulity and infamous perjury that stains the records of history.

In the course of these proceedings, which demand no tedious detail, the duke did not altogether escape from the usual efforts of his enemies to calumniate him, and of violent political parties to influence his conduct according to their views. He held his course, unmoved by any petty influences or considerations, carrying progressively into effect such measures as tended to strengthen the security and the commercial interests of the country. He held an even balance without giving licence to the Romish persuasion, or lessening the security of the church of England: and so far was this spirit of moderation carried in opposition to the clamour of missionaries of every persuasion, that he was alternately accused on the opposite allegations of being a protestant, or a popish governor, as best suited the design of the opposing party: as he has himself remarked in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell:—“It hath been my fortune, upon several occasions, to be taken by the papists to be their greatest enemy, when it was thought that character would have done me the greatest hurt: and sometimes to be their greatest friend, when that would hurt me:” further on in the same letter, he writes in reference to the rumours of conspiracy against his life, by which it was constantly endeavoured to influence him; “it seems now to be the papists’ turn to endeavour to despatch me; the other non-conformists have had theirs, and may have again, when they shall be inspired from the same place, for different reasons, to attempt the same thing. I know the danger I am and may be in, is a perquisite belonging to the place I am in; and so much envied for being in; but I will not be frightened into a resignation, and will be found alive or dead in it, till the same hand that placed me shall remove me. I know well that I am born with some disadvantages, in relation to the present conjuncture, besides my natural weakness and infirmities; and such as I can no more free myself from, than I can from them. My father lived and died a papist; and only I, by God’s merciful providence, was educated in the true protestant religion, from which I never swerved towards either extreme, not when it was most dangerous to profess it, and most advantageous to quit it. I reflect not upon any who have held another course, but will charitably hope, that though their changes happened to be always on the prosperous side, yet they were made by the force of present conviction. My brothers and sisters, though they were not very many, were very fruitful, and very obstinate (they will call it constant) in their way; their fruitfulness hath spread into a large alliance, and their ob-

stinacy hath made it altogether popish. It would be no small comfort to me, if it had pleased God, it had been otherwise, that I might have enlarged my industry to do them good, and serve them, more effectually to them, and more safely to myself. But as it is, I am taught by nature, and also by instruction, that difference in opinion concerning matters of religion dissolves not the obligations of nature; and in conformity to this principle, I own not only that I have done, but that I will do my relations of that or any other persuasion all the good I can. But I profess at the same time, that if I find any of them who are nearest to me acting or conspiring rebellion, or plotting against the government and the religion established amongst us, I will endeavour to bring them to punishment sooner than the remotest stranger to my blood. I know professions of this kind are easily made, and therefore sometimes little credited; but I claim some belief from my known practice, having been so unfortunate as to have had my kinsmen in rebellion; and so fortunate as to see some of them when I commanded in chief. Those that remain have, I hope, changed their principles, as to rebellion; if they have not, I am sure they shall not find I have changed mine."

At this period lord Shaftesbury, who was among the most violent and dangerous enemies of the duke of Ormonde, suddenly changed his party, and with them, in some measure, his grounds of hostility. For a time he was engaged in the interests of the court, and exerted his whole talent and zeal for the establishment of arbitrary power, and the unconstitutional extension of the prerogative. While thus engaged, it was his aim, as it had been that of the most licentious and unsteady, but not more unprincipled Buckingham, to unseat the duke of Ormonde, from the mere desire to obtain the lieutenancy of Ireland and his place in the court: and being himself without any religion, he made it his business to represent the duke as the enemy of toleration, and as the persecutor of the Romish church. But the king having made concessions to the Commons, which impressed him with a conviction that the line of policy he had pursued must not only fail, but eventually lead to consequences dangerous to those by whom it had been promoted and pursued, Shaftesbury at once changed sides, and with a versatility at which no one was surprised, for his character was thoroughly known, adopted the opinions and embraced the courses to which he had been most diametrically opposed: he gave most unconcernedly the lie to his whole life, in such a manner as would stamp his memory with disgrace, were it not in some measure rescued by the lax morality among the statesmen of every age. By the change he was transferred into better company, and engaged in a course more honourable and beneficial in its ends, though his motives continued as base, and the means he pursued neither more honest nor more wise. He remained as much the enemy of the duke of Ormonde as before: and as he had from the court side, endeavoured to stigmatize him as the enemy of the papists, from that of the country party he accused him of being their friend. By his violence, his daring courses, and unscrupulous assertions, he gained upon the fiery zeal and the party prejudice of the people and the house, and gained an ascendant which made him dangerous to his personal opponents, and formidable to the court. Considering the duke of Ormonde

as a main obstacle to the great design of promoting an insurrection in Ireland, he strained every nerve not only to raise a strong party against him, but to collect sufficient complaints to form articles of impeachment. He made a speech in the lords' house, in which he cast out several insinuations to the effect that the duke of Ormonde was in favour of the papists, than which no charge could at the moment be more injurious. He was replied to by lord Ossory, in a speech which attracted great celebrity, and was compelled to retract his base and unwarranted calumnies.

The duke, on learning of these movements among his enemies, pressed strongly for leave to return to England. "I am now," he writes to the secretary, "come to an age so fit for retirement, that I would be content to purchase it at any rate but that of dishonour or prejudice to my fortune and family." But the king was about to dissolve the parliament, and saw no reason why the duke should leave Ireland at a moment so critical. The earl of Arlington having mentioned to him the report that the duke was to be removed, he told him, "it was a damned lie, and that he was satisfied while he was there, that the kingdom was safe." He added that "the new ministry were for jostling out his old faithful servants, and that while the duke of Ormonde lived, he should never be put out of that government."

The object of Shaftesbury and his party, with regard to Ireland, was mainly to contrive an insurrection; and for this purpose they set on foot every spring of action they could grasp. They were unprincipled men, who had mainly their own private interests at heart; but it would be unfair to confound a small cabal of political adventurers with the large and respectable body by whom they were supported; like the leaders of every party in every age, whose views are their own, but their strength is the public feeling, which they are compelled to serve and not unwilling to betray, if treachery will serve their ends better than good faith. Justice is due to the party, however we may estimate the partisan. The duke of York's religion at the time was the subject of great anxiety to the English public. Nor was it less the subject of apprehension to all those who were attached to the royal family. Should the duke succeed to the throne, the worst consequences were generally apprehended to the church and protestant interests of the kingdom: with more justice it was to be apprehended, that disaffection and revolutionary action would be likely to set in, to an extent dangerous to the throne. The duke alone, infatuated, rash, bigoted, and without judgment, unconscious of the real dangers by which he was surrounded, only thought to avail himself of a favourable juncture to increase the power of the crown, and to prepare the way for the greater changes of which he contemplated the execution. This feeble and narrow-minded prince did not despair of effecting a revolution in favour of his own church; and, availing him of the increasing indolence of the king, whose chief concern was the lethargic luxury of the sensual syte, to which he had converted the British court, he became alert and busy in the management of public affairs. The consequence was a strong underworking of a most dangerous reaction, to the increase and diffusion of which even those recent plots and exposures which appeared to give an advantage to the court party in reality contributed. Though

the suspicion of popish plots had been made ridiculous, and persecution hateful, and though a surface feeling of loyalty had been excited, yet the real feelings of the British public had been measured and weighed; the public attention had been excited by questions dangerous in principle and tendency; and it was made apparent to the clear-eyed and sagacious whose position enabled them to see what was working up in the councils of every party, that there must shortly be a trial of strength unfavourable to the court, perhaps fatal to the crown, still more probably to the reigning prince. Of this party, the unprincipled Shaftesbury was now the ostensible leader. However respectable was the party to which he owed his strength, the means which he adopted were worthy of himself: to produce confusion in Ireland, all the most flagitious expedients, suborned informations, pretended plots and insidious suggestions were resorted to for the purpose of compelling the duke of Ormonde to quit his impartial and all-protecting and governing policy, and to adopt that same fatal train of oppressive measures, by which Parsons and his colleagues brought on the worst consequences of the great rebellion in Ireland. And when these efforts failed to hurry the duke of Ormonde a step out of the line of moderation, humanity, and justice, in which he governed both parties without deferring to the fears or prejudices of either; a new course was adopted, and a successive train of manœuvres was put in practice, for the twofold purpose of carrying the plans of the faction which now headed the country party into effect without the duke of Ormonde's consent; and eventually forcing him to resign. With this view they proposed to remodel the privy council in Ireland, so as thus to secure such nominations as should effectually place the administration of that country in their own hands. This the king refused to permit. They then procured evidences of a plot, which went no farther than the oppression of some individuals, and shall be noticed hereafter, so far as its importance merits.

The death of the gallant earl of Ossory taking place during these annoyances, was a deep affliction, as well as a heavy prejudice to the duke. His spirit and eloquence had much contributed to repress the personal direction of their hostilities, and his death now gave an impulse to their virulence. In about three weeks after, they began to make interest for his removal, and held a consultation upon the fittest person to succeed him: there was a warm contention between the lords Essex and Halifax, which divided the party, which, however, at last agreed in favour of Essex. But this cabal had no immediate result: the king was for the moment determined to support the duke against a faction which he considered hostile to the throne. Their premature violence soon involved themselves in danger, and gave a triumph to the court. The earl of Shaftesbury began to boast openly of his expectations of a triumph over the court, and made use of ungarded expressions against the duke of York, of whom, among other things, he said "he would make him as great a vagabond on the earth as Cain." The king's party meanwhile were not wanting to themselves in a contest of deception and fraud: there was no resource too unworthy for their honour, or too base for their dignity. As Shaftesbury had fabricated a popish conspiracy, so the wisdom of the royal councils brought forth a protestant plot. It is not indeed easy to imagine a more unsafe

experiment, at a moment when protestant England was labouring from shore to shore with silent and suppressed indignation and apprehension. But it served an immediate end: Shaftesbury was accused and sent to the Tower, and his papers seized. A strong contest of subornation prepared the way for his trial; but, notwithstanding the efforts of the court, and the rashness of his language and conduct, nothing could be proved against him on sufficient evidence: there was an unsigned paper containing a plan for the government of the kingdom, by which the king was to become entirely governed by the councils of Lord Shaftesbury, but it was not sufficiently authenticated to satisfy a jury which was selected by the sheriffs, who were in favour of the accused. He was tried upon suborned information, and acquitted by a packed jury, yet the publication of the trial impressed the public mind with a strong sense of his guilt, and of the reality of the conspiracy, and contributed very much to the triumph of the king's party.

In the mean time, the ferment which had been raised by the machinations of Shaftesbury's faction in Ireland subsided, as their influence declined: and the duke was desired to come over to England for a short time. He appointed lord Arran his deputy, and left Dublin about the middle of April, 1682. He was received in London with enthusiasm, being met by so many persons of distinction, that "no spectator could have imagined that the king and court were absent: he was attended in this entry by twenty-seven coaches with six horses, and three hundred gentlemen on horseback, with five of the king's trumpets, &c."*

In November the same year, the duke was advanced to the rank of duke in the English peerage,† by king Charles, on the express ground of having preserved tranquillity in Ireland, during the ferment caused by the popish plot. On this occasion, a question arose, whether the duke could retain the title of Ormonde, which he was reluctant to give up, there being in England no territory bearing that name. It was, however, decided by Sir William Dugdale, that as titles were no longer territorial, a peer might be designated as he pleased.

The marriage of his grandson, the young earl of Ossory, took place at this time. Several matches had been proposed, and were on different grounds rejected by the duke. But the duke of York proposed a match for the young earl with Miss Hyde, daughter of the earl of Rochester, to which all parties gave a ready assent, and the young couple were married.

The principal reason for sending for the duke is so interwoven with a multiplicity of small details of the perplexed party-manceuvres which have exclusive reference to English history, that we cannot here enter upon them in such a manner as would be satisfactory to the reader, who, if curious, will find a great deal of minute detail in Burnet and other contemporary writers. The violence of the party-contest had overblown, and the court was allowed to pursue its intrigues in comparative quiet; but within its bosom there were too many anxious oppositions of feeling and interest for quiet. The king's ministers kept him on the stretch by their contentions; and it was perhaps felt that the anxious and dangerous question about the succession, though it might be suppressed, was yet too deeply bound up with seri-

* Carte, II. 519.

† Note in Southwell's Life of Ormonde.

ous and awakening emergencies and difficulties, to be set at rest for more than a short interval. The very triumphs which had been attained, were such as to ascertain the true state of national feeling in every part of the kingdom, to all who considered the probabilities in the case of the king's death. The king's entire want of principle would, during his life, prevent the collision that was to be sooner or later expected. Free from obstinacy, as he was devoid of all fixed principle, he could, when perils appeared to menace his conduct, unblushingly retrace his steps: content if in the strife he could secure the means to pursue his pleasures and satisfy the rapacity of his mistresses. The duke was ascertained to be a tyrant, devoid of all the restraints of equity or humanity, resolute in his opinions, and, as his conduct in Scotland had shown, fully capable of adopting the utmost stretches of despotism, to maintain their authority. With these elements of disorder, fermenting in its recesses, the court was agitated with internal apprehensions and divisions, the result of which was that while all breathed the sentiments of devotion to the king, and of subjection to the more decided will of the duke, there was a strong sense of insecurity felt by both: and their whole conduct exhibits the fact that, with the exception of the small and not very efficient party who were known to participate in their secret designs, there was no one upon whom they could implicitly rely. Under such doubtful circumstances, a nobleman whom all honest men had ever respected, and who was known alike for his integrity and loyalty, was naturally looked to as one who might be a trust-worthy sentinel in an hour of concealed danger: and the duke of Ormonde, avoided and shrunk from in the time of strength and safety, was now as ever, sought when the ground was uncertain and unsafe. The circumstances are such as, from their nature, cannot have found their way into the historic page; but we should infer, from the king's naturally shrewd and sagacious character, with his growing love of security and ease, taken with the excessively violent demonstrations shown by the duke, to secure his own succession at this time that the king did not feel himself either as safe or as free as he would have desired. It is as apparent that the duke must have felt that there was great danger of his being set aside by a slight turn of that secret contest of intrigue, which is known to have been carried on. While the king would, under such feelings, rely on the old and tried good faith of Ormonde to himself, the duke would with equal confidence look to him as one who could not be warped into disloyalty.

We are more particularly desirous to impress these suggestions, because a modern historian of such respectability as Leland appears to consider his conduct at this time as less creditable to Ormonde. We are far from considering it as matter for eulogy, but we see in it nothing to detract from his reputation. One of the errors of that period of our history—an error never dissipated till the revolution, was that of considering loyalty as a paramount duty, as sacred as a knight's honour or a lady's chastity. The duke had been not only trained in this principle, and maintained it at the expense of fortune and the risk of life, but he had been most particularly exercised in it in times of great trial, in the adversity of a prince for whom he had made every sacrifice. There were, it is true, before him, and even then, those who

acted according to a juster principle; but of these the former really acted from factious motives: and as to the latter, they belonged to a later generation; their knowledge was a fruit of experience. The duke was an aged man, and acted upon the principles of his life: he did not anticipate any disastrous consequences to the church, but he saw the danger which menaced the succession, and, as on former occasions, he thought it right first to secure the interests of the crown. He knew well the real strength of protestantism in England, and had no fear for it. He only saw the approach of a dangerous revolution, and could not conjecture those fortunate results which are now the cant of school boy declamations. To this must be added, that Leland, whose usual candour does not fail him even when he is unjust, acquits the duke of Ormonde of all participation or privity in the real and final designs of the king and duke of York: and of this the proof is indeed full and conclusive. Under such circumstances, though now in the last stage of his declining years, he exerted his mind and body to support, and at the same time moderate the councils of Charles, and guided him through more perplexity and difficulty than can be fully known, unless from the fact that the king kept him in close attendance, and would move in nothing without his counsel. The discovery of a plot to assassinate the king on his way from Newmarket to London, led to measures of great but necessary harshness: in these the duke had no part, but they add to the unpopularity of this period and reign, and seem to cast a reflection on all its actors; but, however profligate the court, and however unprincipled and dangerous to civil liberty were its designs, conspirators and assassins merit the penalty of the law. The discovery of the Ryehouse plot completed the triumph of the court: but the struggle of private intrigues did not cease until the king's death, which there is abundant reason to believe was the eventual result of their intrigues.

In February, 1683, during his residence in England, the duke had a violent and dangerous attack of fever, which his physicians pronounced to be dangerous, but from which he recovered; he was consequently in a weak condition for a long time. He was beginning to enjoy his usual vigour and spirits, when he received the disagreeable intelligence that the castle of Dublin had taken fire, and that some of his family had been in danger. The fire was considered to have proceeded from a beam which passed beneath one of the fire-places; this having taken fire, communicated it to the entire building. The accident is still one of frequent occurrence in old houses, and it is probable that the fire was slowly collecting force for several days under the floor during the gradual ignition of the beam. The danger was increased by the vicinity of a powder magazine; and as the means of suppressing conflagration were then far more ineffectual than now, the consternation was very great. The earl of Arran was the first who discovered this accident, and it is attributed to his great exertion, presence of mind, and skill, that it was overcome. The principal means to which he had recourse seem to have been by gunpowder, with which he arrested the communication of the flames, by blowing up the walls wherever they were advancing. The duke's loss was very great; but the circumstance led to the re-edification of the castle on a more commodious plan.

It was now, at the end of two years of continued absence, considered

necessary for the duke to return to his government. Useful as his counsels had been to the king, there was a limit to their utility; zealous as he was to guard the prerogative, and still to resist all plans likely to endanger the succession, there was a further aim in all the proceedings of the duke of York, which made it impossible to repose a whole confidence in the duke of Ormonde. As the intrigues concerning the succession became more deep, it became evident to the heir apparent that he might be compelled to have recourse to steps which would be rendered difficult, by the presence of one so firm and sagacious as the duke of Ormonde. And as it was the design of the infatuated prince to pursue that very course of measures which eventually led to his deposition, he was, to the utmost extent which the discretion of the king and the wisdom of Ormonde would countenance, already endeavouring to pave the way for his objects. As he advanced, or considered it expedient to advance, to farther lengths, it became absolutely essential to get rid of the duke of Ormonde. The king's affairs therefore being in a prosperous state, and the duke's requiring his absence rather than his presence, the duke of Ormonde was sent back to Ireland. It was on this occasion that he composed the following prayer after his arrival:—

August 31st, 1684.

“O thou who art a most righteous judge—who neither despisest the meanest for their poverty nor acceptest the most powerful for their power—make me always to remember and seriously to consider, that as all those outward privileges I enjoy among men are by thee bestowed upon me out of thy goodness, so none of them can exempt me from thy justice, but that I shall one day be brought to answer for all I have done in the flesh, and in particular for the use or misuse I have made of those peculiar advantages whereby it hath pleased thee to distinguish me from others; more especially in the neglect of those means and opportunities thou hast put into my hands, either to perform my duty to thee my God, or else my king, my country, my family, my relations, and neighbours; or even to the whole people who have been committed to my care and subjected to my authority. O let the remembrance and continual thought of this and of thy favours now at length awaken me, to a cheerful and careful employing of all I have received from thee to those ends for which they were given by thee. Lord grant that the experience, and that measure of knowledge thou hast endowed me with, may have such an efficacy on my practice that they may help to advance salvation, and aggravate sins or guilt to my condemnation. I confess, O Lord, I have often been more elevated, and taken more pride in the splendour of the station thou hast placed me in, than in considering that it came from thy bounty and providence. I have often been less careful than I ought to discharge the trust committed to me with that diligence and circumspection and conscientiousness which the weight and importance of such a trust required. Nay, on the contrary, I have been vain, slothful, and careless; vain of my slender performances, slothful in not employing my talent to discover and execute justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, to the maintenance of virtue and religion, and to the relieving and delivering the poor, the innocent, and the oppressed. Nay, &c

careless have I been of my own carriage and conduct, that by my ill example, and in compliance with a corrupt and intemperate life, I have drawn others into vanity, sinfulness, and guilt. Lord, of thy infinite mercy pardon these provoking sins of mine; and pardon the sins of those I have been the means of drawing into sin by my example, or for want of that advice, admonishment, or caution which it was in my power, as it was in my duty, to have administered. And, Lord, out of the same infinite mercy grant that for the time to come I may in some measure redeem the errors and failings of my past life, and of all these crying sins; and this not only by a hearty and prevailing repentance and a careful circumspection over all my ways and actions hereafter, but by a diligent attendance on thy service, and by a vigilant administration of the power and trust which is committed unto me. 'Tis hereby alone that I shall be enabled to render a good account of my stewardship and become capable of thy mercy, through the merits and mediation of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ."

Among the questions connected with this period of his history, the principal was relative to the calling a parliament in Ireland. Several reasons rendered this an expedient step, but it was opposed in council by the duke of York, on very insufficient objections, but really on the ground that two several bills had been transmitted against the Roman catholics. Those bills were however unjust and inexpedient, and framed during the ferment of the popish plot, by the parliamentary faction for the purpose of exasperating the Irish. The pretence was the popish plot, and the purpose to turn the popish lords out of the Irish parliament, and to inflict death upon a certain class of their clergy.

The year 1684 was rendered melancholy to the duke by the death of the duchess, with whom he had lived in the greatest affection for the period of fifty-four years. She had for some time been in a declining condition, and her death had been expected on the previous autumn. On that occasion she went to Bath on the pretext of taking the waters, but really to save the duke from the aggravated shock which she thought her death would communicate if it were to occur in his presence. She however recovered then, to the general surprise, but was again taken ill, and died in July, 1684, in the sixty-ninth year of her age. As the short memoir with which Carte alone accompanies his mention of her death is, for many reasons, interesting, we shall here extract some passages for the reader. "The duchess of Ormonde was a tall, straight, well made woman, finely formed, but not a beauty. She was a person of very good sense, great goodness, and of a noble undaunted spirit, fit to struggle with the difficulties of the world, and perfectly qualified to pass through the great vicissitudes of fortune which attended her in the course of her life. She had an excellent capacity, which made her mistress of everything to which she applied her mind; and her judgment of the affairs of the world, and of the nature and consequences of things, was admirable. She understood all sorts of business, in which it came in her way to be concerned, perfectly well, and wrote upon them with clearness of expression and strength of comprehension. Not a superfluous or improper word appearing in her longest letters, closely written, and filling a whole sheet of paper. The earl of Holland, whose ward she was, had taken very

little care of her education, and had not so much as made her be taught to write, but she learned it of herself, by copying after print ; for which reason she never joined her letters together."

The duchess was highly in the favour and esteem of queen Catherine, who, in the year 1682, made her a very extraordinary present of a collar, made up of her own and the king's pictures, and, in the middle between them, three large and fine diamonds, valued at £2500. The pictures were the same that had been sent and exchanged mutually by their majesties before their marriage. The duke, after his grandson's marriage with the lady Mary Somerset, made a present of this collar to that lady, who kept it till her husband's estate was seized after the revolution, at the time of king James's being in Ireland, when she consented to sell it for their subsistence. The duchess of Ormonde was the first person that, upon the duke of York's marriage with the daughter of the earl of Clarendon being declared, waited upon the duchess, and kneeling down, kissed her hand. But she was very stiff with regard to the king's mistresses; and would never wait on the duchess of Cleveland, who in return never forgave that slight. She observed the same conduct towards the duchess of Portsmouth, though this lady always showed and expressed the greatest regard for her, as well as to the duke of Ormonde, and came frequently to visit her grace. She was still more strict on this point with regard to her grand-daughters, whom she seemed to instruct, not so much as to admit of visits from ladies of such a character. Thus, one day in 1682, when she was in a house that the duke had taken near the court, which was then at Windsor, the duchess of Portsmouth sent word she would come and dine with her. This notice was no sooner received than her grace of Ormonde sent away her grand-daughters, the lady Anne Stanhope, afterwards countess of Strathmore, the lady Emilia Butler, and her sister, to London for that day, to be out of the way, so that there was nobody at table but the two duchesses and the present bishop of Worcester, who was then domestic chaplain to the duke of Ormonde. Such was the decorum of conduct observed in those days, when there was licentiousness enough at court, by ladies of merit who valued their character and best understood their own dignity, as well as what was due in good manners to others. It is the duty of everybody to discountenance habitual and presumptuous vice; a duty which none but those who secretly approve it, or are mean enough, for sordid and unworthy ends, to court the subject of it when clothed with power, find any reluctance to discharge. There is certainly a measure of civility to be paid to everybody, without regard to their moral conduct; but friendship, acquaintance, intercourse, and respect, are only due to virtue; and, in ordinary cases, are seldom given but to persons that are liked.

If the Duchess of Ormonde had any fault, it was the height of her spirit, which put her upon doing everything in a noble and magnificent manner, without any regard to the expense. When the king sent the duke word, as has been formerly mentioned, that he would come to sup with him, she resolved to provide a fine entertainment. She consulted about it with Mr. James Clarke, a person of good sense, very careful, and of great goodness and probity, who, as steward, had

the ordering of everything within the house, and was a generous man in his nature—loved to do things handsomely, and understood it well, but was still for taking care of the main chance. He thought several things might be spared which her grace proposed; but she insisting on her own purpose, told him, "she had a very good opinion of him, and thought he understood every thing within his own sphere, but, says she, you must have the same opinion of me, and allow me likewise to understand what is fittest for me in my own sphere." That supper cost £2000, an expense she did not value on this, and was apt to run into on other occasions where it seemed proper to show magnificence. The duke knowing her inclination, never interfered in such cases, though he felt the inconvenience thereof, and his debts were thereby much increased. When she set about building Dunmore, intending to make it her residence in case she should survive the duke, for she said Kilkenny castle ought always to belong to the head of the family, she laid out vast sums of money in that building. Cary Dillon, walking with his grace and others on the leads of that castle, from whence there is a fine view of the country about, and particularly of the house and park of Dunmore, made a pun upon that place, saying to the duke of Ormonde, "Your grace has done much here, pointing to Kilkenny, but yonder you have *Done more*." "Alas, Cary!" replied the duke, "it is incredible what that has cost; but my wife has done so much to that house, that she has almost undone me."

The affliction of this loss determined the duke's resolution to retire from public life. "It was in August after," writes Southwell, "that I met his grace at Aylesbury on his way for Ireland, where, deploring the loss of his excellent consort and long companion, he said, that business which was otherwise grown irksome to him, was now his best remedy for the whole day; but at night when he was left alone to think of his loss, the time was very grievous unto him." Under the impression of the desolate feeling here described to his friend, the duke formed the intention to give one year to active business before his retirement from public life. His determinations of retirement were, however, anticipated by the projects of the court. The duke of York began to see that, in the struggle for the ascendancy of his religion, he would find it necessary to commence with Ireland, where his church was unquestionably strong, and where an aspect of right would be imparted to changes which he was bent on carrying independent of such a consideration. Such was the actual ground of his recall; but the supposed pretexts were then, perhaps, various: his enemies began to plot against him from the very moment of his departure; and the duke himself, we think, not being fully aware of the secret machinery that was at work, attributed this change to the machinations of Talbot and others. A scheme was formed by which, under the pretence of a commission of grace, a narrow inspection of titles was intended to be instituted, with a view to deprive protestants of their possessions. To such a measure the firm opposition of the duke of Ormonde would be necessarily anticipated. The duke of York had also represented to the king the expediency of altering the constitution of the Irish army; he advised him

to get rid of the party of factious and fanatical republicans, which then constituted its strength, under the general name of protestants, and to replace them by the Roman catholics, who, notwithstanding all they had suffered, were still devoted to his family. These particulars do not require explanation; the removal of the Duke of Ormonde was an obvious preliminary to such measures, and he received an intimation of this by a letter from the king, written in a kind and courteous tone, with many assurances of respect and friendship, which had all the sincerity of which the writer was capable.

The king did not long survive this event. The suspicions of his having been poisoned were very strong, and certainly appear not unwarranted by a few details as mentioned by Burnet.*

The Duke of Ormonde's last act in Ireland was the proclamation of King James, by whom the order for his recall was instantly renewed, with circumstances of slight, which seemed to have been the result of the new king's first impulses, eager as he was to remove all opponents from the way of his designs. He was afterwards as respectful to the duke as might have been expected from a prince of his character and policy. On the occasion of the return we find some interesting recollections in the narrative of his friend:—"I went," writes Southwell, "to meet his grace at Northampton, and found him a little perplexed; he had left the earl of Ossory sick of the small-pox at the earl of Derby's at Knowsley, the young lord having taken ill at sea. Now also came news to him of the death of two of the earl of Arran's children. He met also in a newspaper on the road the first tidings that his regiment of horse was given away; and other points there were of no great satisfaction to him. However, when the next day I entertained him for some hours on the subject of the lady Mary Somerset, his grace fell into a new air of contentment. He was met on the road by more coaches from London than I had seen before; and at coming to his house in St James's square, the people in a mighty throng received him with acclamations. This was the last of March, 1685."†

It was at this time the duke's intention to pass the few remaining years of his life in retired study, and in preparation for that call which he knew could not, at his age and with his infirmities, be long deferred. In addition to the death of the duchess, and that of his son, the noble and high spirited Ossory, he had, in the beginning of 1686, to lament the death of his second son, the earl of Arran, a brave soldier, and highly distinguished in several military and naval services, but excessively addicted to dissipation.

In February the duke retired to Combury, a seat in Oxfordshire, lent to him by the earl of Clarendon, who was then in Ireland. In August, the same year, he attended the king on a progress, but found his strength unequal to the travelling, and quitting the royal party, made his way to London. In December, he joined with Dr Burnet and others in making a stand against one of the first attempts of king James, to exercise a power of dispensing with the laws which required the oaths of supremacy and allegiance on the admission of pensioners

* History of his own Time, I. 337.

† Southwell's Life of Ormonde.

to the Charterhouse. The occasion is not, in itself, of any historical importance. The act excited the king's indignation; and this was further increased by the duke's refusal to consent to the abolition of the penal laws and test, an object which the king pursued with great and increasing violence, until it was the means of losing his crown. With the duke he was, however, not disposed to have recourse to the same extremities which he adopted towards others who set themselves against his will. He said that, "as his grace had distinguished himself from others, by his long and faithful services to the crown, so he would distinguish him from others by his indulgence."* Among the weaknesses of the king, one was the hope of converting his nobles, and leading men to his own religion. The history of these efforts is indeed curious and instructive; they had no other effect than to call up Stillingfleet, and a host of eminent theologians, and the public mind was soon farther than ever from the opinions of the king. Several controversial meetings took place, some in the royal presence, of which the result was not altogether satisfactory. The earl of Rochester was considered an easy subject, and the king intimated to him that he only desired him to confer with the court chaplains upon the subject. The earl consented, but said that it should be in the presence of some divines of the English church. The king agreed, but objected to Tillotson or Stillingfleet; the earl said he would be contented with the chaplains of the court establishment, who though protestant were yet retained according to the ancient usages, which the king had not yet advanced so far as to set aside. The parties met according to this arrangement, and the king's chaplains gave their reasons, on hearing which the earl said, that if they had none better, he would not trouble the other gentlemen to reply, as he could answer so far himself; which accordingly he did.†

The duke of Ormonde was soon assailed in a similar manner. Peter Walsh who had, in an intercourse of forty years, never before addressed him on the subject, and Lord Arundel, made a formal attempt, for which he prepared himself. Both were foiled. Carte gives the substance of his conversation with Walsh: "The good father confessed to his grace that there were abundance of abuses in their church, yet still it was safest to die therein; and showed that an open renunciation or abjuration was not required from any who were reconciled, except ecclesiastics; and that if a man did but embrace that faith in his heart it was enough. The duke, among other things, replied, that though he had great charity for such as had been brought up in that religion, and wanted the opportunities of knowing those errors which were confessed, and he might have hoped well of his latter end if he had been thus bred and thus invincibly ignorant, yet, since he knew their errors, he could never embrace what he saw cause to condemn; and wondered, if the condition wherein he was appeared to be so dangerous to him, why so good a friend did not admonish him sooner thereof. Peter soon saw there was no good to be done, and did not venture a second attempt. This religious had always been very cordial and sincere in his professions and zeal for the duke's service; and his grace having the

* Carte.

† Burnet.

post of seneschal or steward to the bishop of Winchester, (it being usually given in ancient times to some of the most powerful of the nobility, who were thereby engaged in the protection of that see,) by a patent from Bishop Morley, with the fee of £100 a-year, had settled it upon him for subsistence. This was all Peter Walsh had to live on; he received it duly, and had it till his death, which happened a little before the duke of Ormonde's."

In the beginning of 1688, the duke had formed the intention of accompanying the king on a progress, but found himself disabled by the weakness which followed an attack of gout. He applied in spring for leave to retire to a greater distance from the town, and waive his attendance at court; and took a place at Dorsetshire, where he hoped to be benefited by the goodness of the air. To this place he removed from Badminton with considerable fatigue, as his lameness was so great that he could not move without assistance. In March he had a violent attack of fever, and recovered with difficulty, after which he made his will. In May he had however so far recovered, as to be enabled, with some assistance, to walk in the garden. He received a visit this spring from Sir Robert Southwell, his steady and faithful friend, who had, for the two years previous, been engaged in drawing up a history of his life, and now remained with him for some weeks. Among the many conversations which occurred on this occasion, there is a passage preserved by Carte, we presume, on the authority of Southwell's narrative, which is worth noticing as an illustration of the even and tempered politics of the duke, who evidently was equally uninfected by the factious prejudices of either of the two violent parties, between which he had held the scale of impartial justice through so long a period of public service. Talking of the precipitate measures of king James to his friend, "he lamented that his majesty should be advised to put such questions, as was then too generally practised, to men of undoubted loyalty. That, for his own part, he had been ever zealous, not only to serve the crown, but even to please his prince; that he did, in truth, think the popish lords had been treated with great hardship and injustice when deprived of sitting in the house, which was their undoubted right and inheritance, but the danger of dispensing with the penal laws was now become so visible, that he did not see how any man could, in good conscience, be absent from the house whenever that came to be the question."

But the end of the duke's long and useful life was approaching. On Friday, 22d., he was taken ill with an aguish attack: and though by the extraordinary vitality of his constitution he threw it off, it was perceptible that his strength was near exhausted, and that he could not be expected to last much longer, though he was enabled to take the air daily in his coach. The bishop of Worcester came and remained with him for a month; but the duke began to feel so much better that he thought he might hold out for some months longer, and the bishop went away: he promised to return, and the duke said he would send for him in time, when he felt the approach of death. He continued to go out for a few days. On Wednesday, July 16th, he went out in the coach with lady Ossory, but returned ill: yet for the two following days he was so much better as to stir about the house a little. On Friday,

he was attacked by a violent stitch in the side, which gave way to the treatment applied. He was visited by Mr Clerk on Saturday, and observed to him, "this day four years was a very melancholy day to me:" Mr Clerk did not at first understand him, until he added, "it was the most melancholy I ever passed in my life: it was the day I lost my dear wife." Mr Clerk then thought his grace worse than he had yet been. The duke desired him to write to Sir R. Southwell to come over.

The duke was amused by his little grandson, whom he had constantly with him, though not more than two years old at the time. He frequently asked the hour, and desired his chaplain, Mr Hartstrong, (afterward bishop of Derry,) to prepare to administer the sacrament to him by ten next morning, naming those whom he wished to receive it with him. In the afternoon he got out of bed to join as usual in the family prayers, and read the responses with his usual clearness, but it was observed by those around him that he was evidently striving with pain. He continued sitting up till three o'clock, which was the hour of afternoon prayers, in which he joined as usual. He conversed a good deal, but showed starts of pain. He desired Mr Clerk to secure some papers which lay in the window, for Sir R. Southwell, who, he said, could not arrive in time. He was desirous to return to bed, but Mr Clerk remarked to him that he was going faster than he thought, and that it would be better not to wait till morning for the sacrament; the duke assented, and it was accordingly administered without delay, with the young earl of Ossory, who arrived a few days before, and all the servants of his household.

His grace then addressed his servants, and told them, that in recommending them all to the friendship and protection of the earl of Ossory, he had done all in his power to requite their faithful services, as he had been all his life in debt, and now died so. He then dismissed them, and feeling greatly exhausted, desired to be laid on his bed. This was done by his gentleman of the chamber and another: they were laying him on his back, and he requested them to turn him on his side; while this was doing, his hand was observed to fall deadly, and on examining they found that he had breathed his last in the interval.

His mind had been clear to the very last; he had frequently expressed a wish that he "might not outlive his intellectuals." He was by his own desire buried in Westminster Abbey, next to his duchess and his two sons, on August 4th, 1688; the funeral service being read by Dr Spratt, bishop of Rochester: he would have completed his 78th year in a few days.

The duke was something above the middle size, of a fair complexion and a countenance remarkable for its grave and dignified expression, combined with an air of frankness and modesty. He dressed in the fashion of the court, but with a freedom from finery or affectation. His living was hospitable, but in his own person plain and abstemious. His life was free from vice, and his religious observance exemplary from youth to extreme old age: a fact more honourably characteristic than may be fully allowed for by every reader, until his recollection is called to the truth of common experience as well as of divine declaration, how little consistent with each other are the ways of piety and of the world,

in which latter his grace was by the necessities of his position, and of the times in which he lived a prominent actor. Neither the pomps and vanities, nor the anxious and engrossing cares, nor the temptations of acquisition and station, nor the applause and censure of multitudes, nor even the most long-sighted wisdom of camps, cabinets, and senates, are favourable to the attainment of that spiritual condition which is needful to the interests of that future state at present faintly apprehended, and therefore little the object of earnest concern, save to the few to whom they have been *realized* by faith, and the teaching of a better spirit than the statesman's heart ordinarily knows. The political partisan and the leader of state-parties may often indeed manifest a deep zeal for the maintenance of a church; but it will, on closer inspection, be ever soon observed, that such zeal has not necessarily any connexion with religion. A church may be regarded simply as a corporate institution, available for the various uses of human policy and constitutional arrangement; and thus viewed, may be the object of a competition, and an excitement of passions as violent and as inconsistent with christian spirit, as if it were a borough or a commercial charter. To exemplify this in the affairs of the present time would be most especially easy, though perhaps too invidious for a popular work. We shall not, however, be called partial, if we tell the reader, whatever may be his persuasion, to cast but a glance on which side soever he pleases, on the two prominent ecclesiastical parties of the hour, to be convinced of the entirely secular nature of the actuating principles on either side. A fact easily borne out in detail, whether we view the demonstrations of the parties, or the character of the individuals who are the leading actors in the strife. This is not the place to follow out this interesting position with the analytical detail by which it could easily be placed in a startling clearness of evidence: for our purpose it is enough that the duke of Ormonde was a most illustrious exception. And we must add, that the fact affords an easy solution of much of his high and noble career, which the moral ignorance of some of our esteemed contemporaries have laboured in vain, to reconcile with their own ideas of human motives, by the most ingenious and far-fetched imputations of design, unwarranted by any known action of his life, and broadly inconsistent with all. The duke was remarkable for his alert and indefatigable attention to business, his early hours, and strict economy of time. His affection to the duchess and all his children was a trait of his disposition, not less discernible throughout his life.

The duke's letters and state papers are to a great extent preserved, and form a large volume: they manifest in abundance all the higher qualities of the statesman—the man, and the christian. Of all these qualities we have already offered occasional evidence in the extracts we have selected from the duke's correspondence and other papers; we shall here add two more, which, on reflection, we think should not be omitted, though from the progress of the work, we have inadvertently allowed the occasion to pass. The following is, we think, a favourable specimen of the style and language of his grace's period, as also worthy of notice for its more substantial merits:

In the beginning of the reign of Charles II., the enemies of Ireland and of the duke endeavoured to obtain the nomination of English

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men to the vacant bishoprics in this country. The duke's remonstrance contains this just and eloquent passage:—"It is fit that it be remembered that near the city of Dublin there is a university of the foundation of queen Elizabeth, principally intended for the education and advantage of the natives of this kingdom, which hath produced men very eminent for learning and piety, and those of this nation: and such there are now in this church; so, that while there are so, the passing them by is not only in some measure a violation of the original intent and institutions, but a great discouragement to the natives, from making themselves capable and fit for preferments in the church: whereunto, (if they have equal parts,) they are better able to do service than strangers; their knowledge of the country and their relations in it giving them the advantage. The promotion too of fitting persons already dignified or beneficed, will make more room for, and consequently encourage young men, students in this university; which room will be lost, and the inferior clergy much disheartened, if upon the vacancy of bishoprics persons unknown to the kingdom and university shall be sent to fill them, and to be less useful there to church and kingdom than those who are better acquainted with both." To this we shall add another of those peculiar compositions in which the fervid and genuine piety of the duke appears to have imparted to his pen, an eloquence of a higher kind than often appears in the best writers of his age.

His prayer and thanksgiving, being recovered a while before from a most dangerous pleurisy, which he had in London.

March 19, 1682.

"O most mighty and most merciful God, by thee we live, move, and have our being; thou art the fountain of life, and to thee it belongs to set the bounds of it, and to appoint the time of our death: our business in this world is to adore, to praise, and to serve thee, according to the notions thou hast imprinted in us; and those revelations of thyself and of thy will, that thou hast vouchsafed to the sons of men in their several generations, by thy holy word. The blessings of this life are of thy bounty, given to engage us to gratitude and to obedience, and the afflictions we sometimes suffer and labour under come also from thy hand, with purposes of mercy to recall, and reduce us from the sinfulness and error of our ways, into which plenty and prosperity had plunged us before.

"I confess, O Lord, that by the course of a long and healthful life vouchsafed to me, thou hast extended all those methods by which thy designs of mercy might have been visible to me if my eyes had not been diverted by the vanities of this life, and my understanding obscured and corrupted by a wilful turning of all my faculties upon the brutish, sensual, unsatisfying pleasures of this transitory world. Thus have I most miserably misspent a longer, and more vigorous, and painless life, than one man of ten thousand has reached unto, neglecting all the opportunities of doing good that thou hast put into my power, and embracing all the occasions by which I was tempted to do evil: yet hast thou spared me, and now lately given me one warning more, by a dangerous sickness, and by a marvellous recovery, showing me the misery

I had undergone, if with all the distraction and confusion I was in, for want of due preparation for death, I had been carried away to answer for multitudes of unrepented sins. Grant (O merciful God,) that this last tender of mercy may not be fruitless to me; but that I from this moment, though it be later than the eleventh hour of my life, may apply myself to redeem not only the idleness, but wickedness of the days that are past—and do thou then, O Lord, graciously accept my weak endeavours and imperfect repentance, in forgiving not only what is past, but enduing me with grace to please thee with more faithfulness and integrity for the time to come, that so, when thou shalt call for my soul, I may part with it in tranquillity of mind, and a reasonable confidence of thy mercy, through the merits of my blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen."

THOMAS BUTLER, EARL OF OSSORY.

BORN A.D. 1634—DIED A.D. 1680.

THOMAS BUTLER, Earl of Ossory, the illustrious son of the first duke of Ormonde, was born in the castle of Kilkenny, July 9th, 1634. In common with every other eminent person of his age, the records of his youth are scanty and of little interest. It is only mentioned, that he began early to show signs of the ardent spirit and thirst for military enterprise, which were afterward distinguishing features of his life.

He was in his 13th year, when he was removed to England, by his father on his leaving the government in 1647; he then remained in London, till the duke having been compelled to escape from Cromwell, sent for him and took him into France, where, in the following year, he was placed under the tuition of a French protestant clergyman at Caen. In the following year, on the return of the duke from his secret mission into England, lord Ossory was sent to an academy in Paris, where he quickly obtained very great reputation, and excelled all the other youths, chiefly the sons of the most noble families, in all the studies and exercises which belonged to the school education of the times.

After this it is simply known that he lived for nearly two years with the duchess in Normandy until 1652, when, as we have related, she passed over to England, to solicit the restoration of some portion of her estates, when he was taken over with her, and also accompanied her in her visit to Ireland.

We have already mentioned the particulars relative to the apprehension of the young earl by order of Cromwell, after he had already given permission for his departure. There was no specific charge; it was simply alleged that he conversed with persons who were considered dangerous; the truth seems to be, that the general popularity of his character had the effect of awakening apprehensions of the consequence, which might be the result of permitting him to improve this advantage to the promotion of his father's views; it is probable, that the sagacity of Cromwell had already obtained an insight into the bold and fiery spirit, and prompt activity and talent, which afterward

rendered their possessor remarkable in the field and senate. It is mentioned, that when Cromwell's guard called to look for him, the earl was out, and his mother promised that he should appear next morning. In the mean time, it was suggested that he was at liberty to escape; neither the duchess, (then of course but marchioness) nor the spirited youth, would consent that a promise should be violated, and accordingly, he surrendered himself next day. By the advice of his mother, he then repaired to Whitehall, where he remained in the waiting room, till three in the afternoon, and during some hours, sent in several messages, to which he received no answer, until at last, he was told by Baxter, that he was desired to find lodgings for him in the Tower. He was immediately carried thither in a hackney coach, and remained until the following October, when after a dangerous fever, he was liberated for his health, on the strong representation of his physicians, and allowed to go down to Acton with his mother. This was found insufficient, and the physicians finding it necessary to recommend a trial of foreign air, a pass was with some difficulty obtained, and he went over to Holland. His younger brother Richard was sent with him, disguised as one of his servants. They landed in Flanders, where lord Ossory remained; for it was not considered advisable for him to go near the king; as it might be made a pretence by Cromwell to take away the estates which had been allowed for his mother's maintenance.

In November 1659, lord Ossory was married to Emilia, daughter to M. De Beverweert, governor of Sluys and its dependencies, and a leading man in the assembly of the states. He received with her a fortune of £10,000, a large sum in those times, of which however, the king had the entire benefit. The young lord was not of a spirit, or at a time of life to be very anxious on the score of pecuniary considerations, and probably considered it enough to be blest with a wife not less attractive for her beauty, than for a degree of worth and prudence which endeared her quickly to all the members of the noble family, into which she was thus introduced.

After the restoration, while royal favour showered well-earned honours upon the duke of Ormonde, the earl was made (by patent), a colonel of foot in Ireland, February 8th, 1661; and in a few months after, changed into the cavalry with the same rank. In the military affairs of Ireland, at this time, there was no field for military distinction; and we feel it unnecessary to dwell on his lordship's history for the next three years, when he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general, in 1665.

In the last mentioned year, he was present at the memorable sea-fight, between the Dutch fleet and the English, under the command of the duke of Albemarle. The reader is aware of the general history of this most dreadful and sanguinary battle, which lasted four days, and stands nearly at the head of the list of naval engagements, for the furious obstinacy with which it was contested, and the terrific variety of its incidents. It was on the second day of the battle, when the wind having abated, and the fight became, as Hume well expresses it, "more steady and terrible," that the great preponderance of the Dutch force, for a time compelled the English to retreat towards their

coast. The earl of Ossory and Sir T. Clifford were standing over the shore near Harwich, and were struck by the approaching thunder of the guns. Excited by the most animating sounds that are known to human ear, they hastened to the town and soon found a small vessel which they hired to carry them out to the scene of struggle, and they were not long before they reached the ship commanded by the duke of Albemarle in person. The earl was gladly received, and was the bearer of welcome intelligence. Before leaving the shore, he had been apprized that prince Rupert had received orders to join the duke with the squadron under his command, amounting to sixteen sail of the line. At this period, the Dutch had been joined by sixteen fresh ships, and the English were reduced to twenty-eight, so that it appeared that their best chance was escape; the Dutch were at this time powerful at sea, and the English had not yet attained the maturity of their naval eminence. A calm prevented the Dutch from approaching so as to continue the engagement, during the remainder of that day.

Next morning, dispositions were made for the safety of the English fleet; the admiral fought as he retreated, in order to secure the retreat of the weaker vessels; and as there was no adequate force to resist the overwhelming line of the Dutch, which crowded towering on, as it appeared to the earl of Ossory, in the exultation of assured victory. In this conviction, he turned to the duke to whom he was standing near, and said, that "he saw no help but they must be taken." The duke made answer, "I know how to prevent that." The Dutch still approached three to one; and the earl of Ossory who had been puzzling himself to conjecture the duke's meaning, again asked by what means he proposed to avoid being captured: "blow up the ship," was the duke's reply—a proposal to which lord Ossory gave his unqualified applause, and ever after had the greatest respect for the duke of Albemarle. About two o'clock, just as the Dutch had come up, and the action was about to be renewed, a fleet was seen to approach from the south in full sail. The appearance gave encouragement to each party; the Dutch were in expectation of being joined by a reinforcement under Beaufort, and the English were satisfied it was Rupert's squadron. The English were not deceived; Albemarle, immediately made signals for his ships to form a junction with the friendly squadron. And in the hurry of this operation, a first-rate man of war of one hundred guns was lost, by striking on the Galloper Sands; as their extrication from this perilous position was, under circumstances impossible, the captain and his brave crew were compelled to strike to the Dutch, who were about to attack them with fire ships.

The junction was effected, and the fleets were now nearly on an equality. On the next morning the fight was once more renewed with fresh fury, and continued until they were separated by a dense fog. The English were allowed the honour of the fight by their country; but the Dutch triumphed not less in the capture of a few ships. The English nevertheless appear to have contended with unparalleled determination against a far superior force, and thus gave unquestionable promise of that naval supremacy which now began to appear. The reader is aware that a more decided step was gained towards this re-

sult in the following month, when on 25th July, contrary to the expectation of Europe, a signal and glorious victory over the Dutch fleet commanded by Van Tromp, at once gave England the sceptre of the waves.

On the same year, the earl of Ossory gained a steady and powerful friend, by the marriage of lord Arlington with his wife's sister. He was also made gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king, on the resignation of that office by his father. He was in June sworn of the privy council, and by a patent bearing date September 14th, he was called to the English house of peers, by the title of lord Butler of Moore Park. In October, the king having invited the prince of Orange to pay him a visit, lord Ossory was sent to conduct him to England. As England was at this time at peace, he proceeded to Paris to engage as a volunteer in the service of the king of France, in an expedition which that monarch had planned against Alsace; but the plan having been abandoned, lord Ossory returned to England. A little after his return, he received from the prince of Orange a ewer and baton of gold, as a mark of his esteem.

Shortly after the attempt of colonel Blood upon his father's life, an incident occurred in the royal presence, which characterized alike the determined spirit and the filial affection of lord Ossory. The story is told by Carte, upon the authority of Dr Turner bishop of Ely. We shall give it in the author's words: "The bishop was the king's chaplain in waiting, and present, when the earl of Ossory came in one day not long after the affair, and seeing the duke of Buckingham standing by the king, his colour rose, and he spoke to this effect: 'My lord, I know well that you are at the head of this late attempt of Blood's upon my father; and therefore I give you fair warning, if my father comes to a violent end by sword or pistol, if he dies by the hand of a ruffian, or by the more secret way of poison, I shall not be at a loss to know the first author of it, I shall consider you as the assassin, I shall treat you as such, and wherever I meet you I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair; and I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my word.'"^{*}

In January 1672, his naval career commenced with a commission to command the *Resolution*, a third-rate, but in April he was changed to the *Victory*, a second-rate. In September, he was elected Knight of the Garter and installed the following month. In November, having been sent over as envoy extraordinary to the French court, to offer the usual condolence upon the death of the duke of Anjou, a prince of the blood, the distinction with which he was treated was such as to indicate the high esteem in which his character and abilities were then held. The king of France pressed him to enter his service, and offered that if he would take a command in his army, he should have whatever appointment he should think proper to ask. On the earl of Ossory's refusal, the king sent M. de Louvois to him next day to offer him any command he should name; the earl returned a complimentary answer, such as at the same time to convey a disposition to refuse. "Come, my lord," answered De Louvois, "I see you are modest, let

^{*} Carte.

me speak for you, will 20,000 pistoles for equipage, and 20,000 pistoles a-year do? If not, say what you will have, and choose what command you please." The earl pleaded his engagement in the sea service and declined. At his departure he was presented with a jewel worth £2000.

In 1673, he received the command of the *St Michael*, a first-rate vessel of the line: and bore a distinguished part in several actions with the Dutch that summer. A fresh war had been declared against that power, on the most absurd pretences, and contrary to all justice and wisdom; and numerous great encounters took place, of which the issue was so far doubtful, that in general the victory was with equal truth claimed by both. While by the secret orders of the king of France, for whose ambitious views, and at whose instigation the war was undertaken, the French vessels which swelled the allied armament, so as to give a hollow encouragement to the English, were prudently kept out of danger, and contributed nothing to their real chances of success. In one of those actions lord Ossory had an opportunity to distinguish himself by his promptness, in saving a first-rate vessel, which being disabled, was about to be taken possession of by the enemy. He was immediately after made rear-admiral of the red; and towards the close of the year sent to command in the *Nore*. In the latter part of the same year, he formed a plan to enter the Dutch harbour at Helvoetsluys, and burn a fleet which lay there, in retaliation of the insult which the English received at Chatham. With this intention he sent over a gentleman in his own service to survey the scene of meditated enterprise. The report was in a high degree satisfactory, and lord Ossory obtained the king's permission to take with him ten sail of the line and 2000 soldiers. But the influence of Buckingham interfered, and the king retracted. The earl of Ossory in his disappointment, assured the king, that he "would fire the Dutch ships with a half-penny candle, or he should place his head on Westminster hall by Cromwell's, for the greatest traitor that ever breathed."

In the following year, (1674,) lord Ossory was sent into Holland to negotiate the match between the princess Mary, daughter to the duke of York and the prince of Orange, who had two years before been made Stadholder by the states of Holland, and had on several occasions shown a degree of prudence, firmness, and natural elevation of character, which had drawn upon him the general expectation and respect of Europe. In England he was highly popular, and this match, to which Charles soon after felt himself driven, for the purpose of conciliating the protestant feelings of his people, may be looked on as the choice of the nation, as it was afterwards the immediate instrument under providence for its preservation and advancement in constitutional prosperity. In the year 1667, the discontents of the country had increased to a serious pitch—the king, whose indolence and feebleness of temper had grown into disease, and who found himself every year less and less able to contend with the national spirit, came to this resolution as the last resource to satisfy his people, who he knew looked already to the prince of Orange as a last refuge, and sought his advice on many occasions. His ministers were favourable to this course; and at last Charles was led to permit the prince to visit England as soon as the

campaign in which he was then engaged against France should be closed for the season. On this occasion the prince sent over a letter to lord Ossory, requesting that he would give his constant advice and assistance to his mission, the proposal of which was leave to come over to address the princess; and when the prince returned, the earl followed at his request to take a part in his campaign. He joined the prince before Charleroi. Shortly after, the French army showed itself under the command of M. de Luxembourg, and a battle was expected. The prince showed his high opinion of lord Ossory, by giving him the post of honour with the command of six thousand men. There was however no battle. But in the next year he had better fortune, and gained signal distinction at the famous battle of Mons, in which Luxembourg was forced to retreat. On this occasion his services were publicly acknowledged by the states, and the king of Spain sent a letter, written with his own hand, acknowledging his great services.

On his return to England, he was nominated to command the fleet designed to be sent against Algiers. A dispute however arose as to the force to be sent out on this service, and the result was the appointment of a lesser force with an inferior officer.

In 1679, when the earl of Shaftesbury, at the head of a party leagued for the removal of the duke of Ormonde from his post, had made a violent attack upon his character and conduct in the house, the earl of Ossory made the following eloquent and spirited reply, in which the reader may recognise an imitation of great and merited celebrity among the best known specimens of modern oratory:—"I am very sorry, and do much wonder to find that noble lord so apt to reflect upon my father, when he is pleased to mention the affairs of Ireland. It is very well known that he was the chief person that sustained the king's and the protestant interest when the Irish rebellion first broke out. His services were so acceptable to the long parliament, that after some successes he had against the Irish rebels, the parliament voted him thanks, and sent him a rich jewel as a mark of honour and of their esteem. It is well known, that when he made two peaces with the Irish, they both times perfidiously broke them and endeavoured his murder, and sent out several excommunications against him and those that adhered to him. When he was abroad, I believe many may remember, how, when the duke of Gloucester was taken into the hands of some that would have perverted him, the king commanded my father to bring him from Paris, which he did, notwithstanding the threatenings and animosity of that party against him. How he had been laid at by that party, since the king's restoration, I think is sufficiently notorious. I beg your lordships' pardon, if the nearness of my relation may have made me say any thing which may look vain, being infinitely much concerned, that any suspicion should be raised against him which may argue his being not sufficiently zealous in all things wherein the protestant religion and the king's service are concerned.

"Having spoke of what he has done, I presume with the same truth to tell your lordships what he has not done. He never advised the breaking off the triple league; he never advised the shutting up of the exchequer; he never advised the declaration for a toleration; he never advised the falling out with the Dutch, and the joining with France;

he was not the author of that most excellent position of *Delenda est Carthago*, that Holland, a protestant country, should, contrary to the true interest of England, be totally destroyed. I beg your lordships will be so just as to judge of my father, and of all men, according to their actions and counsels.”*

In 1680, he obtained his commission as general from the United States. In the same year he was preparing to go out as governor to Tangier, which was at the time besieged by the Moors, when he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died in the 46th year of his age. His death was felt by the whole country, and gave a momentary shock to the noblest persons in Europe: for there were few who obtained so high a place in the list of honour and the respect of the world without any aid from station; having in fact never risen in professional life to any rank proportioned to the distinctions he had won in the sea and land service, as well as in parliament. The violence of the current of hostility under which the established station of his illustrious father was insufficient to stand firm, continually impeded his advance: yet his reputation is confirmed by the number and character of his appointments at home and abroad; at home, indeed, these opportunities of distinction were mostly frustrated in the very crisis of preparation by the malice and intrigue of the British court, in which to rise it was necessary to be corrupt.

The earl of Ossory left two sons, James, who succeeded to the ducal honours, and Charles, earl of Arran.

JAMES, SECOND DUKE OF ORMONDE.

BORN A. D. 1665.—DIED A. D. 1745.

THIS nobleman, who succeeded his illustrious grandfather in his titles and estates in 1688, was born in the castle of Dublin, April 29th, 1665, and was sent to France at ten years old, under the superintendence of Mons. l'Ange, for the purpose of acquiring the French language, along with the fashionable accomplishments of the day: the tutor, however, proving unworthy, his pupil was quickly recalled to England, and placed by his grandfather in Oxford, where he continued until the death of his father, lord Ossory, in 1680. About two years after this event, when he was only seventeen, he was married to the daughter of Lord Hyde, afterwards earl of Rochester. She, dying early, left him a widower in his twentieth year. He had previously commenced his military career in France as a volunteer, and was, in 1685, appointed a lord of the bedchamber. He served against the duke of Monmouth in the west, and had a share in the victory over that unfortunate nobleman at Sedgemore. He shortly after entered into a second marriage with the lady Mary Somerset, daughter to the duke of Beaufort, which union had been contemplated by the members of both families previous to his former marriage. He was elected chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1688, in the room of his grandfather,

* Carte, Appendix, xciii.

and about the same period took possession of his house in St James's Square.

He strenuously opposed the fatal and despotic measures of James, and joined in the petition against a free parliament; receiving, however, a sharp rebuke for his interference, he suddenly left the court, along with prince George of Denmark, and was one of the first of the English nobility who publicly joined the prince of Orange. He was accordingly attainted the following year, and his estate of £25,000 per annum seized by the king.

On William's coronation he was appointed high constable of England, and colonel of the second troop of guards, being also made gentleman of his bedchamber, and installed a knight of the Garter. He accompanied William to Ireland, and was present at the battle of the Boyne; shortly after which he was despatched with his uncle lord Auverquerque, and nine troops of horse, to take possession of Dublin. On William's proceeding to Kilkenny, the duke entertained him splendidly at his castle, and afterwards accompanied him both to England and Holland. In the battle of Neer-Landen, when charging the enemy, he received several wounds, and had a horse shot under him, when a soldier being about to stab him, he was rescued by an officer of the French guards, and taken prisoner to Namur. Here he expended a large portion of his own revenues in relieving the wants of his fellow-prisoners, through the instrumentality of the governor, count Guiscard. He was shortly after exchanged for the duke of Berwick, whom Churchill had made prisoner. On his return to England, the king created his brother Charles, lord Butler, baron of Weston in the county of Huntingdon, and earl of Arran in Ireland. He again accompanied the king to Holland, and was exposed to a most destructive fire at the taking of Namur from the French. The king being determined to reduce the exorbitant power of France, and to sustain the claim of the house of Austria to the throne of Spain, against the assumed right of the grandson of Louis the 14th, planned, with the duke of Ormonde, and the prince of D'Armstadt, the attack on Cadiz, both by sea and land at the same moment. The duke was selected by him as commander-in-chief of the land forces; but the king dying before it could be effected, the appointment was confirmed to him by Anne, who, resolving to continue the same line of policy adopted by William, despatched a fleet of a hundred and sixty ships on the first of July, 1702, for the accomplishment of this project; and at the same time appointed Sir George Rooke vice-admiral of England, and commander of the naval forces in the expedition. He was neither so sanguine as others respecting this undertaking, nor very zealous in promoting its success; it seemed as if he had undertaken it merely in compliance with the queen's command, and was predetermined to give it as little personal aid as possible. Whether this was owing to any private understanding between the ministers and himself, or to a jealousy at sharing the command with Ormonde is still a question; but it is certain that the duke was impressed with the opinion that Sir George never lent it his hearty concurrence, and that its failure was mainly attributable to his slackness. Its failure, however, was chiefly attributable to the opposite and divided councils of the sea and land

commanders, and to the rapacity and want of discipline in the troops. After their first successes, they proceeded to the work of plunder and spoliation, notwithstanding the public declaration of the duke, in which he set forth that he came "not to possess himself of any place in the Spanish monarchy in the name of her majesty or the states-general of the United Provinces, or to introduce therein the usual troubles and calamities of war by way of conquest; but rather to defend the good and loyal subjects of the said monarchy, and to free them from the insupportable slavery to which they were brought by being sold to France by some disaffected persons; wherefore the design of her majesty and the states-general being only to assert the rights of the house of Austria, his Grace declared that all good Spaniards, who should not oppose his forces, should be protected in their persons, estates, privileges and religion." Unfortunately the forces under Sir Henry Bellasis and Sir Charles Hara, after the capture of Port St Mary, broke through all these regulations, and took and destroyed property to the amount of three millions, besides sacrilegiously breaking into their churches and nunneries, which so enraged the Spaniards, that those who before were favourable to the views of the confederates, and intended siding with them, instantly took a hostile part; and this, joined to the delays caused by opposite opinions amongst the commanders, as to the moment for attacking Cadiz, gave the garrison time to take effective means for their defence; the most decisive amongst these was their sinking three galleons at the entrance of their harbour, by which they put an effectual bar to the descent of the fleet. After the failure of the confederates in taking the fort of Matagorda, which was in part caused by their battery, which had been raised on a morass, suddenly giving way, it was determined that the fleet should return home for the winter; and it was on their passage that intelligence was received of the French and Spanish fleet being off Vigo. The bold and prompt determination of the allies to attack this combined fleet, was crowned with the most signal success, and the loss both of money and ships to the enemy, great beyond precedent. The duke valiantly and successfully led on his forces of about 2,500 men, and landed them within two leagues of Vigo; one portion of these he detached under lord-viscount Shannon and colonel Pierce, to take possession of the fort that guarded the entrance to the harbour, and marched on foot over craggy mountains to attack the fort of Rodondella, and support the advance of the first detachment of the fleet by dividing the attention of the enemy. The grenadiers, led on by these commanders, advanced with such cheerfulness and resolution, that they quickly made themselves masters of thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and pursued the French to the very gates of their fortification, when Mons. Sorel, the commander, perceiving the impossibility of retaining the fort, attempted to cut his way through the English, sword in hand. The grenadiers, however, profiting by the momentary opening of the gates, rushed impetuously forward, gained possession of the building, and took three hundred French seamen, with fifty Spaniards, prisoners. Close to this fort or castle, a strong boom was placed across the river, composed of masts, cables, and chains, while within, in apparent security, lay the Spanish and French vessels under the shelter of the town. A

heavy fog having favoured the advance of the English and Dutch ships, admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, broke through the boom, notwithstanding a heavy fire being opened upon him by two of the French vessels which lay within. He was quickly followed by his own division, and that of the Dutch admiral, Vandergoes; but these ships, with the exception of that of Vandergoes, having missed the passage made by admiral Hopson, had to cut their way through the boom. The admiral and his crew had almost fallen victims to his heroic daring; for immediately on entering the river, he nearly came in contact with a fire-ship, and would inevitably have been destroyed, had it not prematurely exploded. As it was, his vessel was greatly burned and otherwise injured, and many lives were lost. The French admiral, seeing the boom cut in pieces, the castle and platform in the hands of the enemy, and the confederate squadron ready to bear down upon them, ordered his own ship to be set on fire; which desperate resolve was but too faithfully imitated by the fleet under his command. It was with the greatest difficulty that the English could rescue even a portion of these ships and their self-devoted crews. The loss of property was immense, the cargo of this fleet being computed at twenty millions of pieces in gold and silver, besides merchandise, valued at twenty millions of pieces more. About one-fourth was removed by the enemy, a large portion sunk and destroyed, and the remainder was secured by the confederates, along with eight or nine of the enemy's ships. The duke also took a great quantity of plate and other valuables, which had been removed to Rodondella; a large body of the Spaniards hovered in his rear, but did not attempt to come to action, so that this brilliant and important victory was obtained with little sacrifice of life on the part of the confederates, not above forty of the landmen being killed, and but very few of the seamen. The duke proposed leaving a good squadron of ships with the land-forces to winter at Vigo, but this judicious plan was opposed and over-ruled by Sir George Rooke, who alleged that he had already sent home the victuallers with the stores, and could not spare either ships or provisions: its vicinity to Portugal would have secured the latter, but it was impossible to remain without ships to protect the harbour, and over these Sir George held undisputed control. On the duke's return to England he was received with acclamations by the people, and with every demonstration of favour and respect at court, after which he received the thanks of the two houses. The duke complained openly of the conduct of Sir George at Cadiz, and seemed resolved to carry the matter to a public accusation: this however he was persuaded to abandon; but a committee was appointed by the house of lords, to examine both the sea and land-officers, as well as the admiral himself, as to his instructions and the management of the whole affair. Tindall observes, that he was so well supported by the ministers and his own party in the house of commons, that he felt little uneasiness at the investigation, and took much pains to show, how improper a design the descent upon Cadiz was, and how fatal the attempt must have proved; and in doing this he arraigned his instructions, and the designs upon which he was sent, with great boldness, and showed little regard to the ministers, who took more pains to bring him off than to justify themselves. The lords of the committee pre-

pared a report which was severe upon Rooke, and laid it before the house; but so strong a party was made to oppose every thing that reflected on him, that though every particular in the report was well proved, yet it was rejected, and a vote was carried in his favour, wherein it was declared, "that Sir George Rooke had done his duty, pursuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honour of the British nation." He subsequently received the thanks of the two houses for his services. Shortly after, the duke was appointed to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, where he was received with enthusiasm, and governed the kingdom for four years, with greater popularity and splendour, than had ever been known on any former occasion. In 1707 he was appointed colonel of the third troop of horse-guards, and in 1710, when queen Anne so suddenly displaced her whig ministers, he was again made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in the place of lord Wharton. In the year following, when the members of the new cabinet were more firmly established in power, and their shameful intrigues had at length effected the downfall of Marlborough, the duke of Ormonde was appointed captain-general and commander-in-chief of the land-forces in England, as well as commander-in-chief to the army abroad, and successor to all Marlborough's military appointments. He was in the council-chamber at the time of Harley's assassination by Guiscard, when St John, and some of the other members, thinking Harley killed, rushed at the assassin with their swords, and wounded him so severely, that he called upon Ormonde to despatch him at once; to which it is said, the duke replied, "that it was not work fit for a gentleman."

On the 9th of April, 1712, the duke set out on his expedition to Flanders, accompanied by a great many of the nobility and persons of distinction; and on arriving at the city of Tournay, he was received with a triple salute of the artillery, and entertained by the earl of Albemarle, along with prince Eugene, and the deputies of the states. The troops were greatly discontented and disheartened at the removal of their old and victorious general, under whom they had begun to consider defeat impossible; and the Dutch were equally discontented and distrustful of his successor. The late shuffling and disingenuous conduct of the queen and her ministers had excited their suspicion, and they refused to place their forces under the direction of the duke. They accordingly nominated prince Eugene to the command, who bitterly lamented the removal of his former friend and colleague, and drew a most disparaging comparison between the two commanders. The prince was an acute observer, who quickly saw the want of moral energy in the duke, which made him an assured, though reluctant tool, in the hands of a corrupt and intriguing ministry. Mackay designates him justly when he says, "he is certainly one of the most generous, princely, brave men that ever was, but good-natured to a fault; loves glory, and consequently is crowded with flatterers; never knew how to refuse anybody, which was the reason why he obtained so little from king William, asking for everybody. He hath all the qualities of a great man, except that one of a statesman, hating business." Harley and St John calculated too accurately upon the high points of his character, to make him aware of the mean and crooked policy they intended to pursue;

and, knowing his profuse and generous habits, they accompanied the high and honoured command with which they invested him, with all the emoluments and *perquisites*, for the receiving of which Marlborough had been removed and disgraced. His instructions were "to repair with all possible diligence to the Hague, and to acquaint the Pensionary, that he had received her majesty's orders to see him before he went to put himself at the head of her majesty's troops, and to express to him her resolution of pursuing the war with all possible vigour, until the enemy should agree to such terms of peace, as might be safe and honourable for herself and allies."^{*}

The English forces had for many weeks been in the field, and lay cantoned along the road between Tournay and Lisle. It was agreed between the duke and prince Eugene that they should pass the Scheld near Bouchain, and encamp at Avesne le Sec, for the purpose either of making a sudden attack upon the enemy, or of investing Quesnoy, which from its size could not hold out many weeks. All was arranged for the uniting of their respective forces, when two secret expresses arrived from Bolingbroke, urging the duke for the present to remain inactive; as, that a battle lost might disadvantageously prolong the war, or entitle the enemy to obtain better terms, in case of the projected treaty for peace being perfected. He also threw out base insinuations against the prince, falsely asserting that the Dutch were jealous and suspicious of him, and had given their generals private orders to use more caution than he (the prince) might probably approve. The duke returned a simple and natural answer to their communications, and one that entirely exempts him from the charge of being in any degree privy, at this period, to the duplicity of the ministers, or their intended breach of faith with the allies. He writes, "that he was entirely of the secretary's opinion, that a battle either lost or won would at this time make very great alterations in the treaties now on foot; but that the secretary might remember, that in his instructions he was ordered to act in conjunction with the allies, in prosecuting the war with vigour; so that should there happen a fair opportunity to attack the enemy, he could not decline it, if proposed by the prince and states: but he hoped to hear from him by a messenger before the armies were formed, which would be on the 21st." He adds in a second letter, May 20th, "that, if there were a good opportunity to attack the enemy, and get into France by the way of Champagne, he was sure the prince and the states would press it, unless they heard from England that the peace was near being concluded: that he wished it very heartily; but if it were delayed, he hoped he should have the good fortune to force the prince to comply with the queen's demands."[†] On the appointed day the two armies advanced towards the enemy, the duke taking up his quarters at Marchiennes, and the prince at Neufville; three days after, another blighting letter came from the secretary, containing the queen's "positive command, that he should avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding a battle till he received further orders from England," and adding, "that the queen would have him disguise the receipt of this order; and that she

* Tindall.

† Ibid.

thought he could not want pretences for conducting himself so as to answer her ends, without owning that which might at present have an ill effect if it was publicly known." The plea for the delay was the expected arrival of a courier sent from the court of Versailles to Madrid; but the moment it was indicated to him that he should commence acting a double and treacherous part, in which his honour and character were deeply compromised, should have been the moment for sending in his resignation. Unfortunately, however, he wanted the moral courage for such an emergency, and, while he fully appreciated the disgrace and difficulty of the course suggested, he promised implicit obedience. It was also communicated to him, that a copy of the instructions sent to him had been forwarded to the court of France; so that if he received any underhand amicable communication from the French general, Marshal Villars, he was to answer it in the same spirit. It is needless to enter into the various difficulties, vexations, and inconsistencies, into which he was betrayed by his present equivocal position; but when at length, Eugene finding all his appeals, representations, and reproaches, vain, and that he came to the resolution to attack Quesnoy himself, the duke was compelled to allow some of the mercenaries, who were in the joint pay of England and the states, to assist at the siege. This brought a letter of expostulation from Marshall Villars, who had before communicated with him in an amicable and complimentary tone, on the secret understanding that existed between the two courts. The duke's difficulties and mortifications daily increased, and he wrote to St John, "that things were now come to an extremity: that he could not avoid seeing every day fresh marks of ill blood and dissatisfaction, caused among the allies by the measures he was obliged to observe; that many of them did not scruple to say *we were betraying them*; and this ferment seemed rather likely to increase than diminish; and that considering the circumstances they were in, it was hard to say what might be the consequences of it." The close of his letter was in these words: "By this and my former, you may guess how uneasy a situation I am in; and if there is no prospect of action I do not see of what use I am here; and if it suit with her majesty's service, I should be glad I might have leave to return to England;" yet, adding the neutralizing clause—"but in this, and all other matters, I shall readily submit to her majesty's pleasure."*

The Dutch plenipotentiaries at Utrecht made long complaints to the bishop of Bristol, the English envoy, respecting the duke; he, however answered that he knew nothing of the matter, but would represent it to the queen. In the course of the conference, he mentioned that he had received a letter stating that the queen complained of their "high mightinesses" not having responded in the way she thought they ought, to the advances she had made from time to time to the states, in order to engage them to enter with her upon a plan of peace; and he added, "that therefore they ought not to be surprised, if her majesty did now think herself at liberty to enter into separate measures, in order to obtain a peace for her own convenience." They represented that "they thought they had merited otherwise, by the deference, which, on

* Tindall.

all occasions they had showed to her majesty; and that they knew nothing of the advances which the bishop said her majesty had made towards the states on the subject of a peace." On the substance of this being communicated to the states, they immediately, in conjunction with the elector of Hanover, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and some other princes of the empire, took private measures for maintaining troops independent of England, while as yet no ostensible separation was allowed to take place between them.

In parliament, the present campaign was discussed at much length, and while the duke's conduct was severely commented upon, a motion was made for an address "humbly desiring her majesty to lay before the house the orders she had sent to the general, and to order him to act offensively in concert with the allies." Harley, in an equivocating speech, declined revealing those instructions; and, on the subject of a separate peace, independent of the allies, said, "that such a peace would be so *base*, so *knavish*, and so *villainous* a thing, that every one who served the queen, knew that they must answer it with their heads to the nation." He also affirmed that the allies knew of it, and were satisfied with it.* The ministers knew they had a large majority in the house, and these glaring falsehoods were allowed to pass.

The duke was desired by St John to make a show of assisting the prince in the siege of Quesnoy, but this only subjected him to fresh mortifications, as marshall Villars wrote under great irritation to him, accusing him, or else his sovereign of perfidy. Ormonde's aid was little better than nominal, and some time after, when he perceived the prince prosecuting the siege with great vigour, and calculating that its reduction might impede the peace for which both he and his employers had made such degrading sacrifices, he sent to the prince to say "that his troops should continue in the army, provided he would give over the siege of Quesnoy;" to which the prince replied, "that, instead of relinquishing the siege, he would cause it to be prosecuted with all imaginable vigour, and would let his Grace be eyewitness to another expedition, immediately after the taking of that town." From this time, says Tindall, "all correspondence ceased between the prince and the duke; and the prince perceiving that frequent expresses went between the duke and the French army that might prove detrimental to the confederate cause, held private conferences with other generals, in order to separate their forces from the English; and insinuated, that he would be glad if the English would march off, they being only a burden to the Netherlands, since they had declared that they would not fight against France."

The prince quickly realized his boast, and Quesnoy was in the possession of the confederates.

Shortly after, Ormonde received orders to demand from Villars possession of the town and fort of Dunkirk, as a pledge that France would perform all she had undertaken, and as a necessary preliminary to any cessation of hostilities. It was required on the side of the French, that the artillery-troops under Ormonde should be bound by the projected truce as well as the English, but both they and their princes

* Tindall.

felt that it would be base and cowardly to desert the Dutch at such a juncture, and neither threats nor promises could shake their brave resolve. Villars accordingly refused to give up Dunkirk; and the detachment sent there by Ormonde suffered the mortification of having the gates shut in their faces. The old veterans wept over the insult they were not allowed to revenge, and cursed the duke as "a stupid tool, and a general of straw."

The difficulties, however, as to the delivery of Dunkirk, were quickly removed, as this complying ministry promptly engaged that their mistress, on obtaining possession of that town, should at once break all remaining ties with her allies, and sign the ignoble peace that so quickly followed.

Sir John Leake was sent with brigadier Hill and a fleet from England to take possession of Dunkirk, whither Ormonde subsequently detached six battalions, and a portion of his artillery and ammunition. He himself proceeded to Ghent, having been rudely refused admittance both at Bouchain and Douay, towns conquered by the English arms, and then in possession of the Dutch. This conduct, though afterwards apologized for by the states as being the act of individuals, and unsanctioned by themselves, was not the less mortifying to the naturally susceptible feelings of Ormonde, one of whose chief weaknesses was a love of popularity. He now felt that he had not only forfeited that, but his own self-respect, as well as the position his rank entitled him to hold, which was quite inconsistent with being made a pliable tool in the hands of unprincipled intriguers. On his marching to Ghent and Bruges, and placing garrisons in each town, a report was spread and believed, that before Ormonde had declared the cessation of arms, the earl of Stafford had had a private interview with the French marshal, when it was arranged that the British troops should take possession of these towns, and thus command the navigation of the Lys and Scheld, by which means, if the French generals could not relieve Landrecy, then invested by prince Eugene; the duke might intercept the further progress of the confederates. "That this was the design of the duke of Ormonde, (writes Tindall) in bending his march towards Ghent, is highly probable; but whether or no the same was concerted by the earl of Stafford and marshal Villars, it is certain that the earl suggested that counsel to the duke of Ormonde; nor is it less certain, that the states-general were extremely alarmed at it."

The duke has been much and justly censured for insisting on the pontons he had lent to the earl of Albemarle, and which were necessary for the defence of Denain, being returned to him on the day the cessation of arms was proclaimed, "nor could all that the earl, prince Eugene, or the states-deputies say, prevail with him to leave them but for eight days." On the fall of that place, his enemies did not hesitate to accuse him of having been privy to its attack. The exaggerated tone of Oxford's letter to the duke on the taking of these towns, would seem to imply that some ulterior object was contemplated.

"MY LORD,

"No pen, nor tongue, is able to express the great pleasure I took in your Grace's successes; it was a very great satisfaction to see

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so much done for the public; to see such an example of steady conduct, in so great a nobleman, and, so courageous a heart is what has made you envied by some, dreaded by your enemies, and applauded by all men of learning and understanding. Your Grace's march to Ghent, &c., is a *coup de maître*; it is owned to be so in France and Holland; and I must own I take a double pleasure in it, because it is done by the duke of Ormonde, to whose person I have such an entire friendship, and in whose success I take so particular an interest. Monsieur Torey wrote a very just compliment on the affair of *Denain*, that the allies now might see what they had lost by her majesty withdrawing her forces, and what value they ought to put upon a nation, which everywhere led victory with it. I am with the utmost respect and attachment, &c.,

“ OXFORD.

“ August 5th, 1712.”

On the return of the duke to England he was received most graciously at court; and early in the following year he was made governor of Dover and warden of the Cinque-ports, while his son-in-law lord Ashburnham, was appointed deputy-governor and deputy-warden. The duke was also given a pension of five thousand a-year, out of the revenues of Ireland, for the space of fifteen years, and his duchess made lady of the bed-chamber, which post she held till the queen's death. His interest was the means of promoting Swift to the Deanery of St Patrick's, who, though he had been so long prostituting his pen in the support and defence of that corrupt ministry, had until then remained unrewarded.

The duke's honours, however, were not of long continuance; as on the accession of George, it was notified to him that the king had no longer occasion for his services as captain-general, but would be glad to see him at court. His name was also included among the members of the privy council.

Although it was evident the duke was not in favour, yet it was also plain that the king had no personal dislike to him, and was not inclined to show him any slight; so that if he had acted with common prudence, the storm that was then brewing against the guilty heads of the late ministry would have been likely to pass by, and leave him unharmed; especially as there was a very general impression that he had most reluctantly acted in opposition to the dictates of his own higher feelings, and simply in obedience to the queen's commands.

But the Jacobite and high-church party, at this time, acted in a most daring and reckless manner, and published and industriously dispersed numerous seditious libels, one of which was entitled “The Duke of Ormonde's vindication;” while riotous mobs were either assembled, or permitted to be assembled, on such days as they thought most congenial to the expression of rebellious feeling. On the day of the coronation, the cry of the rioters was, “*Sacheverel and Ormonde*,” “*Damn all foreign governments*,” &c., &c., and on the several anniversaries of the late queen's birthday, of Ormonde's, and of the restoration of Charles the Second, great disorders were committed in the city. That love of popularity which, during the duke's entire life, had been his

bane, and which attended him even to its close, long after higher and better feelings had asserted themselves, was now destined to become his ruin. In place of at once discountenancing these turbulent indications, and protesting against his name being made the watchword of a party; it is evident that he at least gave the sanction of a silent permission to those in his immediate employment, and who would necessarily have been influenced by his opinions, to hold communications with the Pretender, and actively to forward his interests. There is also great reason to think, that Swift, who owed his advancement to the duke, and whose political integrity was not of the highest class, was made an agent for this party in Ireland, and it is not likely that his proud mind would have held intercourse with the subordinates, if he had not been well aware that there was a higher spring setting them in motion. "About the middle of May," writes Tindall, "there was an intercepted letter returned from Ireland, written by Wight, a reformed officer of Windsor's regiment, to his friend in that country; and by a mistake, carried to a person of the same name, in which were these expressions, 'The duke of Ormonde has got the better of all his enemies; and I hope we shall be able in a little time, to send George home to his country again.' A warrant was issued from the secretary's office for apprehending captain Wight, who, absconding, a reward of £50 was offered by government to any one who should discover him. Not many days after, Mr George Jeffreys was seized at Dublin, upon his arrival there from England; and being examined before the lords-justices, a packet was found upon him directed to Dr Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick's. This packet Jeffreys owned he had received from the duke of Ormonde's chaplain; and, several treasonable papers being found in it, they were transmitted to England. Jeffreys was obliged to give bail for his appearance; of which Dr Swift having notice, and that search was made after him, thought fit to abscond."

The duke took a different course at this time from either Oxford or Bolingbroke, and seemed rather to defy danger than to shun it. "By the magnificence of his mode of living, and the public levees which he held, he seemed arrogantly vying with royalty itself. He held a sort of opposition-court at Richmond, where he openly connected himself with the most ardent Jacobites, and showed no displeasure at having his name coupled with high-church," &c.* but notwithstanding all this, observes lord Mahon, (had he gone no farther) "ministers would have shrunk from touching a man with so many friends in the country, and in the house of commons, and have feared that, however easily they might lop off the smaller branches, so great a bough could scarcely be hewed down." At length, however, the mob began to call out *an Ormonde*, in opposition to king George, and in place of discountenancing it, he too plainly took pride in the degrading adulation of "the manyheaded monster-thing;" and, "instead of behaving himself submissively, he had the vanity to justify his conduct in a printed piece, which in reality exposed him to added censure."† About the middle of June, the following advertisement was dispersed with great industry.

* Lord Mahon.

† Tindall.

"On Tuesday the 7th of this month, her grace the duchess of Ormonde, in her return from Richmond, was stopped in her coach by three persons, well mounted and well armed in disguise, who inquired if the duke was in the coach, and seemed to have a design upon his life, if he had been there. It has been observed, that many persons armed and disguised in like manner, have been watching by day and by night upon that road, on each side of the water, and it is not doubted with a design to assassinate him." "This," says Tindall, "being evidently calculated to excite the fury of the populace against the duke's supposed enemies, the rest of his conduct could not but alarm the government, and perhaps provoked the House of Commons to proceed against him sooner, and with more rigour than they would otherwise have done." On the 21st of June, Mr Secretary Stanhope stood up and said, "he wished he were not obliged to break silence on that occasion, but, as a member of the secret committee, and of that great assembly, which ought to do the nation justice, he thought it his duty to impeach James duke of Ormonde of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors." A large phalanx of friends stood up successively in his defence, amongst whom were Mr Hutchinson, general Lumley, Sir Joseph Jekyll, &c., &c., and set forth at great length the important services which both he and his ancestors had performed to the crown and nation, the high estimation in which he was held by king William, the noble manner in which he had expended the best part of his estate in the wars, and his undoubted personal bravery, having so often and so fearlessly exposed his life for the honour and benefit of his country. Sir Joseph Jekyll said "That, if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shown to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who for many years had exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country. That if of late he had the misfortune to deviate from his former conduct, the blame ought not, in justice and equity, to be laid on him, but to them principally, who abusing his affection, loyalty, and zeal for the service of his loyal mistress, had drawn him into perfidious counsels. He added that, in his opinion, the house ought to drop the charge of treason, and impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors." Hampden, Lyddal, &c., strongly supported Mr Stanhope's motion, and when the question was put, it was resolved by a majority of forty-seven—"That this house will impeach James duke of Ormonde of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors."

It was the general opinion, says Tindall, "that the rash and unadvised behaviour of the duke's pretended friends, of whom bishop Atterbury was chief, greatly promoted this vote." It was said upon very good grounds, that a relation of the duke's (the duke of Devonshire) had prevailed upon him at that time to write a submissive letter to the king, desiring a favourable interpretation of his former actions, and imploring his majesty's clemency; which had so good an effect, that he was to have been privately admitted to the king in his closet, to confirm what he had written. But, before the time came, bishop Atterbury had been with him, and the consequence was, that he left England "never to return to it more;" it should however be added,—as a loyal subject; for the duke made two descents upon the country in the

service of the Pretender, whose cause, when he had once espoused it, he sustained conscientiously and consistently. It was very contrary to the wish of his Jacobite friends, that he left the country at the time he did; for it was their earnest desire that he should lull the suspicious of government, and remain in England, a spy on its proceedings, until their own plans should be fully matured; or, if he was determined on immediate action, they had projected a sudden insurrection in the west, which would have given exercise to his military powers, and might have advanced the interests of the Chevalier into whose service he had been so unhappily seduced. But Ormonde, says lord Mahon, "who combined very honourable feelings with a very feeble resolution, could neither stoop to the dissimulation of the first project, nor rise to the energy of the second." It has been said that before he went, he paid a visit to lord Oxford in the Tower, and advised him to attempt his escape; that, finding his arguments ineffectual, he took leave of him with the words, "Farewell, Oxford without a head!" and that Oxford answered, "Farewell, duke without a duchy!"

Immediately on the flight of Ormonde, acts of attainder were passed against him and Bolingbroke, the latter of whom, on receiving the intelligence, says he felt the smart of it tingling through every vein. The duke kept up a constant correspondence with his party in England, and arrangements were made for an insurrection in the west, which was to be headed by Ormonde, who sailed from Normandy to Devonshire for that purpose, expecting to find all his partisans in arms; but owing to the treachery of Maclean, one of his principal agents, the rising was happily prevented, the leading insurgents were arrested, and on the duke's arrival not a man was found to receive him, and he was even refused a night's lodging in a country of which he believed himself the idol. He accordingly at once steered for St Maloes, where he met the Pretender in October, and in the December of the same year, made a second unsuccessful attempt to land in England, the arrangements connected with it being ill-planned, and worse followed up.

The Chevalier, on his return from Scotland, 1715, was impressed with the idea that the failure of many of the enterprises, undertaken by himself and others, had been caused by the remissness of Bolingbroke (whom he had appointed as his secretary of state) in forwarding supplies of arms and ammunition; for which impression there certainly appears strong ground, as large supplies of each were lying in Havre and various French ports "rotting," as Bolingbroke himself admits; though he still delayed sending them on various flimsy excuses, such as waiting for an order from the French government, &c., while he took no active means to procure one, and while the Pretender was able on his return to send off a large portion without one, and that the duke of Ormonde, about the same time, procured fifteen thousand arms without the aid or knowledge of Bolingbroke.

Whatever cause of discontent, however, the Chevalier had with Bolingbroke, he did not act wisely in so summarily dismissing the only able minister he possessed; he also proved his *paternal* descent by the duplicity and hypocrisy with which he received and embraced the man he was determined to disgrace. Three days after his parting

from him with every appearance of cordiality and confidence, he sent to him, by the duke of Ormonde, two orders written in a very summary style—the one dismissing him from his post as secretary of state, and the other requiring him to deliver to the duke the papers in his office: “all which,” adds Bolingbroke, “might have been contained in a letter-case of a moderate size. I gave the duke the seals, and some papers I could readily come at. Some others, and indeed all such as I had not destroyed, I sent afterwards to the Chevalier, and I took care to convey to him, by a safe hand, several of his letters which it would have been very improper the duke should have seen. I am surprised he did not reflect on the consequence of my obeying his order literally. It depended on me to have shown his general what an opinion the Chevalier had of his capacity. I scorned the trick, and would not appear piqued, when I was far from being angry.”* The note on this, extracted from the Stuart papers, quotes the following passage from one of James’s letters: “Our good hearty duke (Ormonde) wants a good head with him. I would have sent Booth, but I could not persuade him.” Whatever the duke wanted in head, he made up in zeal and honest attachment to the cause to which he had bound himself. On the negotiation between Charles XII. and the Czar in 1718, the duke hastened to Russia, under the name of Brunet, as plenipotentiary to the Pretender, when it was agreed that both monarchs should combine for the restoration of the Stuarts in Great Britain. Amongst the Stuart papers is the original passport given to Ormonde, in Russian and Latin, and signed by Peter the Great.† Ormonde also endeavoured to negotiate a marriage between the Czar’s daughter, Mottley, and the Pretender, but this was counteracted by the interference of Gortz, the Swedish minister, who had long before intended her for the duke of Holstein, to whom she was ultimately married.

The good understanding that had existed between the English and Spanish courts for some time after Alberoni’s rise to power had now entirely ceased, and the cardinal, desirous of promoting intestine commotions in England, resolved to assist the Pretender with an expedition, and to make his cause a weapon for furthering both the ambitious and resentful views of Spain. He accordingly gave orders for the equipment of a large fleet at Cadiz, the command of which he offered to the duke of Ormonde. The Pretender accordingly was invited to Spain, where he was received by Philip and his queen as sovereign of England. On his arrival at Madrid, orders were immediately despatched to Cadiz for the sailing of the armament: it consisted of five ships of war and about twenty transports, with 5000 soldiers, partly Irish, on board, and arms for 30,000 more. Several also of the chief exiles of 1715 joined themselves to this undertaking. The duke remained at Corunna, from whence he was to embark, and assume the command as captain-general of the king of Spain, from whom he received a proclamation which he was to publish on landing, declaring “that his majesty had determined to send part of his forces as auxiliaries to king James; that he hoped Providence would favour so just a cause; but that the fear of ill success should not hinder any

* Lord Mahon, p. 287.

† Ibid.

person from declaring for him, since he promised a secure retreat in his dominions to all that should join him; and in case they were forced to leave their country, he engaged that every sea or land officer should have the same rank as he enjoyed in Great Britain, and the soldiers be received and treated as his own."

Immediately on the news arriving in England of this intended invasion, a proclamation was issued offering £10,000 for the apprehension of Ormonde on his landing, and about the same time his house in St James' was put up to auction and sold, clearly indicating that the time for possible reconciliation was past.

With the strange fatality that attended, or rather the evident super human control that restrained and overthrew all the enterprises undertaken for the restoration of this prince to the throne of England, the fleet had scarcely lost sight of Cape Finisterre, when the most terrific storm set in, which lasted for twelve days; it seemed as if, in the words of the Psalmist, "the very foundations of the earth were out of course," and while the ships were violently separated from one another; and that in their extremity the crews threw overboard horses, guns, stands of arms, &c., &c., it appeared doubtful whether they could even retain the provisions necessary for the support of life. Only two of the ships reached Scotland in safety, and the rest returned to their own ports shattered and dismantled.

The unfortunate result of this expedition of course annihilated all hope of immediate help from Spain, and Alberoni seeing that he could make no further use of the broken fortunes of the Pretender, was anxious for a specious pretext for his removal from the court of Spain. This was speedily supplied by the escape of the princess Sobieski from Inspruck, on which James immediately set out for Italy, where his nuptials were celebrated.

The duke still kept up an active correspondence with the Jacobites in England, and in 1722 a formidable conspiracy was carried on under the auspices of the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, lord North, and Grey, bishop Atterbury, &c., &c., all of whom were sent to the Tower on the discovery of the plot; which was communicated to the king by the duke of Orleans. A young barrister of the name of Sayer, who was one of the most active of the agents, and from whose papers the largest portion of documentary evidence was obtained, was executed; the bishop was banished, and the rest ultimately pardoned.

About the same period, Bolingbroke also received a pardon, and returned to England. He and Atterbury arriving in Calais on their different destinations, the bishop merrily said, "*Then I am exchanged.*" His daughter, Mrs Morrice, and her husband, accompanied him in his exile.

In 1726, we again find the duke of Ormonde, with a pertinacity and fidelity worthy of a better cause, engaged, with the duke of Wharton, and earl Marischal, at Madrid, in organizing another attempt upon England, which was suddenly frustrated by the dismissal of the duke de Ripperda, the Spanish minister, who was zealous in the furtherance of their objects.

The duke resided chiefly at Avignon, and was remarkable for his benevolence and hospitality. His house was open to Englishmen of

all parties, and twice every week he held large assemblies of the first society in the neighbourhood. His charity knew no bounds; and his servants had frequently to conceal the numerous applications made to him, or he would have exhausted his own funds to relieve the exigencies of others. He was highly esteemed at the court of Spain, from which he received a pension of 2000 pistoles; and notwithstanding the many failures of the expeditions in which he was engaged, that court had so much confidence in his powers and capabilities, that they offered him a command so late as the year 1741, which he declined on account of his age and infirmities. He was a man of the most amiable natural disposition, and possessed many accomplishments; but yet his married life was not happy, no attachment existing between him and his duchess. He is described by St Simon, who saw him in 1721, as "short and fat in person, but yet of most graceful demeanour, and most noble aspect; remarkable for his attachment to the church of England, and refusing large domains which were offered to him as the price of his conversion." Macky in describing him, at an earlier period, in common with all the great men of England and Scotland, for the amusement of the princess Sophia of Hanover, says, he loves and is beloved by the ladies, is of a low stature but well shaped, of a good mien and address, a fair complexion, and very beautiful face. He lost his duchess in 1733, and but one of his children survived him, the lady Elizabeth Butler, who died unmarried. All the rest, with the exception of lady Mary, who married lord Ashburton, and died at twenty-three, were lost in infancy. He was deeply impressed with the truths of religion, and strict in its observances. He had the liturgy of the church of England performed twice every Sunday in the presence of his family and protestant servants, and also on Wednesdays and Fridays; and before receiving the sacrament, which he had regularly administered, he secluded himself for a week, admitting only the society of his chaplain. Though remarkable for his cheerful courteousness of manner, he was latterly observed to appear absent, even in the midst of company, and one of his intimate friends, who was much with him at this period, traces it to his deep and frequent contemplations of that futurity to which he was hastening. In October, 1745, he complained of want of appetite, every thing having become distasteful to him. His physician seeing his strength daily decrease, called in two more of the faculty, who adopted the strange remedy of bleeding for the recovery of his strength. He of course immediately sunk, and expired two days after, on the 14th of November, when his body was embalmed and conveyed to England as a bale of goods. It was deposited in the Jerusalem-chamber, and was afterwards interred in Henry VII.'s chapel, in the vault of his ancestors, the bishop of Rochester performing the funeral service. He died in his eighty-first year, having spent thirty of them in exile.

His brother, lord Arran, had been permitted, in 1721, to purchase the family estates; but he died childless. And thus terminates the male line of the first illustrious duke.

The present marquess derives from Walter, the eleventh earl of Ormonde; and represents the three families of Ormonde, Kilcash, and Garryricken.

SIR WILLIAM ST. LEGER.

DIED A. D. 1642. -

We have already mentioned the origin of the ancient family of St Leger, in our notice of Sir Anthony, grandfather to the eminent soldier of whom we are now to give some account. His brave father, Warham St Leger, fell in an encounter with the rebel leader, Macguire, whom he at the same time slew.

In consideration of the eminent services of these and other ancestors of this family, Sir William was early considered entitled to the favours of the crown, and received large grants and privileges from James I. In April, 1627, he was appointed lord-president of Munster, with the command of the company which belonged to his predecessor in office, Sir Edward Villiers. He was at the same time made a member of the privy council. As president, his success, prudence, and strict integrity, as well as his disinterested conduct, gained so much approbation as to induce king Charles to bestow upon him the sum of £756.

In 1639, he was elected member of parliament for the county of Cork; and immediately after, was appointed sergeant-major general of the army, in which capacity he commanded the Irish troops levied to serve in Scotland in 1640.

When the rebellion broke out, his force was little adequate to the demand of the emergency, until he was strengthened by some regiments sent over to his aid by the parliament, and joined by other southern nobles with their companies. His deficiency of force was, however, from the outset compensated by superior prudence and decision. The rebellion, which had already spread its terrors over every other province of Ireland, at last found its way to Munster. The borders of the province began to suffer from parties of the Wexford rebels, who drove off the cattle of the English about Waterford. On receiving a report of these exploits, St Leger marched with two hundred horse to recover the spoil. The season was inclement—there had been a heavy fall of snow, followed by a sharp frost; and the difficulty necessarily to be encountered, in consequence of a state of weather particularly unfavourable to the march of cavalry, was aggravated by the nature of the country to be passed. The steep and craggy passes of the Waterford mountains offered impediments more formidable than the enemy; these were, nevertheless, happily overcome by the patience and resolution of St Leger and his little band of hardy veterans. At the base of the Commeragh mountains he overtook the first small division of these robbers, whose portion of the spoil he rescued, and took nineteen prisoners. The main body was, however, six miles further on, and having gained the Suir, were preparing to cross that river with their prey. Some had crossed, but a large party stood prepared to defend their booty on the bank. Their resistance was ineffectual, and served to cause an effusion of blood; of their number one hundred and forty were killed on the spot, a considerable number drowned in their

attempt to escape across the water, and fifty prisoners were taken and conveyed into Waterford, where forty of them were executed. On the following day, while he was yet in Waterford, an account reached that city, that the archbishop of Cashel was plundered. On this he marched to Cashel, and recovered the cattle which had been driven away and lodged in an enclosure of a gentleman in the neighbourhood.

This was but the beginning of troubles in Munster: the tide of rebellion soon poured in and filled every district with its waters of confusion: Cashel, Clonmel, Dungarvon, and Fethard, were summoned by the rebels, and yielded without resistance. On hearing this, the president despatched orders to the lord Broghill, the earl of Barrymore, Sir Hardress Waller, Sir Edward Denny, Sir John Browne, Captain William Kingsmill, and sergeant-major Searle, and was joined by these leaders, with six hundred foot and three hundred horse. He had at the same time been enabled to raise a regiment, with two troops of horse, together amounting to one hundred and twenty men: with these raw, and half-trained soldiers, it was resolved to make a stand. Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which he lay, and the strength of the enemy—which was at the lowest four to one compared with this combined force—the president, with his officers, took up a position at Redshard, a pass from the county of Limerick into the county of Cork, at the eastern extremity of the Ballehoura mountains. The rebel army soon appeared headed by the lord Muskerry. The president was engaged in preparations for an immediate attack, when a person of the name of Walsh, a lawyer, attended by a trumpet, came from Muskerry. The president heard with surprise, that the lord Muskerry acted under a commission from the king, which Walsh offered to prove by producing the commission, if he might have a safe conduct to go and return for the purpose. The president agreed; and having communicated this to his officers, they all agreed that he should await the return of Walsh on the morrow. Lord Broghill alone expressed his opinion that the message must be “a cheat; and that the king would never grant out commissions to those whom in his proclamations he had declared rebels.”

Next day Walsh returned, and on being admitted to a meeting with the lord-president St Leger, produced a large parchment with the broad seal affixed, containing a royal commission to lord Muskerry to raise 4000 men. On this the president returned to his officers, and informed them that lord Muskerry had really good warrant for what he did, and declared that he would dismiss his men. In this all concurred with the exception of lord Broghill, and accordingly withdrew to their houses.

The sense of having been the dupe of this unfortunate fraud, and the deepening of the troubles of the time, preyed so heavily on the spirits of St Leger, that he fell into a long and severe illness, which brought him to his grave, 2d July, 1642. He was twice married, and left four sons and one daughter.

THE O'BRIENS.

MURROUGH, BARON INCHQUIN.

DIED A. D. 1551.

AMONG the great Irish chiefs who, in the reign of Elizabeth, joined in surrendering their claim to native dignities and to ancient hereditary tenures and privileges, as then both unsafe and inexpedient to retain, none can be named more illustrious, either by descent or by the associations of a name, than Murrough O'Brien. There was none also among these chiefs to whom the change was more decidedly an advantage. The O'Briens of Thomond had, more than any of the other southern chiefs, suffered a decline of consequence and power, under the shadow of the great house of Desmond—with which they were at continual variance, and of which it had for many generations been the family policy to weaken them by division or oppression. It is mentioned by Lodge in his *Collectanea*, that it was the custom of the Desmond lords to take part with the injured branches of the O'Briens, with a view to weaken the tribe; and, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the house of Desmond was the first in Ireland for the extent of its territories, and the influence derived from numerous and powerful alliances.

Murrough O'Brien had obtained possession of the principality of Thomond by a usurpation, justified by the pretence of the ancient custom of tanistry, by which it was understood that the succession was determined by a popular election of the most worthy. By this ancient custom, so favourable to the strong, Murrough set aside his nephew, whose loss, however, he compensated, by resigning to him the barony of Ibrackan. The possession thus obtained by a title, which had long been liable to be defeated by means similar to those by which it was acquired, he prudently secured by a precaution, at this time rendered effective by the policy of the English administration, and countenanced by the example of his most eminent native countrymen.

He submitted to the lord deputy, who advised him to proceed to England. In pursuance of this advice, O'Brien repaired to England, and made the most full renunciation of his principality, and all its appurtenant possessions, privileges, and dignities, into the hands of the king. He further agreed and bound himself to renounce the title of O'Brien—to use whatever name the king should please to confer—to adopt the English dress, language, and customs. He was, accordingly, created Earl of Thomond, with remainder to his nephew Donogh O'Brien, whom he had dispossessed by the law of tanistry. As, however, this arrangement could not be quite satisfactory to Murrough, he was created baron Inchiquin, with remainder to the heirs of his body.

This earl was in the same year sworn of the privy council. He died 1551, and was succeeded in the barony of Inchiquin by his eldest son, according to the limitations of his patent, while the earldom went, by the same provisions, to his nephew's family.

MURROUGH O'BRIEN, EARL INCHIUIN.

DIED A. D. 1674.

MURROUGH O'BRIEN was probably born nearly about the year 1616, and was the eldest son of Dermot, fifth baron of Inchiquin. He was made ward to P. Fitz-Maurice, Esq., in 1628, and had special livery of his estates in 1636. Being of a spirited and martial temper, he early took to the study of arms, and served in the Spanish army in Italy for a couple of years, for the purpose of completing his military education. He returned home in 1639.*

He soon entered on the field of public life, and in a season that was to afford full development to his warlike taste. He was appointed vice-president of Munster, under St Leger, and was with him in the campaign into the county of Waterford, already described in our notice of St Leger.

He soon distinguished himself, not only by his bravery, but by many distinguished successes on the small scale on which the early encounters of that long rebellion were fought; and when St. Leger died, he was considered by the lords-justices as the most competent person to fill his station. He was first appointed in conjunction with lord Barry, who was manager of the civil departments, as O'Brien of those connected with military affairs. Lord Barry, however, soon dying, his colleague was left to the general command. His lordship commanded in the battle of Liscarol, where he was opposed by Mountgarret, at the head of 7,000 foot, and 500 horse; and with 1,850 foot, and 400 horse gained a signal victory, with the slaughter of 800 of Mountgarret's men: when he might have marched on to Limerick, and put an end to the rebellion in that part of Ireland; but from the entire want of the necessary means to support his army upon that long march through a wasted country, he had not from this cause for some time an opportunity to perform any remarkable exploit.

After the cessation was concluded, he sent aids in men to the king; and soon after waiting upon his majesty in person to obtain his confirmation in the presidency of Munster, he had the affliction to discover that he did not stand as highly in his majesty's favour as his services had deserved. A nobleman, in no way connected with Ireland, but high in court favour, had supplanted him, and the presidency of Munster was pledged to the earl of Portland. During this visit to the court, O'Brien was also strongly affected with grief and indignation to perceive that the king, in order to strengthen himself in any way he might, was inclined to court the popular party, and to abandon the protestant interest in Ireland: urged by these considerations, and considering the interest of his country to be preferable to that of any other, he soon after his return, began to consider that for the present at least, this would be most effectually consulted by adopting the parliamentary side; and, with this opinion we must so far concur as to say, that, judging according to the principles of the party he had uni-

* Lodge.

formly acted with, he was not wrong. On this point two grounds of common prejudice are likely to bias the judgment: one is the confusion of the parties in Ireland with those in England: the other the judgment formed from the after circumstances of the war. The war between Charles and his parliament was viewed in Ireland as secondary to the great struggle for existence between two great parties who were otherwise in no way further connected with English politics than as they might promote their several interests; and for this reason, in judging of the consistency of individuals, it is not to be regarded whether or not they adhered throughout to the king or to the parliament; but whether or not they adhered to their own principles and party. As to the subsequent misfortunes of Charles, and crimes of his parliament, they could not, at the period to which we here refer, have been in the contemplation of any one, and must be left out of the question. In Ireland, the Roman catholic party, while in direct opposition to O'Brien's, were also in declared opposition to the king: the royal party soon saw reason to endeavour to conciliate them, and in this, were to a great extent successful, while the parliament, on the other hand, maintained those principles which had a closer affinity with the protestant interest throughout both kingdoms. It is thus apparent with what perfect consistency some of the most eminent persons on the stage of Irish affairs may have changed their paths and kept steady to their principles.

In 1644, we find O'Brien among the most spirited opponents of a cessation, which he viewed as more in accordance with the interests of king Charles than for the protestant interest. He adhered to the parliament, and acted under its command and by its assistance. Joining with lord Broghill, he drove the Roman catholic magistrates and inhabitants out of many of the southern towns, Cork, Youghal and Kinsale. After which he received from parliament the appointment of president of Munster. It was at a time however when the parliament was yet compelled to confine its resources to the wars in England, and their Irish adherents were left to carry on the struggle as they might themselves find the means. O'Brien was even compelled to enter into a truce with the rebels, which continued till the next spring, when the war was again renewed by the earl of Castlehaven.

On this occasion, he took the field with 1000 horse, and 1500 foot, and took several castles. But he was not supported by the parliament, and for some time nothing occurs in his history of sufficient magnitude to be specified: his zeal for the parliament was probably but small, as we find some accounts of disputes between him and their commissioners. In the year 1647, he obtained a very decided victory at Knockunones, near Mallow, 13th November, over a strong body of Irish under lord Taaffe. He had on this occasion 6000 foot, and 1200 horse: the Irish army amounted to 7000 foot, and 1076 horse. The loss of life was considerable on both sides: among the slain on the part of lord Taaffe, was the well known Alexander MacDonell, or Colkitto, so called for being lefthanded, and famous for personal prowess; his name is however best known as occurring in one of Milton's sonnets;

“ Colkitto, or MacDonell, or Galasp.”

On receiving the account of this victory, the parliament voted £10,000 for the war in Munster, and £1000, with a letter of thanks, to lord Inchiquin. This money did not however arrive, and in consequence, the army, under lord Inchiquin, began to suffer severely from want: nor was he without much cause for apprehension from the increasing armies of the Irish, who were on every side watching for the favourable moment to attack him in his distress. In this extremity he wrote a spirited remonstrance to the parliament, in which, alluding to his services, he complains, that of the £10,000 only £1500 had been remitted for the army. The delay he attributes to the misrepresentations of parliamentary agents in Ireland, with whom he considered himself to be an object of jealousy. The remonstrance was signed by his officers; but was ill-received by the parliament, who committed several of them, but soon after released them.

This may perhaps be the truest way of accounting for his shortly after opening a treaty with the marquess of Ormonde; though in his case as in that of others, the exposure of the real views of the parliamentary party may have been sufficient to cause his desertion of them. He did not publicly declare an intention, which would at the moment have only the effect of putting him completely in the power of his enemies. He became suspected by his officers, but by considerable effort, and the exertion of much firmness and self-possession, they were first repressed, and then gained over. The parliament from this began to keep a close watch over his actions; but not having it in their power to displace his lordship, he was still enabled to take such private measures as appeared best to favour the party he had recently adopted. Cromwell sent over lord Lisle, with a commission, for a limited time under the expectation that he might thus both supersede the command, and undermine the influence, of one whom he knew to be so dangerous as O'Brien. But the expedient proved unavailing for Cromwell's purpose: the authority of O'Brien was not to be shaken by any effort of a stranger; and as no step more direct could have been conveniently or safely adopted, against one, who had not openly declared his designs in favour of the royal party; the result of this proceeding was rather an increase than a diminution of his power. At the recall of lord Lisle, the suspicion against O'Brien seems indeed to have slumbered, for he was left in the command of the whole English army in the province of Munster. This force he carefully endeavoured to strengthen, and to animate with the spirit of his own intentions. In the mean time he kept up a constant correspondence with the marquess of Ormonde, whose movements he tried to accelerate, by all the resources of entreaty and strong representation.

On the 29th September, 1648, the marquess of Ormonde landed at Cork. Lord Inchiquin publicly received him as the lieutenant of king Charles, and by this decided step, drew upon himself the long impending bolt of parliamentary indignation. The parliament voted him a traitor; but the king appointed him president of Munster. Nor was it long before he signalized his newly awakened loyalty. The marquess of Ormonde having received intelligence, that Jones, the parlia-

* Borlase.

mentary governor of Dublin, had sent a large detachment of cavalry to Drogheda, sent lord Inchiquin after them. Inchiquin took first an entire troop by surprise; and soon after coming up with colonel Chidley Coote at the head of three hundred horse, he gave them a bloody overthrow: killing a great number, and compelling those who escaped, to scatter in every direction.* Encouraged by this success, and not unjustly reckoning upon the impression of terror it would create among the parliamentarians in that quarter, Inchiquin sent messengers to the marquess with intelligence of his success, and proposing to besiege Drogheda. The marquess assented, and forthwith detached to his aid two regiments of foot, two cannon, with a sufficient supply of ammunition. With this reinforcement he proceeded to lay siege to Drogheda, which capitulated within a week, having made a very gallant resistance. The garrison, to the amount of six hundred good soldiers, entered into the ranks of the victorious regiments, by which lord Inchiquin was considerably strengthened for further exertion.

A little before this Owen O'Neile had joined the parliamentary side, and Inchiquin now received information that Monk, who governed in Dundalk, had orders to supply this new ally with ammunition, and that a strong party, under the command of general Farrel, had been sent by O'Neile to receive this important aid. Determining to interrupt this proceeding, Inchiquin marched towards Dundalk. Within a few miles of that city he met Farrel, who was on his departure with the supplies he had acquired; and attacking his forces vigorously, he destroyed nearly the entire party, routing the cavalry, and killing or taking the whole of five hundred foot. The supplies designed for Owen O'Neile thus fell into his hands. Advancing to Dundalk, he invested it, and in two days, contrived so much to dishearten the garrison, that they compelled Monk to surrender. This was an acquisition of exceeding importance: the military stores were richly supplied, and the whole garrison, officers, and soldiers, joined him freely. Monk departed alone for England.

But in the mean time the parliamentarians having at length prevailed in England, had their hands set free, and their attention disengaged from a conflict for existence. They now began to turn their attention to the settlement of affairs in Ireland, which they had hitherto regarded only as subsidiary or adverse to their struggles with the royalists. Cromwell was preparing to come over, and there was diffused a very general impression, that the war would on his arrival, assume a widely different character, and suffer a change of fortune unfavourable to the royal party. Under such a sense, the minds of many began to fall away, and many to undergo a prudent change. Lord Inchiquin's troops, of whom the greater part had been parliamentary, and all ready to join the most solvent employers, deserted—so that by the end of the same year in which his successes had appeared to promise a different issue, he was left without a man, and compelled to take refuge in France.

In France he was advanced by the French king to a command with the rank of lieutenant-general. And on the conquest of Catalonia

* Borlase.

appointed viceroy there. He afterwards continued for many years in the French service in Spain and the Netherlands. On one occasion he was with his family taken prisoner by the Algerine corsairs; but redeemed himself and them. During his captivity, count Schomberg had been sent to take his command in Portugal, where he had been sent to assist the Portuguese in the revolt against Spain. Lord Inchiquin returned therefore to France, where he lived privately till the restoration. He then came to England, and was by the act of settlement restored to his estate, and had £8,000 granted to him as a compensation out of the treasury, on account of his losses.

His lordship died 9th September, 1674. He had married a daughter of Sir W. St. Leger, and left three sons and four daughters.

WILLIAM, SECOND EARL OF INCHQUIN.

DIED A. D. 1692.

THIS nobleman was son of the preceding, and friend and companion in arms of Sir Philip Perceval, by whom he was educated, along with his own son, in London; the military occupations of Lord Inchiquin, joined to his duties as president of Munster, making it impossible for him to direct or superintend his education. He accompanied his father to France when following the fortunes of the exiled king, and served under him in Catalonia, and afterwards in Portugal, when he went to assist that country in its revolt against Spain. They had not proceeded far when they were taken prisoners by an Algerine corsair, to whom lord Inchiquin had to pay a large sum for the ransom of himself and family. The young lord lost an eye in the engagement, and nearly his life. In 1674, he was appointed "captain-general of his majesty's forces in Africa, and governor and vice-admiral of the royal citadel of Tangier, and of the adjacent ports; in which government he continued six years."* He afterwards returned to England, where he was made colonel of a regiment of foot, and member of the privy council. His staunch adherence to the protestant interests did him little injury in the court of Charles; but in the succeeding reign he was attainted, and his estate sequestrated. In Ireland he joined the oppressed party, and headed a numerous body of protestants in the south, when they were unfortunately surprised and disarmed by major-general M^cCarthy. After the revolution he was appointed governor of Jamaica, and vice-admiral of the seas. The climate disagreeing with him, he lived only sixteen months after his arrival there; dying at St. Jago de la Vega, January, 1691, and was buried in the parish church. He married twice: first, the lady Margaret Boyle, daughter to Roger, first earl of Orrery, by whom he had three sons and one daughter; and secondly, Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of George Chandos, and widow of the infidel lord Herbert of Cherbury.

William, his eldest son, was also attainted by king James' parliament, and served under king William both in Ireland and Flanders; after which he had a long and prosperous life.

* Lodge.

SIR PHILIP PERCEVAL.

BORN A. D. 1605—DIED A. D. 1647.

THE subject of our present memoir was the son of Richard Perceval, Esq., lord of Tykenham, who possessed a large property in England, and having been officially employed in Ireland, subsequently purchased those extensive estates in Munster which have been since enjoyed by his posterity. Being the friend and favourite of lord Burleigh, and having been signally useful to the queen in deciphering Spanish documents, which gave the first certain intelligence respecting the intended invasion of the Armada, his son Sir Philip entered life with advantages of no common kind, and possessed of talents and acquirements of a very high order. We accordingly find him holding official situations of trust and emolument before he was twenty. He was given immense grants of forfeited lands in the counties of Cork, Tipperary and Wexford; and having been made escheator of the province of Munster, and a commissioner of survey in 1637, he was allowed "to impark 1600 acres free warren and chace, along with many other privileges; and this manor is now the estate of the lord Egmout, and one of the noblest royalties in the three kingdoms."* Having such large possessions in Ireland which were each year augmented, he gradually transferred a great portion of his English property thither, and became at length the proprietor of about 100,000 (English) acres in the finest parts of the country, besides holding numerous lucrative situations, many of which were for life. His residence in that country gave him frequent opportunities of perceiving many slight but sure indications of the fermentation that was gradually spreading through the kingdom, and early in the summer of 1641, he felt so assured of the approaching outbreak, that he instantly set about repairing his castles and places of defence, arming his followers, purchasing horses, and laying in ammunition, which proved of the utmost importance, not only to himself, but to that entire portion of the kingdom which was preserved chiefly through his instrumentality. His castle of Liscarrol was a place of so much strength, and so well defended, that it sustained a siege of eleven days against seven thousand foot, and five hundred horse, besides artillery; and his castle of Annagh, in the same neighbourhood, when subsequently attacked by lord Muskerry and general Barry, with an army of five thousand men, resisted successfully, and with much detriment to the rebels, until betrayed into their hands by the treachery of some of the garrison. The rebels carried with them to the attack of Liscarrol, one battering piece which weighed 6892 pounds, and which they placed in a hollow piece of timber, and dragged with the aid of twenty-five yoke of oxen over bogs which were impassable to any wheeled conveyance. On Tuesday, August 20th, they sat down before the castle, which was strongly defended both by art and nature. "On the south and west side of it lay plain and fruitful grounds, environed with a pleasant hill looking

* Lodge,

into the county of Cork, but on the north and east it was bounded with woods, bogs, and barren ground. Serjeant Thomas Ryeman commanded in it with thirty men, and a competent quantity of victuals and ammunition. The enemy planted their cannon on a little round rocky hill, within musket-shot of the castle, and Ryeman surrendered it on Friday, September 2d, in the afternoon, though he was promised relief the next morning.* That very night lords Inchiquin, Barri-more, Dungarvon, Kinalmeaky and Broghill arrived at Mallock, and on the day following was the battle of Liscarrol, which was fatal to lord Kinalmeaky, and nearly so to lord Inchiquin. They however dislodged and dispersed the rebels with great loss, seven hundred of whom were slain, while lord Inchiquin lost only twelve men. No quarter was given, unless to two or three officers, one of whom was colonel Richard Butler, a son of lord Ikerrin, who was the last to leave the field.

The state of the country at this time made it necessary to establish many garrisons in the disturbed districts, and to send them provisions from a distance, as none would be supplied to them in their immediate neighbourhoods. Much want and suffering had accrued from the delays consequent on selecting convoys out of different companies, and to prevent the recurrence of this, lord Ormonde, then lieutenant-general, formed a company of firelocks for the especial purpose of conveying those provisions, and gave the command of it to Sir Philip Perceval, who expended large sums in providing it with men and arms at his own cost as they became necessary. This appointment gave umbrage, as we have already mentioned in a preceding memoir, to the earl of Leicester, who considered it an infringement on his authority, but even the lords-justices on this occasion interposed, and the commission was confirmed to Sir Philip Perceval. Early in the rebellion he had been appointed commissary-general, and had performed the duties of that important office with unexampled zeal, energy, and efficiency. He had been sent to Ireland without money, but with letters from the lord-lieutenant, and the speaker of the House of Commons, to the lords-justices, assuring them that within twenty days the earl of Leicester would follow with £100,000 for the supply of the army, and that in the mean time Mr Frost, the commissioner in London, would forward to them any provisions required. None of these specious promises were performed, and after apportioning and dispensing whatever provisions could be obtained from the ill-supplied stores of Dublin, Sir Philip had no alternative but either to see the army driven to starvation and mutiny, or to supply their pressing necessities out of his own purse. He accordingly distributed £1380, which, with the enormous multiplied losses that were entailed on him by the rebellion, left his wife and children, who resided in London, with scarcely the common comforts to which they had been habituated. He accordingly petitioned parliament to refund to them a small portion of the money he had so liberally advanced, and an order was issued for paying them £200, which however never was given though often solicited: A passage, which we extract from Carte, will give some idea of those losses:—

* Carte.

"Sir Philip Perceval had lost by the rebellion a landed estate of £2000 a-year, personal estate of £20,000, and the benefit of several offices worth £2000 a-year, which he held for life. He had as clerk of the crown of the king's bench, been at a very great charge to make up records of indictments of high treason against three thousand of the rebels, and those for the most part noblemen, gentlemen, and freeholders, and been obliged to prosecute two thousand of them to an outlawry. He had, without any charge to the state, raised and armed a competent number of soldiers, horse and foot, and maintained them for a year to defend his castles of Liscarrol and Annagh in the remotest and most exposed quarters of the protestant party in Munster. He had done the like with regard to those of Temple, Conila, and Walchestown, till the treaty of cessation, and had maintained his house of Castlewarning, about nine miles from Dublin, for some years after. He had relieved three hundred distressed English for twelve months together in Dublin, and having been made commissary-general of the victuals of the army, he had spent £2000 of his own estate in that service, besides goods of his own, and what money and goods he could procure of others; had contracted an arrear of £4000 and upwards, for entertainments due to him for his several employments in the war; and had engaged himself in more than £10,000 for provisions to feed the army, having never refused to engage himself or his estate for them upon any occasion." When in 1645 he attended the English House of Commons to solicit the repayment of a portion of this heavy expenditure, they had the baseness to resist his just claims on the plea of his having been a party to the cessation, which they designated as "a dangerous plot," and notwithstanding his able and unanswerable "vindication," from which we extracted a paragraph in our memoir of the duke of Ormonde, they persevered in rejecting his suit, nor did he at any subsequent period receive the slightest compensation for such sacrifices. His noble and disinterested ardour for the preservation of the kingdom was not however to be quenched, even by personal wrong, and we find him in subsequent years meeting every emergency with the same liberal and self-sacrificing spirit, and when in 1645 the officers of the Irish army, who continued to be exposed to injustice and sufferings by the unprincipled conduct of the government, had to lay their grievances before parliament, they gave their most unqualified testimony to the meritorious efforts and sacrifices of Sir Philip, and added, "that he was the only instrument under heaven of their preservation." As the rebellion advanced, and the public funds diminished, he was still impelled on each new emergency, to draw upon his own personal resources, and before the protracted struggle terminated, he had expended £18,000, for which neither he nor his family ever received any indemnification. The numerous garrisons he still continued to support in the south, were powerfully instrumental in obstructing the advances of the overwhelming forces led by lord Mountgarret, from the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, who, after proceeding as far as the Ballihowra mountains, and meeting with successive checks and oppositions, at length retired, and subsequently dispersed.

In 1644, when the king consented to meet the deputies from the Irish confederates at Oxford, he appointed Sir Philip as one of the

commissioners; and when the marquess of Ormonde wrote to lord Digby secretary of state upon the subject, he refers him to Sir Philip as the person capable of giving him the fullest information, and he adds, "and now that I have mentioned Sir Philip Perceval, I may not pass him by, without a very particular recommendation, as of a man exceedingly knowing in all the affairs of this kingdom; that hath been before, in the war, in the treaty, and since the cessation, extremely industrious to advance the king's service." &c., &c. This testimony gains some additional importance from the moment at which it was given. Sir Philip took a most prominent and decided part in the fruitless transactions at Oxford, strenuously resisting the absurd and exorbitant demands of the Roman Catholics, while with less than his usual judgment, he pressed the equally exorbitant claims of the opposite party. At the conclusion of that treaty, where nothing was concluded, he found he had become so obnoxious to the Irish, that it would be unsafe to return amongst them, and receiving the most earnest and pressing applications at the same time from the parliament through his friend Holles, he was at length prevailed upon to join their ranks, and represent the borough of Newport in Cornwall, which had been long kept vacant for him, probably through the interest of Pym, who was his near relation.

In the year following, when the parliament sent over Sir Robert King, Mr Annesley and others, with large supplies of money and provisions to their long neglected army in Ulster, both Sir Robert and Sir Philip Perceval had the courage or the folly successively to try what their personal influence, and specious representations could effect, in attempting to warp the exalted and invulnerable loyalty of the marquess of Ormonde, but they quickly relinquished the thankless and hopeless undertaking.

The province of Ulster, which had still great cause for dissatisfaction in the nominal protection, but real neglect of the parliament, selected Sir Philip for the management of its affairs at the other side of the channel, and he executed his trust with such zeal and fidelity, that he quickly excited the jealousy of the independent party. This was soon after, much heightened by his firm and conscientious opposition to those deep and dark designs which circumstances were daily developing. They in vain assailed his character with accusations and slanders which were triumphantly repelled, and at length relinquished, as each new investigation only brought to light fresh instances of self-devotion, zeal, and integrity, in the various offices which he had held, during a period of unequalled trial and difficulty.

On the termination of the cessation in 1647, the army in Munster, under the command of lord Inchiquin, committed to Sir Philip the direction and management of their interests, "a commission (as things then stood,) of great difficulty and hazard; but he cheerfully undertook it upon this sole principle, which he ever professed, *that he would willingly contribute his life and fortune for the public or his friend; both which he verified by his constant practice.*"* The army of lord Inchiquin was at this period exposed to great privations, and Sir

* Lodge.

Philip was secretly endeavouring to incite the earl to the step he so soon after took, of casting off the trammels of his hard task-masters, and again enlisting himself on the side of monarchy. His efforts and intentions were probably suspected, for the bitter and rancorous attacks of the independents were again renewed, and they even passed a vote "that no man, who consented to the cessation, should sit in parliament," for the sole purpose of excluding him from that assembly. To these charges he made an animated and successful defence, and resumed his seat, with added honour from the signal defeat of enemies, though supported by power and unrestrained by principle.

This daring and determined faction daily gaining ground, at length impeached several of the leading members of the house, who had opposed their measures, and compelled them reluctantly to withdraw from the contest; while a small but resolute band headed by Sir Philip Perceval, still continued to contest the ground with them inch by inch, notwithstanding the rapid approach of the army, nor did he desist from his arduous labours, until by their "dishonest victory" they had actually become masters of the city. He then retired into the country until the following September, when he learned that his enemies were again actively engaged in seeking for fresh causes of accusation, and intended impeaching him for his conduct as commissary-general. He instantly returned to London and demanded his trial, but from the groundless absurdity of the charges, it was still postponed. A strong remonstrance against the general measures and proceedings of the independents, was at this moment forwarded to him by the army commanded by lord Inchiquin, which he fearlessly presented, and though alone and unsupported amongst his enemies, he was upheld by his own integrity, and their constrained respect. His constitution however was undermined by the long continuance of his mental and bodily labours, and he at length sunk under an illness of only a few days duration. He died November 10th, 1647, regretted and respected by all parties, and was buried in the church of St Martin-in-the-fields, Westminster; primate Usher preaching his funeral sermon. The parliament, to mark their respect for his memory, took upon itself the expenses of his funeral, and voted £200 to lady Perceval for the purpose.

Sir Philip had married in 1626, Catharine, grand-daughter of Sir William Usher, clerk of the council, by whom he had nine children; five sons and four daughters.

Dr Robert Maxwell, bishop of Kilmore, wrote the following epitaph, which was engraved on his monument:—

*Epitaphium clarissimi viri Philippi Perceavelli,
Equitis aurati Hiberniæ, qui obiit bonis omnibus
Desideratissimus 10^o die Novembris, A. D. 1647.
Fortunam expertus jacet hic Philippus utramque,
Dotibus ac genere nobilitatus eques:
Qui nisi (sed quis non multis) peccasset in uno
Quod vitio vertat, vix habet invidia,
Flevit R. Episcopus Kilmorensis Maxwell.*

THEOBALD TAAFE, EARL OF CARLINGFORD.

DIED A.D. 1677.

THIS nobleman was the second viscount of the name, and in 1639 was member for the county of Sligo. He took an early and active part in concert with lord Clanricarde and others, in endeavouring to suppress the rebellion in its first stages, when the resources of the kingdom, and the loyalty of its leading men would have been quite sufficient for the purpose; before the perverse and treacherous policy of the lords-justices, aided by the faction in the English House of Commons, insisted on the necessity of large reinforcements from England and Scotland, thus weakening the power of the king at home, and irritating the prejudices of his Irish subjects. The lords Taaffe and Dillon embarked for England immediately after the prorogation of the Irish parliament, in the hope of being able in some degree to counteract the effect of the lords-justices' urgent letter, sent by Mr Fitzgerald (one of the prosecutors of lord Strafford,) upon the subject. They were driven by a storm on the coast of Scotland, where they landed, and were making the best of their way from thence to London, when they were suddenly seized by order of the House of Commons, their papers taken from them, and they themselves kept in close custody for several months; when the parliament having obtained its objects, and the rebellion become universal, the vigilance of their guards relaxed, and they were allowed to escape. They at once proceeded to join the king who was then at York, and though too late to assist him by their counsels, it became each day more important that they should do so by their arms. Lord Taaffe attended him in his English wars as a volunteer, and afterwards proceeded to Ireland, to use his influence with the recusants and Roman catholic nobility, (he being of the same creed,) to make proposals for a temporary cessation of arms, as, although the marquess of Ormonde had received directions to treat with the rebels, he thought it inconsistent with the dignity of the king, to take any step until they had renewed their former propositions on the subject. Lord Taaffe accordingly proceeded to Kilkenny, where the general assembly of the confederates were to meet, accompanied by colonel John Barry; they encountered many delays and difficulties in their negotiations, but at length it was agreed by the major part of the assembly, that they should apply for a cessation for twelve months, accompanied by certain stipulations which were to be arranged by their agents with lord Ormonde at whatever place he should appoint for a meeting. Lord Taaffe, in his zeal to bring about this desirable object, had encouraged several of the members to expect a free parliament, but lord Ormonde, with his usual high sense of honour, would not for a moment leave them under the impression that he was authorized to hold out to them such a hope. After some further delays, the treaty, so desirable to all parties, was concluded with the sanction of the council and lords-justices.

As the king's difficulties increased, he naturally looked to Ireland for aid, and lord Taaffe undertook to raise two thousand men for his

relief, but his efforts, along with those of colonel Barry, Power, Sir John Dorgan, &c., were defeated through the treacherous intervention of the supreme council, who refused to let any troops leave the kingdom, but such as they should themselves send; and notwithstanding all their specious professions, the promised aid was still withheld.

The successes of the troops under Sir Charles Coote in Connaught, induced the lord-lieutenant to grant a commission to lord Taaffe, for the purpose of levying a sufficient body of troops for the suppression and subjugation of all such "as in breach of the cessation had presumed to enter into any of the quarters allotted in Connaught to such as were obedient to his majesty's government." Crowds flocked to his standard, and he besieged and took Tulske, and a variety of garrisons in the neighbourhood. He also accompanied lord Ormonde into Westmeath, and was employed by him in various offices of trust and responsibility. He was constituted general of the province of Munster, but lost this situation in 1646, when the marquess concluded a peace with the Irish; on the interruption of this peace through the intrigues of the nuncio, aided by O'Neile, the marquess came to the determination of delivering up Dublin to the parliament, rather than let it fall into the hands of the rebels. On his making some delay however in delivering the regalia into the hands of the commissioners, they placed guards on lord Taaffe, colonel Barry, and Milo Power, and issued orders for the apprehension of Sir Edmond Verney, colonels George Vane, Hammond and others. When the marquess remonstrated with them on the breach of the articles, they did not assign any reason for their proceedings, but with their usual arbitrary tone, told him they were competent judges of their own actions.

After the defeat of Preston by colonel Jones at Dungan-hill, lord Digby, who was at Leixlip waiting for an opportunity of passing into France, wrote to lord Taaffe, who commanded an army of 8000 foot, and 1200 horse in Munster, earnestly entreating "that he would not for any apparent bettering of his circumstances, or out of an impolitick courage and magnanimity expose his troops that campaign to the hazard of a battle, but to stand as cautiously as possible upon the defensive; always remembering that all their hopes, either of serving his majesty in that kingdom, or in failure thereof, of making their own fortunes abroad, depended on the preservation of that army." This advice seems to have been influential in the first instance with lord Taaffe, who gave no opposition to lord Inchiquin on his entering Tipperary, and putting that county under contribution for the supply of his army. Carte gives a curious fact respecting the taking of Cahir castle which we shall extract:—"He (lord Inchiquin) entered this county on Saturday, September 3d, very indifferently provided for any considerable enterprise, having no artillery with him for want of carriages to draw it, nor any larger provision of bread than the soldiers could carry in their knapsacks. Having taken ten or twelve small castles, he passed the river Sure, near the castle of Cahir, an ancient fort, environed by two branches of that river, and on account of its situation, as well as of the apparent strength of its fortifications,

* Carte.

deemed by the English officers, as well as the rebels, to be impregnable. This was enough to discourage all attempts upon the place, notwithstanding the great importance thereof, had not an accident occasioned an attack, and furnished Inchiquin with hopes of success. One of his horse, plundering near the town, was wounded by some of the Irish, and carried prisoner into the castle, from whence he was allowed to send to the English army for a surgeon to dress his wounds. Inchiquin had of late encouraged officers who had formerly served the king, to come into his army, and among others, had admitted one colonel James Hipplesey into his quarters, upon some assurance given him by a friend of his doing a service. Hipplesey was an ingenious man, skilled in surgery and fortifications, and undertook to go in disguise to the castle, and to dress the wounded soldier. This he did with so much caution and circumspection, that he discovered perfectly the condition of the place in every respect, the weakness of the ward, and especially some defects in the walls of the outward bawne, which rendered it assaultable. He observed likewise so much timorousness in the wardens, that he judged the taking of the bawne would probably induce them to surrender the castle. Upon these observations, it was resolved to make the attempt; and Hipplesey himself, at the head of a party, attacking the defective place, carried the outward bawne and some out-turrets by storm. A few hours after, the castle surrendered upon quarter for life; though Inchiquin upon entering it found that he could not have reduced it by force, had the garrison but had the courage to stand on their defence. Thus easily was a castle reduced, which in 1599, had held out for two months against the earl of Essex, and an army of twenty thousand men." Lord Taaffe was so enraged at the pusillanimity of the garrison that he had the governor and an hundred of the men, tried by a council of war, and shot. This conquest of lord Inchiquin's was productive of important results, for besides supplying his famishing army with present provisions, and ample resources for the future, his name spread such a terror that all either submitted or fled at his approach. Lord Taaffe gave no opposition to his progress, and retired with his army from Cashel as he advanced towards that town; cardinal Panzirolli imputes this to a secret understanding, existing between him and lord Inchiquin, but subsequent events do not warrant such an opinion. The inhabitants of Cashel deserted the city and fled to the cathedral, which had been strongly fortified and garrisoned by Taaffe, and was built on a rock adjoining the city. After its reduction, and before lord Inchiquin could stay the slaughter, about twenty of the priests had been killed, which caused such an outcry amongst the Irish, that Taaffe was compelled to assemble his army at a most inclement season of the year, and under signal disadvantages. He had with him seven thousand five hundred foot, and four regiments of horse, three thousand five hundred of which he placed on the right wing under lieutenant-general Macdonnel, along with two regiments of horse, commanded by colonel Purcel; while he himself took the left wing, with four thousand foot, and two regiments of horse. Lord Inchiquin with quiet confidence led his disciplined and victorious troops to the encounter. They met at a place called Knocknoness, and colonel Purcel charged the English horse with

such impetuosity that they at once gave way, while the Highlanders under Macdonnel, throwing down their pieces after the first fire, rushed into the midst of them, sword in hand, and after an immense slaughter, drove them from off the field, taking possession of the cannon and carriages of the enemy. Lord Inchiquin in the mean time attacked the left wing, commanded by lord Taaffe, who fought with determined courage, but was ill-supported by his Munster regiments, all of whom, excepting lord Castleconnel's, fled from the field after the first onset. In vain did lord Taaffe attempt to recall and rally them, the receding torrent rushed from him at all sides, while with his own hand he cut down numbers, and thus at least intercepted their flight. Macdonnel sent to lord Taaffe notice of his success, but becoming impatient at his messengers not returning, he retired to a small eminence to observe the progress of the battle. On his return he was unfortunately intercepted by a small party of the enemy and killed, while his brave Highlanders, without a general to command them, stood their ground till seven hundred of them were killed, when the remainder threw down their arms and asked for quarter. The Irish lost about three thousand men, amongst whom were the flower of their army, along with their ammunition and baggage.

Lord Inchiquin, who always in his heart leaned to the monarchy, at length joined lord Taaffe and others in sending communications to lord Ormonde, and in their earnest entreaties to him to return to Ireland. Taaffe and Preston took a solemn oath to stand by one another in support of the king's right, and, in obedience to lord Ormonde; and lord Inchiquin made solemn protestations "to live and die with him in the prosecution of his majesty's service."

The cessation was at length established between the friends and supporters of the king, and the confederates, notwithstanding the determined opposition of the nuncio and O'Neile, the latter of whom the assembly at Kilkenny had publicly proclaimed to be a traitor and a rebel. He however wrote a letter conjointly with his officers to that body, desiring a safe conduct for himself and others of his party, that they might lay their grievances before that assembly. This Taaffe strenuously opposed, though by doing so he ran the risk of a committal through the influence of O'Neile's friends.

About this period the generals of particular provinces were suppressed, and lords Taaffe and Castlehaven became candidates for the appointment of general of horse. The situation had been promised to the latter two years before, and he was accordingly nominated, but lord Taaffe's merits were so generally acknowledged, and so very great, that he felt much discontent at the preference being given to his rival; his devoted attachment however to the royal cause, then in so tottering a state, made him suppress all private feelings, and continue his arduous and energetic efforts for its support. The year following, on the death of Sir Thomas Lucas, he was made master of the ordnance, a situation for which his talents and long experience had peculiarly qualified him. Preston in his turn became discontented at this nomination, and it has even been hinted, that in consequence of his disappointment, he joined in the vile plot which was about this time set on foot to assassinate lord Ormonde.

In 1651, when Synot and Antonio were sent by the duke of Lorraine to treat with lord Ormonde respecting the loan he had previously promised lord Taaffe, the marquess, who was then despatching him to the king, delayed his voyage for the purpose of having the treaty previously adjusted. He, with Athenry and Geoffrey Browne, were empowered to make the arrangements with Synot, but while they were on the road to Galway, captain Antonio hastily sailed out of the harbour, leaving behind him lord Taaffe, and his other passengers, whose baggage he had on board; he however took lord Taaffe on board at a creek in Ireconaght, and until he was gone Synot made various excuses to delay the conference with his colleagues, and then said, that as Antonio was gone he had no means of raising the money.

Lord Taaffe arrived in the island of Jersey in July, and obtained a letter from the duke of York to the duke of Lorraine, which he took with him to Paris, where he remained until November, when he proceeded to Brussels, and delivered his credentials to the duke. After perusing the papers relative to the loan, he expressed his willingness to assist the nation, but added, that he saw no person invested with sufficient authority from the king, with whom he could conclude the treaty. Taaffe at once engaged that any place in that kingdom, which was in the king's possession, should be delivered to him as security for the repayment of the sum. He also proposed on his own authority, a marriage between the duke of York and the duke of Lorraine's illegitimate daughter, by the princess of Cantecroix, a child not three years old. Whether it was the prospect of this alliance, or considerations more exclusively personal that swayed him, he at once delivered to lord Taaffe £5000 to buy arms and ammunition, which the latter forwarded to Ireland before Christmas. "Lord Taaffe," writes Carte, "at first gave him his bond in behalf of the kingdom for that sum; but the duke returned it to him in a few days, with a message, that his lordship's word was of more value to him, and what he had given was but an earnest of the future supplies he should send the nation. Taaffe easily imagined he had some design in that civility, and desired to know what retribution he expected from that poor kingdom. The duke ascribed all to his compassion for the miserable circumstances of the poor catholics of Ireland, which affected him so much, that if invited by them, he would personally appear in their defence, with such a fund of money and other necessaries, as would probably in a short time recover the kingdom. Taaffe asking him by what title or commission he would undertake that work, he answered, he would seek no other title than duke of Lorraine; but that he expected an entire obedience from all persons, and would not serve by commission from any body." Taaffe was rather startled by these conditions, and proposed that some person of rank should be sent into Ireland to treat with the marquess of Ormonde, or some one in authority in that kingdom. Lord Taaffe who seemed fruitful in matrimonial speculations, suggested the possibility of a marriage being brought about between Mademoiselle de Banners, the sister of the princess of Cantecroix, and the youthful earl of Ossory, the lady being ten years his senior. The marquess of Ormonde however declined the consideration of the subject until the contemplated union of the duke of York, and the infant princess should

have been decided upon. The duke of Lorraine sent his envoy to Ireland, and it was agreed that £20,000 should be advanced upon the security of the towns of Limerick and Galway, but the duke of Lorraine's proposals, accompanying this promise, were of so very suspicious and questionable a nature, that the queen and the marquess of Ormonde at once saw that it would come to nothing.

On lord Taaffe's arrival in Paris, he was mortified at finding not only the inauspicious state of things concerning the treaty, but that the queen had been seriously offended by his officious though well-meaning interference respecting the marriage of the duke of York. Through the kind offices of the marquess he was however quickly reinstated in her favour, and on his return to Brussels, would take no part in the unauthorized and unwarrantable treaty concluded between the duke and Sir Nicholas Plunket and Mr Browne, though these gentlemen added lord Taaffe's signature to it after his departure.

On Cromwell's act of parliament for the settlement of Ireland, he was excepted from pardon for life and estate, but after the restoration, the king ordered that he should be paid £800 a-year out of the treasury monthly, for his personal expenses, until his estate should be restored to him, and that he should be put into possession of it as expeditiously as possible. The acts of settlement accordingly reinstated him, along with his relatives Christopher Taaffe of Braganstown, and Theophilus Taaffe of Cookstown in their respective estates, which had been severally forfeited. The king also, having a strong personal regard for him, "was pleased," as is stated in his patent, June, 1662, "as an especial mark of the gracious sense he had of his eminent services for him and his interests, to honour him with the dignity of earl of Carlingford in the county of Louth, entailing that honour on the heirs male of his body," and he was accordingly advanced to that title with the creation fee of £20. In consideration also of his losses and services, and for the better maintenance of the title, the king further granted to him £4000 of the rents payable to the crown, out of the retrenched lands of soldiers and adventurers, and settled on him in 1676, a pension of £500 a-year.

Lord Taaffe married twice; his first wife was Mary, daughter of Sir Nicholas White of Leixlip, who brought him a large fortune, and by whom he had six sons and one daughter; his second wife was Anne, daughter of Sir William Pershall, who out-lived him, and by whom he had no family. He died December the 31st, 1677, and was buried at Ballymote.

THE CHICHESTERS.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER.

DIED A. D. 1624.

THE name and lineage of Chichester has been traced by the heralds to an ancient family in Devonshire.

The subject of this memoir was the second son of Sir John Chichester, knight: his mother was Gertrude, daughter of Sir William Courtney of Powderham castle, in Devonshire: he was born at Raleigh, his father's seat in that county. A precocious promise of talent was probably the occasion of his being at an early age sent to pursue his studies at the university. But there was an activity in his temperament which soon rendered him impatient of a studious life. A daring frolic, more suited to the manners of his time than the present, made it necessary for him to fly the country. The queen's purveyors, instruments of despotic power, and by no means limiting their exactions to the demands of law, were the objects of popular hatred, and considered (like the bailiffs of the last generation) as fair game for either mischief or spite: they were universally set down as robbers, and it was thought by the young student to be no bad joke to follow the precedent of prince Henry, and ease the robber of his plunder. This exploit was followed by discovery, and Chichester was compelled to save himself from the resentment of the queen, who little relished a joke for which she was to have paid; the unpopularity of the exaction made it dangerous, as the laughter of the public was imbibed by discontent; it was no laughing matter to Elizabeth. Chichester betook himself to France, where his personal bravery and military talent recommended him to the favour of Henry IV., by whom he was knighted. His reputation soon reached the English court, where it was not lost upon the ear of the queen. It was her study to encircle her throne with genius and heroism, and Chichester received his pardon.

After some years spent in the military service, he was sent into Ireland, where his services were numerous, and his promotion rapid. He commanded the troops garrisoned at Carrickfergus in 1599, and was, during the entire of that war which we have related in the life of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, among the most active, successful, and trusted leaders under lord Mountjoy. In 1603, he was appointed by patent, governor of Carrickfergus, with the fee of thirteen shillings per day for life. In the next year a new patent extended his powers; he was appointed commander of all the forces and governor of the inhabitants of the surrounding districts, of which the towns, forts, shipping and fisheries were placed at his discretion. This was followed by another patent, appointing him lord-deputy of Ireland. He began his government by renewing the circuits, and establishing two for the first time, as already described, so as to establish justice and order throughout the country. He at the same time issued proclamations declaring the abolition of taniistry, and enforcing the laws. Among the numerous projects for the plantation of Ulster, that of Chichester was selected, and its details carried through by his own skill and activity.

In recompense for these great services to Ireland, king James made him a grant of Inishowen, the territory of Sir Cahir O'Doherty, with other rights and lands in the province of Ulster.

On the meeting of parliament, Sir Arthur was created baron Chichester of Belfast. In the preamble to his patent there occurs a remarkable passage, which we here extract because it evidently contains the idea of James and his councillors concerning this island and its condition:—"Hiberniæ, insulæ post Britanniam omnium insularum

occidentalium maximæ et amplissimæ, et pulcherrimæ, cœli et soli felicitate et sæcunditate affluentis et insignis; sed nihilominus per multa jam secula perpetuis seditionum et rebellionum fluctibus jactatæ; necnon superstitioni et barbaribus moribus, præsertim in provincia Ultoniæ, addictæ et immersæ."

We here also insert a letter to Chichester from the king, who, when favouritism did not influence his feeble character, was a just and discriminating observer:—"As at first you were called by our election without seeking for it, to this high place of trust and government of our kingdom of Ireland, and have so faithfully discharged the duties thereof, so now we are pleased, merely of our own grace, without any mediation of friends, without your suit or ambition, to advance you to the state of a baron of that kingdom, in acknowledgment of your many acceptable services performed to us there."

Chichester continued in his government for the ten years ending with the parliament of 1613, the cardinal period of Irish history. As the events in which he was a principal actor are those which, from their primary importance, we have selected for the introduction to this period, we may pass on the more briefly to the end of this memoir.

Chichester was a second time appointed lord deputy in 1614. On this occasion he maintained his wonted activity, by repressing many disorders in the counties of Leinster, especially in those more wild and uncultivated mountain districts of the county of Wicklow, which he reduced to subjection.

In 1615 he obtained the king's permission to retire from his arduous post, but was in the next year appointed lord high treasurer of Ireland. He built a splendid house for his own residence at Carrickfergus.

In 1622, he was sent ambassador to the Palatinate. To enter on the subject of this embassy we should occupy a space disproportionate to the scale of this memoir. He returned in October the same year, and was sworn of the privy council. He died in the year 1624, in London, and was interred in a chapel on the north side of the church of St. Nicholas in Carrickfergus, about eight months after his death.

He was married to a daughter of Sir John Perrott, by whom he had one son who died in little more than a month after his birth. In consequence his estates descended to his next brother, Sir Edward Chichester. As we shall not have to offer any further notice of this person, we may here add, that his brother's title had been limited to his issue male; the title fell, but as Sir Edward was a person of influence and very serviceable, King Charles revived the title and added a step by the title of viscount Chichester of Carrickfergus.

ARTHUR CHICHESTER, FIRST EARL OF DONEGAL.

BORN A. D. JUNE, 1606—DIED A. D. 1674.

ARTHUR CHICHESTER, nephew to the first nobleman of that name, and son to Edward viscount Chichester, and Anne daughter and heiress

of John Coplestone of Eggesford in the county of Devon, commenced early the career of arms, in which he was subsequently so eminently distinguished. Before he was of age he was nominated captain to the first troop of horse that should become vacant, and was appointed to it in 1627, on the resignation of lord Valentia. He became member for the county of Antrim in 1639, captain of sixty-three carbines, with the pay of £1 4s. per day, and arrived at the rank of colonel before the breaking out of the rebellion.* Carte, in describing its earliest manifestations, says, "Colonel Arthur Chichester was resident at Carrickfergus, when the news of the insurrection was first brought thither upon Saturday, October 23, about ten of the clock at night. He immediately ordered drums to be beat, and fires to be made in the most eminent places of the country, to raise the people, who, grown secure by a long peace, were exceedingly startled at the noise of war. He took a view of the arms lodged in the stores of the castle, and laid by as many of them as could be spared to be distributed the next day. The country came in apace, bringing what arms they could get, so that in a short time the streets were full of men; but most of them provided with no better weapons than pitchforks." He adds, "Edward, lord viscount Chichester, immediately sent away an express to Scotland, to advertise his majesty of the rebellion, the state of the country, and the danger that was likely to ensue. Colonel Chichester likewise, leaving only fifty musqueteers under the command of captain Roger Lindon to guard the castle, delivered out the rest of the arms, with powder and bullets, to the country people, and formed them into companies, putting the most considerable gentlemen of the county over them as captains, and making others officers for the present necessity."

The rebels surprised Newry, where Sir Arthur Tyringham and his company were quartered: he with difficulty escaped, but his men were seized and disarmed: they also took several persons of note prisoners, and what was more to their purpose, possessed themselves of seventy barrels of gunpowder, and a large quantity of arms out of the castle.

Colonel Chichester held a consultation whether it might be best to keep within the walls, for the defence of Carrickfergus, of which his father was governor, or to march out and meet the enemy in the field. The latter course was adopted on lord Montgomery of Ardes promising to meet them at Lisnegarvy (now called Lisburn) with one thousand men. They accordingly, after leaving a sufficient garrison in the town and castle, mustered about three hundred men, which was strengthened by one hundred and fifty from Antrim as they advanced on their march. The lord of Ardes lay that night at Drumbee, with about eight hundred horse and foot, from whence he marched the next day to Lisnegarvy, where he was met on the following by colonel Chichester.

On finding that Dromore was nearly deserted by its inhabitants, and that colonel Matthews only succeeded in retaining that small number together, by keeping the solitary merchant who remained in the town (of the name of Boyd,) in confinement; (for if the people had seen him depart, none would have remained;) colonel Chichester took with him two

* Lodge.

hundred foot of his own, lord Conway's troops of horse which were well armed, besides one troop of light horse to its relief: when he arrived there he found it utterly defenceless, and surrounded in all directions by the enemy. He sent out scouts to view the country, and made his troopers remain on horseback all night, but most of the foot soldiers and the light horse scattered in various directions in search of plunder. The next day, on receiving intelligence that the enemy was advancing in vast numbers, he assembled as many of his forces as could be collected, and went out to meet them. When he was about half-a-mile from the town, he saw about fifteen hundred advancing in three divisions, in the direction he had taken, and was most earnest to bring them to an immediate engagement, but was dissuaded by some old and experienced officers, who saw that the rebels had seized on a most advantageous position; and that if colonel Chichester attacked them with his handful of men, he would not only have numbers to contend with, but every disadvantage of ground either for attack or retreat. He accordingly returned to Dromore for the remainder of his men, and marched back to Lisnegarvy, determining to attack them the next day, when he should be reinforced by lord Montgomery's forces.

On the following morning they accordingly marched towards Dromore, but when Sir Con Magenis, who had taken possession of the town in the interval, heard of their approach, he set fire to it and retired to Newry. After this, the various forces returned to their garrisons, and lord Conway's troop, with a party of two hundred foot, were stationed in Lisnegarvy. Sir Phelim O'Neile remained the chief part of November in his camp at Newry, from whence, on the 8th, he despatched about three thousand men to take Lisnegarvy, hearing how ill it was provided with either men or ammunition. The garrison had no notice of their approach, so that some of the enemy had entered the streets, and were near seizing two of their field-pieces, before they were aware of their arrival. The inhabitants, unprepared with any other weapons of defence, pulled the fire out of their hearths, and set their houses in a blaze around them; and captains Burley and Dines, leading out their men, rushed upon them with such impetuosity, that they quickly drove them out of the town without losing one of their own men, while eighty of the rebels were slain. Sir Phelim made no further attack upon the town until the latter end of the month, when he sent an army of four thousand men against it, which was nearly doubled by reinforcements from other rebel generals, before it reached Lisnegarvy. The details of the gallant and successful resistance which it made, have been simply and circumstantially given by an eye-witness, who inserted an entry of it in one of the old vestry books, which still exists, belonging to the church at Lisburn, and as the document is curious, we give it verbatim:—

Lisnegarvy, the 28th of November, 1641

"A brief relation of the miraculous victory there that day over the first formed army of the Irish, soon after their rebellion, which broke out the 23d of October, 1641.

"Sir Phelemy O'Neil, Sir Conn Maginnis, their generals then in Ulster, and major-general Plunkett, (who had been a soldier in

foreign kingdoms) having enlisted and drawn together out of the countries of Armagh, Tyrone, Antrim, and Down, and other countries in Ulster, eight or nine thousand men, which formed into eight regiments, and a troop of horse, with two field-pieces; they did rendezvous on the 27th of November, 1641, at and about a house belonging to Sir George Rawdon at Brookhill, three miles distant from Lisnegarvy, in which town they knew there was garrisons of five companies, newly raised, and the lord Conway's troop of horse; and their principal design being to march into and besiege Carrickfergus, they judged it unsafe to pass by Lisnegarvy, and therefore resolved to attack it next morning, making little account of the opposition could be given them by so small a number, not half armed, and so slenderly provided of ammunition, (which they had perfect intelligence of by several Irish that left our party and stole away to them,) for that they were so numerous and well provided of ammunition by the fifty barrels of powder they found in his Majesty's store, in the castle of Newry, which they surprised the very first night of the rebellion; also they had got into their hands the arms of all the soldiers they had murdered in Ulster, and such other arms as they found in the castles and houses which they had plundered and burnt in the whole province. Yet it so pleased God to disappoint their confidence; and the small garrison they so much slighted, was much encouraged by the seasonable arrival of Sir George Rawdon, who, being in London on the 23d of October, hasted over by the way of Scotland, and being landed at Bangor, got to Lisnegarvy, though late, on the 27th of November, where those newly-raised men, and the lord Conway's troop, were drawn up in the market-place, expecting hourly to be assaulted by the rebels, and they stood in that posture all the night, and before sunrise, sent out some horse to discover their numerous enemy, who were at mass; (it being Sunday) but immediately upon sight of our scouts, they quit their devotion, and beat drums, and marched directly to Lisnegarvy; and before ten of the clock, appeared drawn in battalia in the warren, not above a musket-shot from the town, and sent out two divisions of about six or seven hundred a-piece to compass the town, and placed their field-pieces on the highway to it, before their body, and with them and their fowling-pieces, killed and wounded some of our men as they stood in their ranks in the market-place; and some of our musqueteers were placed in windows to make the like returns of shot to the enemy. And Sir Arthur Terringham, (governor of Newry,) who commanded the garrison, and Sir George Rawdon, and the officers foreseeing if their two divisions on both sides of the town should fall in together, that they would overpower our small number. For prevention thereof, a squadron of horse, with some musqueteers, was commanded to face one of them that was marching on the north side, and to keep them at distance as long as they could; which was so well performed, that the other division, which marched by the river, on the south side, came in before the other, time enough so to be well beaten back by the horse, and more than two hundred of them slain in Bridge street, and in their retreat as they fled back to the main body.

"After which execution, the horse returning to the market-place, found the enemy had forced into our small party on the north side, and had entered the town, and was marching down Castle street, which

our horse so well charged there, that at least three hundred of the rebels were slain in the street, and the meadow behind the houses, through which they did run away to their main body, whereby they were so much discouraged, that almost in two hours after, their officers could not get out any more parties to adventure a second assault upon us; but in the mean space, they entertained us with continued shot from their body and their field-pieces, till about one of the clock, that fresh parties were drawn out and beaten back as before, with loss of many of their men, which they supplied still with others till night; and in the dark they fired all the town, which was in a few hours turned into ashes; and in that confusion and heat of the fire, the enemy made a fierce assault. But it so pleased God, that we were better provided for them than they expected, by a relief that came to us at night-fall from Belfast, of the earl of Donegall's troop, and a company of foot, commanded by captain Boyd, who was unhappily slain presently after his first entrance into the town. And after the houses were on fire about six of the clock, till ten or eleven, it is not easy to give any certain account or relation of the several encounters in divers places of the town between small parties of our horse here and there, and of the rebels, and whom they charged as they met and hewed them down, so that every corner was filled with carcases, and the slain were found to be more than thrice the number of those that fought against them, as appeared next day, when the constables and inhabitants employed to bury them, gave up their accounts. About ten or eleven of the clock, their two generals quit their station, and marched away in the dark, and had not above two hundred of their men with them, as we were informed next morning by several English prisoners that escaped from them, who told us the rest of their men either ran away before them or were slain; and that there were two field-pieces was thrown into the river, or in some moss-pit, which we could never find after, and in this their retreat, or this their flight, they fired Brookhill house, and the lord Conway's library in it, and other goods, to the value of five or six thousand pounds, their fear and haste not allowing them to carry any thing away, except some plate and linen; and this did in revenge to the owner, whom they heard was landed the day before, and had been active in the service against them, and was shot that day, and also had his horse shot under him, but mounted presently upon another, and captain St John, and captain Burley, were also wounded, and about thirty men more of our party, most of which recovered, and not above twenty-five or twenty-six were slain. And if it be well considered, how meanly our men were armed, and all our ammunition spent before night, and that if we had not been supplied with men by the timely care and providence of the earl of Donegall and other commanders from his majesty's store at Carrickfergus, (who sent us powder, post, in mai's, on horseback, one after another) and that most of our new-raised companies were of poor stript men, that had made their escape from the rebels, of whom they had such a dread, that they thought them not easily to be beaten, and that all our horse (who did the most execution,) were not above one hundred and twenty, viz., the lord Conway's troops, and a squadron of the lord Grandison's troop, (the rest of them having been murdered in their quarters in Tanragee,) and

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about forty of a country troop newly raised, until that of the troop company from Belfast came to us at night. It must be confessed that the Lord of Hosts did signally appear for us, who can save with or without any means, and did by very small means give us the victory over His and our enemies, and enough of their arms to supply the defects of our new companies, besides about fifty of their colours and drums. But it is to be remembered much with regret, that this loss and overthrow did so enrage the rebels, that for several days and weeks after, they murdered many hundreds of protestants whom they had kept prisoners in the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, and other parts of Ulster, and tormented them by several manners of death. And it is a circumstance very observable, that much snow had fallen in the week before this action, and in the day before it was a little thaw, and, frost thereupon in the night, so that the streets were covered with ice, which proved greatly to our advantage; for that all the smiths had been employed that whole night to frost our horses, so that they stood firm, when the brogues slipt and fell down under their feet. For which, and our miraculous deliverance from a cruel and bloody enemy, how great cause have we to rejoice and praise the name of our God, and say with that kingly prophet—'If it had not been the Lord himself who was on our side when men rose up against us, they had swallowed us up quick, when they were so wrathfully displeased at us. Yea the waters of the deep had drowned us, and the stream had gone over our soul; the deep waters of the proud had gone over our souls; praised be the Lord who has not given us over for a prey unto their teeth: our soul is escaped even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler: the snare is broken and we are delivered. Our help standeth in the name of the Lord who hath made heaven and earth. Amen.'

The army of Ireland consisted at that time of fourteen troops, amounting to 943 horse, and of forty-one independent companies, making 2297 foot.* Only three of these troops, lord Conway's, lord Grandison's, and colonel Chichester's, were allowed to remain in the north; lord Wilmot's and Sir W. St Leger's, with the presidents of Connaught and Munster, and all the rest, were summoned to Dublin. Notwithstanding the obstinate refusal of the lords-justices to send reinforcements to the north, either from the wish of allowing the rebellion to spread, or as Sir W. St Leger asserted, "that they were so horribly afraid of their own persons, that they thought the old army and all the new raised forces little enough for their security;" the small bodies that were under the command of colonel Chichester, lord Montgomery, Sir W. Cole, &c., &c., kept the rebels on the defensive, and prevented them from maintaining their ground in the north. About the middle of April general Monroe landed at Carrickfergus with 2500 Scots, when he was joined by lord Conway and colonel Chichester, with 1800 foot, besides horse. They at once directed their march to Newry, from which the rebels fled as they approached, and the castle was surrendered to them without any opposition. It was found to contain only half-a-barrel of powder, and about sixty muskets.

* Carta.

During the remainder of this year Monroe remained quite inactive, and the regiments under colonel Chichester, Sir Arthur Tyrningham, the lords Claneboy and Ardes, &c., were left in so totally destitute a state, without pay, provisions, or ammunition, that they could do but little, and were with difficulty kept from disbanding; while their commanders were gradually exhausting their own fortunes in maintaining them.

On the arrival of Conally in 1644, with the letters of parliament pressing them to take the covenant, lord Montgomery, Sir Robert Stewart, Sir William Cole, colonel Chichester, &c., called a meeting in Belfast to consider what should be done, and privately agreed among themselves, without entering into particulars with the parliament, to preserve their inviolable allegiance to the king, to obey the orders of the marquess of Ormonde, and not to accept the covenant nor any commander over them.

After Monroe and his officers had with great solemnity taken the covenant in the church of Carrickfergus, the Scotch clergy traversed the country in all directions, pressing it upon the soldiers and inhabitants with as much zeal and earnestness as if their salvation depended upon it, and in many instances refusing to give the sacrament to those who rejected it. On hearing of these proceedings the lord-lieutenant and the council sent positive orders to all the colonels in Ulster to publish the proclamation against the covenant at the head of their respective regiments. The colonels were aware not only of the strong infatuation that existed upon the subject, but also that most of their own soldiery had already accepted it; but yet, with a brave defiance of the consequences, Sir Robert Stewart, colonel Chichester, colonel Hill, and the commanding officer of lord Conway's regiment, had their regiments drawn out, and respectively read the proclamation. When colonel Chichester had finished it, "one of his captains, a lieutenant, and about thirty of the common soldiers, protested publicly against it, and declared that, if no public act had been done by their colonel against the covenant, they would never have taken it (as now they would) nor have deserted him or his commands. The colonel could not but take notice of this insolence; but all that he could do to punish it was to suspend those officers from their commands for the present, not daring to proceed with greater rigour, because he was not provided for defence, and every bit of bread that his men ate, came through the hands of the Scots." The wants of the army became every day more pressing, and colonel Chichester made so strong a representation of them to the lord-lieutenant, that he, on his own private credit, raised £300 and sent it to colonel Chichester for the immediate relief of his garrison in Belfast, and promised farther supplies as soon as they arrived from England. He also gave him authority to act as he judged best respecting the refractory officers and soldiers, but observed that he had always found "round dealing with the Scots full as available as connivance, and that he should be bold with them if they were in Dublin." A very few days, says Carte, "passed before the colonel, with all his lenity, suffered as much mischief as ever he apprehended from severity, and found by experience that connivance at

public insolences is the most improper method in nature to procure obedience; and that impunity, instead of engaging offenders to a greater fidelity, only emboldens them to commit new crimes."

Monroe having received a commission from the English parliament under their new seal, appointing him commander-in-chief of the English as well as Scotch forces in Ulster, Sir James Montgomery (who had received information on the subject) sent to summon a meeting of the commanding officers of the different districts in Belfast, which place colonel Chichester commanded. They met on the evening of the 13th of May, but adjourned their consultation to the following morning. Late at night a soldier of colonel Chichester's regiment came from Carrickfergus with intelligence that Monroe had given orders to some Scotch regiments to be in readiness to march on Belfast at two in the morning. Colonel Chichester instantly gave orders to have all the guards doubled, and called out every officer in the garrison upon duty. As an additional security, scouts were sent out to ascertain the state of the country, and to give the earliest notice of his approach. They returned at six in the morning, asserting that they had gone within three miles of Carrickfergus, and that the whole country was in the most profound tranquillity. Trusting to this treacherous statement, the additional guards were incautiously dismissed, and the officers who had been all night on duty were allowed to retire to rest. Silently and treacherously Monroe approached, and, having corrupted the scouts, he had also previously made arrangements with the sergeant of the guard who kept the gate at that side of the city, to admit him and his followers, so that he was enabled to cross the town without any interruption, and when he arrived at the gate at the other side of the city, leading to Lisnegarvy, he directed his men to possess themselves of the cannon and bulwarks, and to take the guards prisoners. Colonel Chichester, made in the same moment aware of the loss of the town and the uselessness of opposition, sent some of the other colonels to inquire the meaning of Monroe's hostile movements. He answered, that as colonel Chichester had thought proper to publish a proclamation against the covenant, which implied that all those who had taken it should thenceforth be considered as traitors; he did not conceive that those who trusted to his protection would be safe without his having a garrison of his own in the place, and that he had accordingly taken that course as the only one left open to him. He immediately desired that all colonel Chichester's men, except those who guarded his own house, should leave Belfast, and took measures for the custody of the city. He then proceeded to Lisnegarvy, whither Sir Theophilus Jones had gone the preceding evening, and, supported by the fidelity of the garrison, had taken such effectual means for its defence, that Monroe, after a conference with colonel Jones, in which he found that the soldiers were not to be corrupted, thought it better not to tarnish his bloodless laurels, and returned to Belfast. Thus a second time, in so short a period, had that small town, by its loyalty, fidelity, and bravery, resisted the attacks of two armies, overwhelming in their numbers, and opposite in their principles and discipline. Colonel Chichester, indignant at the

unfair advantage that had been taken of him, would not condescend to accept of the privilege allowed him of residing in his own castle, but went to England to complain of his wrongs.

The position of affairs in the north, along with the disaffection of the army, making his return there useless, he removed to Dublin and was sworn in a member of the privy council. His great fidelity in the royal cause, joined to his long services, induced the marquess of Ormonde, in 1645, to write a letter to the king, reminding him of those claims, and suggesting his elevation. We extract a portion of it: "You have been graciously pleased of late to reward some that have either served your majesty actually, or suffered for you eminently in their persons or fortunes, with new creations or with additions of honour in this kingdom. That colonel Arthur Chichester hath missed such a mark of your majesty's favour, I conceive to have been through his own modesty, and my not representing his personal merit. If he outlives his father he will be among the foremost of the viscounts of this kingdom in place, and (I am sure,) beyond them all, except one, in fortune, though he be for the present deprived of the latter for his faithfulness to your majesty's crown, the same means by which his uncle got both it and his honour. He hath served your majesty against the Irish rebellion since the beginning of it; and when, through an almost general defection of the northern army he was no longer able to serve your majesty there, he came with much hazard to take his share in the sufferings of your servants here, and with them to attend for that happy time that (we trust,) will put us in a condition to contribute more to your service than our prayers. If your majesty shall think fit to advance this gentleman to an earldom, I conceive that of Dunnegall, a county in the province of Ulster, wherein he shall have a good inheritance, is fittest, which I humbly offer to your majesty's consideration, as a part of the duty of

"Your majesty's, &c.

"ORMONDE."

The king, upon this representation, created him earl of Donegal, with limitation of the honour to the issue male of his father; his own children, of whom he had thirteen, being dead, excepting two daughters, the youngest of whom survived him. In the year following he had a heavy domestic calamity in the death of his second wife, Mary, daughter of John Digby, first earl of Bristol, by whom he had had seven children. He had lost his first wife, Dorcas, daughter of John Hill, Esq. of Honiley, when he was only twenty-four, after she had given birth to a daughter. His third wife was Letitia, only surviving daughter of Sir William Hickes, bart. of Rookshall in Essex.*

After the restoration he was made captain of a troop of horse, and *Custos Rotulorum Pacis* in the counties of Antrim and Donegal. In June, 1661, he took his seat in the first parliament after the restoration, and was appointed governor of Carrickfergus. In 1666, a variety of plots were carrying on through the three kingdoms by the fanatics; and in Ireland they found minds predisposed to mutiny, both

* Lodge.

from temperament and from the very bad pay of the soldiery. Strong indications of insubordination showed themselves in Carrickfergus, which were soon quieted; but being too leniently put down, soothed in place of being coerced, a second mutiny broke out the following month, in which all the privates of four companies, who were quartered there, rose in a body in defiance of their corporals, and seized on the town and castle of Carrickfergus; and when the governor, the earl of Donegal, endeavoured, by fair means and by offers of mercy, to recall them to a sense of their duty, they answered most arrogantly, and rejected the pardon which he volunteered. They framed a declaration, in which they endeavoured to incite other garrisons to follow their example, and they had the audacity to enclose this to lord Donegal along with a paper containing their demands. The duke of Ormonde, on receiving the first intimation of this outbreak, sent his son, the earl of Arran, with four companies of his guards, by sea to Carrickfergus, with positive orders to the earl to make no farther offers of mercy, as he considered it indispensable to the peace of the kingdom to make some examples. Lord Arran had a stormy passage, but arrived at Carrickfergus on the 27th of the month, and landed without any opposition. He was immediately joined by the earl of Donegal and the mayor of the town, who told him there was a party within anxious to seize upon one of the gates, and admit him, if he would make an attack upon the rebel garrison. The garrison, anxious to gain time for plundering the town and securing the provisions, sent to demand some hours for deliberation as to their future course; but lord Arran having intimation of their intentions, caused a party instantly to advance and demand admittance. This they obstinately refused, and a brisk fire at once commenced, the town being well supplied with men. Lord Arran quickly came up and forced an entrance, with the loss of only two men, while many of the rebels fell, besides their ringleader of the name of Dillon. Most of the officers belonging to these companies had been absent on leave, but on their return the garrison submitted, and hung out a white flag for the purpose of obtaining a parley. They let down two of their men by ropes; one of whom offered to persuade his comrades to surrender without conditions if his own life should be spared. Lord Arran rejected the base proposal, and refused to accept of a surrender, unless on an absolute submission to the lord-lieutenant's mercy, "to save or hang as many of them as he pleased." They asked for a few hours to consider such hard terms, which being granted, and at the same time any modification of them denied, they delivered up the castle at the appointed hour, which, besides being strong, was found to contain a month's provisions for the garrison, had they continued to hold out.

On the arrival of the duke, he held a court-martial on 110 of the offenders, nine of whom were executed.

The remaining years of lord Donegal's life passed in comparative tranquillity; and in 1674 he married his daughter and ultimate heiress to lord Gowran, son of the duke of Ormonde, who, however, from early dissipation, quickly fell into a declining state of health, and died, leaving no children. The eldest daughter of the earl had been married in 1655 to John St Leger, and became mother to the first viscount

Doneraile. His children by his third wife all died in infancy, with the exception of his daughter, Anne, countess of Gowran. The earl died two months after his daughter's marriage, 1674, at Belfast, and was buried, according to his own request, at Carrickfergus. He was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Arthur Chichester.

A splendid monument was erected to his memory in Eggesford church, where he is represented in alabaster as large as life, standing between his first and second wives, who are represented in recumbent postures. We subjoin the epitaphs of both ladies:—

ON THE FIRST.

Weep, reader, weep, and let thine eyes
With tears embalm the obsequies
Of her blest shrine; who was in all
Her full dimensions so angelical
And really good, that virtue might repine
For want of stuff to make one more divine.

ON THE SECOND.

Lo! here the mirror of her sex, whose praise
Asks not a garland, but a grove of bays;
Whose unexemplared virtue shined far
And near, the western wonder! like some star
Of the first magnitude; which though it lies
Here in eclipse, is only set to rise.

SIR ROBERT STEWART.

DIED ABOUT A. D. 1665.

THE ancestors of the eminent soldier here to be noticed, and of the Irish branch of the family of Stewart came into Ireland in the reign of James I, and claim an ancient and illustrious origin from the family of that monarch. We might thus travel far back into the antiquity of Irish kings and heroes, the founders of the ancient monarchy of the Scottish throne. Of these some notice may be found in our introduction. We might also repeat with some effect the romance of Macbeth, and once more call up the ghost of Banquo to sit in his vacant chair and shake his "gory locks" for the entertainment of our readers. As the first of the Stewarts is traced by the heralds to his grandson, Walter, the son of Fleance, who on the murder of his father by Macbeth, fled into Wales, where he married Nesta, the daughter of Griffith ap Llewellyn, king of North Wales. After the death of Macbeth, his son, Walter, returned to Scotland, and was made lord high steward of Scotland by king Malcolm III. From him descended in order several representatives, bearing the name of Stewart to Robert Stewart or Stuart, who, in 1370, on the failure of issue male in the reigning family, succeeded to the throne of Scotland, by which the crown was transferred back into the direct line of descent from king Duffus, in the tenth century.

James Stewart, a son of Murdoch, second duke of Albany, on the attainder of his father, fled into Ireland, where he married into the

family of MacDonell, and settled in the county of Tyrone where he died in 1449, leaving seven sons. From these descended several branches of the Stewart family in this country. Of these the oldest was created lord Avondale, to which title in the course of descent, were added the titles of Ochiltree next, and then Castle-Stewart.

The branch of this family, of whom we are now more especially to speak, is not traced to its root in the parent stem, with the distinctness we could wish. But the connexion is undoubted and not remote. We must here be contented to follow the example of most historians, and all heralds, whose skill in tracing out the cobweb lines of pedigree is not more admirable than the sleight of hand, by which obscure dates and lamentable chasms are shuffled out of view; so that the concealment of ignorance indicates a degree of skill not less useful than the discovery of truth.

In the reign of James I., the Stewarts of Newtown-Stewart and Culmore, in the county of Tyrone, were distinguished by their ability and courage, of both of whom we shall here give an account.

Sir William was the elder brother, and an undertaker to a very large extent in the county of Tyrone at the time of the plantation of Ulster. There he made considerable improvements, and built several castles and flourishing villages. He was knighted for his useful and efficient conduct in the short rebellion of O'Doherty; and, in 1613, represented the county of Donegal in parliament. By privy seal in 1423, he was created baronet.

When the rebellion of 1641 broke out, he received a commission to raise one thousand foot, and a troop of horse, for the security of the country. With this body of men he gave Sir Phelim O'Neile three remarkable defeats. Near Strabane, as he was on the point of setting fire to the town of Raphoe; on the mountains of Barnesmore; and lastly, a bloody and decisive rout, June 16th, 1642, which we have noticed in our memoir of Sir Phelim, and in which the great army which had been collected from all the northern counties, was put to flight, with the loss of five hundred men. Sir William died some time about 1662, the latest date at which we can discover any historical mention of him, or of his brother Robert, whom we are now to notice.

Robert Stewart was the second brother of the same family; and was a gentleman of the privy chamber to James I. He received large grants in the counties of Leitrim, Cavan, and Fermanagh. He was made a colonel by king Charles; and, in 1638, was appointed to the command of Culmore castle. He was in the following year returned member of parliament for the city of Londonderry; and in 1641, obtained a commission to raise one thousand foot, and a troop, for the king's service. He was made also governor of Derry, on the death of Sir James Vaughan in 1643, and on the 3d June, in that year, obtained a memorable victory over the rebel commander, the celebrated Owen O'Neile. The particulars of this battle must be the trophy of the victor, we shall therefore give a brief account of them here.

Owen O'Neile was on his march through the county of Monaghan, with three thousand two hundred men, of which force one thousand were immediately with him, the remainder were in attendance upon a large collection of cattle and fugitives, which it was his intention to

escort into Leitrim and the bordering counties. Stewart, having obtained intelligence of his approach, hastened to overtake him, and after a very severe march, came up with him on the borders of Fermanagh, at a place called Clonish. He had with him his own regiment, and Sir William's, with some companies from Derry, and from the regiments of Sir W. Balfour, and colonel Mervyn. When his approach had been ascertained by O'Neile, he posted his main body to the best advantage, in a strong pass, under a veteran officer of his own name, and advanced with his cavalry to reconnoitre. Sir Robert was about a mile from the enemy when he was apprized of these particulars: he ordered a halt that his men might breathe and take some refreshment. After this, he marched on till he came in sight of the rebels—they were drawn up behind a pass through a narrow stone causeway which O'Neile had lined with musqueteers. Sir Robert detached a strong party to force this position; their approach was met by O'Neile's cavalry, which came rushing over the causeway, and a very smart encounter took place: but the Irish were at last driven back—and their retreat pursued by Stewart's horse. For a moment the advantage was doubtful; the last horseman of the Irish had scarcely passed over the causeway, when the pursuers were saluted by a tremendous fusilade from the musqueteers within. The cavalry retired, but it was to make way for the forlorn hope, who charged impetuously in, and carried all before them—the whole of the English cavalry were at their heels, and in a few moments again charging the enemy's horse on the other side of the pass. For some minutes now the battle raged with great fury and little method. Captain Stewart, the leader of Sir Robert's troop, and probably either his son or his nephew, engaged hand to hand with Owen O'Neile: the combat was interrupted—the combatants were too important to their respective parties to be allowed to fight it out—the battle rested for an instant on the result of a blow, when Stewart was charged on one side, and wounded, while by a lateral shock his horse was borne to the earth.

In the mean time, Shane O'Neile, whom his commander had posted in the rear of the cavalry, in the strong pass already mentioned, saw how matters were going on. He advanced with his twelve companies to support the cavalry already beginning to break and give way. Sir Robert saw this movement, and quitting the cavalry which he had headed, he put himself at the head of his own regiment of foot and led them on to charge the advancing infantry of his antagonist. They were bravely received, and both parties rushing together with the animosity of the occasion and age, strove with a brave and sanguinary desperation for a full half hour. At last, as the second regiment of the English had made their way, and were ready to advance to the aid of their companions, the Irish suddenly gave way and fled with such precipitation as to break the order of their own body of reserve, which was coming up to their aid. All fled together, and the English horse executed tremendous havoc on their flying companies as they ran. In this battle the loss of Owen O'Neile was very great: numbers of his best men were slain, and, what was far worse, most of his foreign officers were either killed or taken.

The loss of the English was but six killed, and twenty-two wounded; but Sir Robert Stewart was by no means in condition to take further advantage of his victory. His supplies were spent, and he was obliged to disperse his forces to their several stations, and return to Londonderry. O'Neile pursued his way to Charlemont: the people flocked about his standard every mile of the way; before he had reached Mohil, his forces showed no sign of the slaughter of Clunies. They were, it is true, unarmed; but the supreme council sent him arms and ammunition, and he soon took the field as strong as ever.

We shall now pass on more glancingly through the rest of Stewart's career. Most of the circumstances we shall have to relate in future detail. In 1644, he was one among the colonels who agreed in a resolution against taking the covenant which the parliament ordered to be taken by the army.

In 1648, he was, by the vicissitudes of events, opposed to the parliamentary army in Ireland. And as he commanded the important fort of Culmore, which was the key to Londonderry, he was an object of much close watchfulness, and fell into a dexterously contrived snare—which is indistinctly related by Lodge, who refers to Carte, but must have found his half-told story somewhere else. Carte simply mentions, that "Sir Charles Coote," (son of the person already commemorated in volume II.) "treacherously seized on Sir Robert Stewart's person, forced him to order his castle of Culmore to be delivered, and then sent him a prisoner to London." Lodge mentions that he was inveigled into Derry, to a baptism at a friend's house, and "insidiously taken," and with colonel Mervyn, who was similarly taken, delivered to colonel Monk, who sent them to London,—adding that colonel Monk, *afterwards by some artifices*, got possession of Culmore:—a statement which may be as true as Carte's, but is not the same. Carte's observation should not be here unpeated:—"This treatment of so gallant an officer, after a course of sufferings for so many years, and of services greater than any other commander then in the kingdom had performed, highly incensed the old Scots, and all the forces that had used to serve under him."

When the war was ended by the success of the parliamentary forces, and an act was passed for the settlement of Ireland, Stewart was expressly excepted from pardon for life or estate. He lived nevertheless to see brighter days after a long and dreary interval of adversity. The year 1660 brought with it the restoration; and the merit and sufferings of Stewart were among those which escaped the oblivion of the heartless and selfish Charles. He was appointed to the command of a company, and soon after made governor of the city and county of Derry.

From this we find no further mention worthy of note; and as he had run a long course from the year 1617, in which we find him recorded for his faithful services to king James, to the restoration, we may presume, that he had attained a good old age. From the Ordnance Survey of Derry, we also find that in 1661, he was succeeded in his government by colonel Gorges, appointed May 6th, 1661. It is therefore the high probability that his death occurred in the same year.

ROBERT STEWART, OF IRRY.

DIED A. D. 1662.

IN the previous notice it has been shown, that a branch of the Stewart family which bore in Scotland the titles of Avondale and Ochiltree, had been advanced in Ireland to the title of baron Castlestewart, of the county of Tyrone.

Robert Stewart of Irry was brother to the fifth lord Castlestewart, and was highly distinguished among the numerous brave men whom a stirring time has brought into historic notice. We do not think ourselves quite warranted to bring forward a full detail of the various exploits belonging to other memoirs, in which he bore an honourable part. He relieved Dungannon fort, and that of Mountjoy, when at the point of surrender to the rebels; and, attacking the besiegers with a very inferior force, compelled them to decamp into the fastnesses of Slievegal-len and Altadesert. He next maintained possession of the two forts of Zoome and Antrim, of which he was governor, till the coming of Cromwell, when resistance became useless and impossible. He died in 1662, leaving one son, in whom the line was continued under the following circumstances:—The fifth lord died unmarried, and the title reverted to his uncle, who, having lived to a very old age, died without issue, when the next claimant to the title was Andrew, the grandson of Robert here noticed. He was at the time of his uncle's death but 12 years of age, and was removed to Scotland by his mother, during the war of the revolution. To him the title devolved, but he did not (as afterwards appeared) claim it, as the family estate had been "taken away by the lady Suffolk."* For the same reason his son did not think fit to claim a title to which they were quite aware of their right. And so the matter slept till 1774, when a petition from Andrew Thomas Stewart brought forward the claim, which was decided in his favour.

RICHARD BUTLER, THIRD VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET.

BORN A. D. 1578.—DIED A. D. 1651.

THE third viscount Mountgarret, having married a daughter of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, was early led into connexions, of which in those times rebellion was almost the sure consequence. Lord Mountgarret was an active adherent to his father-in-law, and took arms in his behalf, at the early age of twenty-one. In the reign of Elizabeth, when Ireland had been but recently brought into even a comparative subjection, and the authority of the crown was but imperfectly defined, rebellion was yet looked upon with indulgence by the crown. The will of the sovereign stood in place of the even and irrespective execution of law,

* Andrew, uncle to Robert of Irry, and third baron, having a daughter, his only child, conveyed his estate to her husband, the earl of Suffolk.—*Lodge and Burke.*

and the award of policy or vindictive feeling was lenient or severe, according to the circumstances of the case. Chiefs who had not laid aside the pretensions of kings, and who had the power of maintaining these pretensions to a troublesome extent, were looked on with indulgence: their gratitude conciliated, their turbulence overlooked, and their outbreaks controlled and pardoned. Thus it was, that in the latter end of the sixteenth century, great rebellions, which covered the land with blood and fear, passed away without effecting those forfeitures of life and land which so soon after became their certain consequence. Much indeed, as the historian may feel at the passing away of illustrious families of ancient time—his sense of expediency and justice must tell him, that the peace of society and the vindication of the law by which order subsists, is more important still; and in looking upon the operation of a system of civilizing change, essential to the future, but attended with immediate disadvantage to a few, he cannot without an abandonment of every true social principle, wish it had been otherwise. The institution of just and equal law, on the one only principle upon which human caprice, the errors of uncertain policy, and the fierce and constant workings of those latent springs of disorder by which every class is pervaded can be controlled, must ever depend on the certainty, that the law cannot be violated without the forfeiture of those rights of which it is the security.

During the long life of the lord Mountgarret, the state of Ireland was widely changed. The laws of England had been established to the full extent that such a step was practicable. Their administration necessarily subject to great abuses, was yet productive of vast amelioration in the condition of the people. Had they been much sooner enforced, the consequences must have fallen with lamentable severity upon the aristocracy of the land, as their full operation must have visited with extreme penalties a large class who had attained to imperfect notions of the difference between right and wrong. But from the rebellion of Tyrone, the mind of the Irish aristocracy had rapidly expanded, and the various letters and documents of the Irish nobles of every class exhibit no deficiency in the constitutional knowledge of the age. Ireland had made a step in advance, which does not seem to have ever been thoroughly appreciated.

The rebellion of Tyrone did not, with all its bloodshed and widespread devastation, materially alter the condition of men who for their private ends had caused the death of thousands, and overwhelmed the country with waste and famine. In 1599, we find the lord Mountgarret a lord of the pale, defending the castles of Ballyragget and Coleshill against the queen's forces, and in 1605 he receives the special livery of his estates, as if he had been in the meantime a student at the temple, or serving under Carew or Mountjoy. From this his name is for some years lost in general history, but being a person of active habits, he was probably making himself useful in preserving order, and introducing improvement in his own immediate vicinity. In the parliaments of 1613 and 1615, his conduct was prudent, and attracted the approbation of king James. This seems confirmed by the fact, that in 1619, he had in consideration of loyal services, a con-

firmation of all his estates, with the creation of several manors, and various lucrative and valuable privileges.*

On the commencement of the rebellion in 1641, he was joined in commission with the earl of Ormonde, for the government of the county of Kilkenny, and upon the earl's removal to Dublin, the county was entirely committed to his charge.

A rumour had however been sedulously propagated, that the government entertained designs hostile to the Roman catholic lords of the pale. This inauspicious rumour was diffused by the agents of the leading persons and parties, who were at the time engaged in maturing the outbreak which so soon followed: it was loudly affirmed by Moore and his associates, and much favoured by the suspicious conduct of the lords-justices. A concurrence of untoward circumstances originated, and kept up a misunderstanding, which every word and act on either side confirmed. The aristocracy of Munster and the Roman catholic lords of the pale, equally fearful of the popular leaders and distrustful of the government, beset with surrounding dangers from revolutionary conspirators, a plundering and lawless populace, and a circumventing and iniquitous administration, quickly perceived that their safety must depend upon their strength; it was quite apparent that to sit at ease as indifferent spectators would not be permitted by either party. Accordingly, these noblemen, early on the appearance of rebellious indications, offered their services; and among others, lord Mountgarret offered to raise a thousand men, to arm them at his own expense, and command them against the rebels. The offer was not accepted; the lords-justices in their terror, ignorance, and in the narrowness of their bigoted policy distrusted these noblemen, and the consequence of their distrust was that they would neither employ them against the common danger, nor allow them to protect themselves, but acted towards them with an arbitrary and inconsiderate exertion of authority, which conveyed insult, and seemed to menace danger. Having first put arms into their hands for the defence of their families and the pale, they next recalled those arms, and summoned them to appear at the castle. These lords had powerful inducements to draw them into rebellion, and were strongly urged to that perilous course by the nature of their connexions. Nevertheless, with the more than doubtful exception of lord Mayo, they had kept apart from every overt manifestation of a disaffected character, and strenuously asserted their adherence to the king and the government, until it became too evident that the only proof they could give of their loyalty was to stand unprotected between two hostile powers. To be the first victims of rebellion, or be received on the doubtful footing of distrust by a government, of which the previous conduct had been such as to prove they were not themselves to be trusted. To give effect to these circumstances, rumours were in active circulation on both sides. Among those who were impressed with the notion that it was the design of government to extirpate the Roman catholics, lord Mountgarret was one; he has himself furnished an exposition of his own motives, we here extract it with some corroborative

* Lodge, iv. p. 52.

statements from Archdall. The letter to the earl of Ormonde runs thus:—

"My lord.—Since I have been forced in this general cause by the example of some, as innocent and free from infringing of his majesty's laws as myself, who have been used in the nature of traitors, I forbore for avoiding your displeasure, to acquaint you with my proceedings and other motives therein: but now, for fear of being mistaken by the state concerning my loyalty, and presuming of your lordship's favour and good meaning towards me, I make bold to send you here enclosed, an exact remonstrance of these principal grievances that have procured this general commotion in this kingdom; where-with I shall humbly desire your lordship to acquaint the lord-justice and council, to the end they may by a fair redress of them, prevent the fearful calamities that doubtless shall ensue for want thereof. It is not my case alone, it is the case of the whole kingdom; and it hath been a principal observation of the best historian, that a whole nation how contemptible soever, should not be incensed by any prince or state, how powerful soever, as to be driven to take desperate courses, the event whereof is uncertain, and rests only in the all-guiding power of the Omnipotent. This has been most lively represented by the French chronicler, Philip de Comines, in the passage between the duke of Burgundy and the Switzers. I will not press this matter further, (a word is enough to the intelligent,) and I cannot harbour any thought of your lordship, but that you are sensible of the miseries of this kingdom, whereof you are a native, and do wish the quiet and tranquillity thereof: I do, for a further expression of my own sincerity in this cause, send your lordship here enclosed my declaration and oath, joined with others, which I conceive to be tolerable, and no way inclining to the violation of his majesty's laws, whereof I am and always will be very observant, as becomes a loyal subject, and

"My lord,

"Your lordship's humble servant,

"MOUNTGARRET.

"25th March, 1642."

To this letter of lord Mountgarret's, we add Archdall's comment:—

"In confirmation hereof, it appears from the deposition of William Parkinson of Castlecomer, Esq., that so little was his lordship's inclination to take up arms against his majesty, that Walter Butler of Poolestown, Walter Bagenal of Dunleckney, and Robert Shee of Kilkenny, Esq., were the chief instruments that made him do so; and so high was the insolence of those rebels grown, that the deponent had read a petition of one Richard Archdeane, captain of the Irish town of Kilkenny, and the alderman of the city, directed to the lord Mountgarret and his council, desiring (among other things,) that Philip Parcell of Ballyfoile, Esq., his lordship's son-in-law, might be punished for relieving the protestants. Also, the titular bishop of Cashel, Tirlagh Oge O'Neile, brother to the arch rebel Sir Phelim, and the popish citizens of Kilkenny, petitioned the rest of the council of Kilkenny, that all the English protestants there should be put to death; whereunto Richard Lawless in excuse answered, that they were

all robbed before, and he saw no cause that they should lose their lives; and at divers other times, where it was pressed that the English should be put to death, the lord Mountgarret with his son Edmund, and his son-in-law Parcell, by their strength, means, and persuasions, prevented it."

Having made this representation, which we believe truly to represent the case of the Roman catholic lords of the pale, Mountgarret advanced with a large train of his connexions, and of the gentry of the county, and seized on the city of Kilkenny, where he publicly declared the motives of his conduct. He then issued a public proclamation, commanding his followers to respect the life and property of the English inhabitants. By his influence and personal vigilance, he gave effect to this order, and prevented the commission of those crimes which it must have demanded much authority and watchfulness to repress.

It is now quite apparent that though such a distinction could not then have been noticed, and though it did not practically appear for a long time after, that this rebellion was composed of two parties distinct in their character, principles, and motives, though combined by a common direction and common hostility to the Irish government. The native chiefs and their immediate party, whose aim was as we have fully explained to recover the lands and power of their ancestors, revenge injuries real or supposed, and root out the English name, authority and religion: at the head of these was Sir Phelim O'Neile. And secondly, the Roman catholic nobles, of whose motives Mountgarret may be here offered as the representative. These parties are not more distinguishable by their characters and declared motives, than by their entire conduct. The party of Sir Phelim, unconstrained by any principle but the passions which led or drove them from crime to crime, were formidable for their butcheries of the unarmed; their exploits in the field were few and doubtful, and a few regular soldiers never failed to overmatch their utmost numbers. On the other hand, the war assumed a military character under the command of Mountgarret, Castlehaven, and other lords of their party, presenting a formidable front, fighting desperate battles in the field, and abstaining from butcheries and massacres, perfidious stratagems and treasons under the pretext of every falsehood. So determined was lord Mountgarret for the prevention of crime, that finding it difficult to impress the people with any sense of respect for property, he showed an effective example by shooting Mr Richard Cantwell, a gentleman of great influence, and a friend of his own family, when he saw him joining in plunder. Such in the beginning is the traceable division in this long rebellion, which, as it proceeded through many desolating years, split into so many armed and mutually hostile parties.

Having seized Kilkenny, lord Mountgarret sent out his parties to secure other towns in the surrounding country; and in one week, he was master of nearly all the towns of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary. Waterford submitted to his son Edmond Roe Butler; this city had shut its gates a month before against the Wexford rebels; Butler was received with willingness. No violence was here committed on life or goods, no one was disturbed; several protestants

expressed a desire to depart, and they were permitted to take their entire property, without question. Callan and Gowran were at the same time and as peaceably secured. Clonmel, Carrick, and Dungarvan, were seized by Butler of Kilcash, second brother to the earl of Ormonde, in a manner so orderly and free from violence or plunder, as seemingly to deprive rebellion of its horrors. The impression made by this unusual conduct upon the surrounding country, led in one instance at least, to a dangerous confidence. Theobald Butler, the baron of Ardmaile, seeing the facility with which places were to be taken, privately assembled a large gang of his own people, and proceeded to take possession of Fethard. Hacket, the sovereign of the town, suspecting nothing, without any hesitation admitted him with a few friends; he was seized in his own house, and the keys of the town taken by Butler, who let in his undisciplined rabble to the number of a thousand, with clubs, pikes, and skeans. There were nine English in the town, these were seized and confined, and their entire property collected and shut up in the castle. Happily, the account of this transaction came to the ears of lord Dunboyne, who the next day came and dispersed the rabble, and restored the Englishmen to their freedom and property. They were then sent off to Youghal, and other places at their own choice. Of these, two were protestant clergymen, one Mr Hamilton, was sent to the countess of Ormonde, by whom he was protected with his family; the other (Mr Lowe, vicar of Cloyne,) made a less fortunate selection. He made it his desire to be conducted to the house of a Mr Mockler, who was his landlord, in the vicinity. He was under the delusive expectation that the rebellion would presently pass away, and that there was no occasion to remove far from home. He was kindly received by Mr Mockler. Some little time after, Mockler had occasion to go to Clonmel, and Lowe, for what reason is not known, accompanied him to Fethard. On parting company, Mr Mockler trusted him to the protection of a Mr Byffert, a person who was considered safe. At night, a carpenter of the name of MacHugh, with some others, attacked him in his bed, murdered him, and carried him out in the quilt to the bridge of Crompe, where they threw him into the river. Mr Mockler and Mr Byffert had an active search for the murderer, and MacHugh was soon caught and committed to prison. He escaped, but thinking himself safe in the general license of the time, returned and was again seized, on which he confessed the murder and was executed.

From such enormities this part of the country was kept comparatively free, by the humanity and firmness of the noblemen who headed the rebellion there. The Tipperary gentlemen and those of the surrounding baronies, met in the beginning of January, to consult upon the means of raising an army. It was agreed that every gentleman should raise as many cavalry and as well equipped as they could; that these levies were then to be formed into regular troops, and their pay provided for. Lord Skerrin was chosen lieutenant-general, and the command in chief offered to lord Mountgarret. He took the command, drew together a large body of men, and marched into Tipperary, where a junction with lord Skerrin placed him at the head of

nearly eight thousand men. To these, additional numbers were added under different leaders from the county of Limerick.

Lord Mountgarret, at the head of this numerous but not well appointed force, held on his way towards the county of Cork. He sat down on the way before the castle of Cnockordane, which quickly surrendered on capitulation. It is a frightful feature of the history of this rebellion, that it is thought necessary by the historian to assure us emphatically that the capitulation was "honourably observed."*

Having entered the county of Cork, he was observed by Sir William St Leger, who did not think fit to attack him, but desired a conference. This was a *ruse de guerre*. While Sir William kept the rebel lord in conference, he contrived to have his arms and military stores removed from Doneraile and other *deposits* in the vicinity, which would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the rebels. Lord Mountgarret now appeared to have the whole country at his disposal, when an obstacle on which he had least calculated arose. Lord Fermoy, whose influence in this county was as considerable as that of Mountgarret in his own, refused to submit to his command, and was supported by all the principal gentry of the county. On this lord Mountgarret turned and marched back to Kilkenny.

It was thought, and we cannot doubt it, that this incident gave a turn to the rebellion. Had lord Mountgarret at the time pursued his own success, there was nothing to resist him, he must have seized on Munster with all its places of strength, and would have been in a condition to follow up the same course all over Ireland, before the capricious and grudging hand of government would or could have raised any sufficient defence. The gentry of Cork disagreed among themselves, and when the pretensions of Mountgarret were questioned, other pretensions were discussed, and, before any thing could be agreed, the efforts of St Leger, the Boyles, and the Barrys, began to be effective in putting the country into a defensible state; their raw levies were armed, disciplined, and inured to military hardships and privations, and the time for a combined opposition passed away.

It was in this interval that the siege of Drogheda already related, took place.

The next memorable incident of lord Mountgarret's history, is the battle of Kilrush, within a few miles of Athy. He had taken a position near the bridge of Mageny, when the English troops under the command of the earl of Ormonde, were observed marching up at some distance. Mountgarret had his unbroken army of something above eight thousand men, commanded under him by lords Skerrin, Dunboyne and others, and the advantage of a peculiarly strong position. The movements of the English were such as to show that their commander was fully aware of the advantages of his enemy. The earl of Ormonde in fact had decided against the attack, but came to the resolution of passing on towards Dublin; he anticipated an effort to intercept his march, and for this he made his dispositions. These we shall relate further on. His troops had not marched far when lord Mountgarret saw his advantage, and came to the resolution of

* Carta.
2 A

not throwing away the occasion for a decisive blow; three miles further on there was a pass through which they must march, and there he determined to meet them. For this purpose leaving the enemy on the left, Mountgarret led his army round the bog of Killika, by which the pass near Ballysovanan was approachable by a short cut, and not being encumbered with baggage, it was his hope to secure the pass before the earl of Ormonde could come up. In the mean time the enemy was not idle, and a column of cavalry led by Sir T. Lucas, came onward at a brisk pace. After a couple of miles hasty marching, Mountgarret approached the pass, a low hill had for some time shut out the view of the English troops, and he had not perceived the progress they had made, his mortification was therefore great when he found that Lucas had outmarched him; the pass was seized, and he was forced to halt. He had yet the advantage of a strong position, and if his soldiers were to be trusted the enemy had nothing to hope from an attack, they could at best escape.

But the earl of Ormonde had little notion of such an alternative, his movements told of battle. He was drawing up his little army and making the most masterly arrangements at the foot of the hill, within two musket shots of Mountgarret and his people. It could be seen that he was sending off his messengers, and disposing his companies and his baggage in the places best adapted for their respective characters.

Seeing all this Mountgarret drew up his men in two divisions, rather with the design of maintaining his strong position, than of attacking his enemy; and while he was thus engaged, Sir C. Coote, and Sir R. Grenville, came up with their companies, and Sir T. Lucas took a position on the left of his position with the cavalry. These had no sooner fallen into their places, than the earl of Ormonde with his four companies came on to the charge at a rapid pace. Their approach was for a few minutes retarded, and they were thrown into some confusion, by an unexpected obstacle. When they had cleared about half the distance between them and the Irish, they came upon a hedge and a hollow way which obstructed their advance. They were however suffered to retrieve their order of attack, by moving round these impediments so as to form inside the hedge. The fight now commenced with a distant firing, which did no damage to either side. This had not lasted above half an hour when a gap was found at some distance in the hedge, through which Sir T. Lucas and Sir R. Grenville were enabled to lead the cavalry, so as to charge Mountgarret on the left. The Irish did not stand the charge, but turned and fled in great confusion towards the bog which lay at the foot of the hill; the cavalry which had been posted to protect their flanks, stood for another charge led by Grenville, on which they turned and joined their companions.

Mountgarret commanded in the right wing, which was composed of his best men, and yet stood their ground. Against these lord Ormonde led his troop of volunteers and three hundred foot commanded by Sir J. Sherlock; they fired several volleys as they came up the hill, which were received with steadiness; but as they were on the point of crossing their pikes, Mountgarret's best men turned

and fled over the hill for their lives, nor stopped to breathe till they reached the bog where they found their comrades.

In this battle Mountgarret lost seven hundred men, and as they were cut down chiefly in their flight, the loss on the other side was but twenty. After such a defeat, it is probable that he retained no great reliance on the efficiency of this unwieldy and undisciplined mob, which could be beaten against all possible disadvantages by a handful of soldiers.

He returned to Kilkenny, in the hope of effecting a more organized as well as extensive resistance. He was there appointed president of the supreme council organized in this year (1642), to methodize their proceedings and supply the place of government to the country. Of this we shall give a brief account in the next memoir, which may be considered as the commencement of a new chapter of events.

He did not however allow the civil station which thus enlarged his influence in a party, which at this time, as we shall hereafter show more at large, was fast attaining weight both in counsel and arms, to detain him from enterprise in the field. The insurrection had assumed a more specious character both from the accession of intrinsic advantages, and still more, from the occurrences of English history, which must at the time have had considerable effect in confusing the question of authority. When it became doubtful in whom was vested the powers of the sword and balance, rebellion must have assumed a fairer name, and lifted up a prouder front—another act of this bloody tragedy was now to commence.

On the 18th of March, 1642, lord Mountgarret took his share in the battle of Ross, between Preston and the earl of Ormonde. In the following year his name occurs in the capture of Borras. He was also with lord Castlehaven, and many other of the rebel lords, at the siege of Ballynakil. This siege commenced in November 26th, 1641; and is chiefly memorable for the extreme sufferings of the garrison and inhabitants, who were left to their own miserable resources, and held out with the most slender subsistence, and even without arms. At their surrender, upwards of one hundred and fifty had perished rather from want and disease, than the weapon of the foe. On this occasion, as on every other, lord Mountgarret is to be distinguished not less for his humanity, than for his attention to the relief of distressed protestants. The offices of humanity were at the time rendered difficult, by the continual increase of angry and fanatic passions. He did not long survive their termination. After his death, which happened in 1651, he was excepted from pardon by Cromwell's act for the settlement of Ireland in 1652. He was buried in St. Canice church in Kilkenny.

PATRICK, NINTH LORD DUNSANY.

BORN A. D. 1588—DIED A. D. 1668.

WE have already mentioned the conduct of the Roman Catholic noblemen of the pale, and the rash and unfair treatment by which they

were forced into rebellion. Among these, none other held a more respectable place than the noble lord whose name precedes this article. We however notice him here, not for any high prominence, either in his individual character, or for his achievements in peace or war, but as he merits commemoration for his humane and manly conduct during a time, and under circumstances of unparalleled emergency and distress. We also take the occasion which a brief and summary notice will afford, to insert a paper of his writing which may assist in elucidating and authenticating to the reader's satisfaction, some observations we have made, and more we shall hereafter have occasion to make on the conduct of the government in that period which must occupy our attention through this volume.

The reader is already acquainted with the history of this ancient family. The ninth lord Dunsany was born in 1588. He had not completed his ninth year, when, according to Lodge, his father died. We do not, of course, profess to comprehend the rule by which Mr Lodge has made the computation. But as he places the father's death in 1603, we should observe, that by the common method of reckoning, the young lord must have attained his fifteenth year. His mother was murdered on the 9th March, 1609. A female servant was executed for the murder; but some time after, a man who was condemned for some other felony, confessed himself to have been her murderer.

This lord Dunsany was present at the parliament in 1613. He was rated at one hundred pounds to the subsidy granted to the king in 1615. In 1617, he surrendered his estates, and obtained a new title by grant from the king, and a few years after obtained considerable additions to his estate in the King's and Queen's counties, and in Westmeath, in consideration of lands surrendered to lord Lambert in the north. His lordship bore an active part in the parliamentary proceedings of 1634.

We now approach the period in which he comes under historic notice. On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1641, he promptly presented himself before the lords-justices, and offered his assistance for the suppression of the rebellion. The offer was not accepted. The lords-justices commanded him to go home, as they at that time did every other lord who was under the same circumstances, a Roman catholic, or not of their own immediate party. Lord Dunsany returned home for the protection of his family, and manned his castle—which soon became the refuge of the hunted and persecuted protestants—and even for the miserable and insufficient soldiery which was kept up in the county of Meath. Having made Dunsany castle a place of strength and security, he repaired with his family to his house at Castlecor, which he also strengthened in like manner for a general sanctuary for the persecuted and defenceless. While resident at this place, many occurrences put his courage, firmness, and humanity to the proof, and as they have been registered among the depositions of witnesses on their oath in courts of justice, may be regarded as permanent testimonials of his worth. During the siege of Drogheda, the Irish besiegers were highly discontented with the protection given by his lordship to the persons and property of the English; so much so that the people began to say that he kept a hornet's nest of Eng-

lish about him. On one occasion, a gentleman of the name of Crant, whose life appears to have been pursued with some inveteracy by his enemies, had taken refuge under the shelter of Castlecor. The noble lord was hardly pressed to give him up on various pretences, but refused to trust the assurances of those who sought him. He assured the most forward of these, that he would rather lose his own blood than betray any gentleman who fled to him for refuge. And shortly after, when it was necessary to remove the persecuted Crant from Castlecor, his noble protector would not trust him to a guard, but himself escorted him to Dunsany castle.

Notwithstanding this manly and beneficent conduct, lord Dunsany presently became himself the object of a most cruel, oppressive, arbitrary, and unmerited severity. On the 20th February the king's proclamation was landed, ordering the submission of the Irish lords and gentry, and saving the privileges and immunities of those who should within a given time come in. With this proclamation in his pocket, lord Dunsany, who had in no way transgressed, and whose family had been uniformly among the foremost in adherence to the crown, amid the troubles of every period, came to Dublin and offered himself before the lords-justices; he asserted his innocence, his reputation for loyalty, and the great hazards he had incurred thereby. The justices sent him to prison, and ordered an indictment against him on a charge of high treason; and, to render the case more secure, they ordered that his trial should proceed in the inferior courts, which then admitted of a greater variety of obscure resources, and were less within the daylight of the public eye. The means of corrupting the administration of justice were also various, and employed without measure or remorse by the official characters in the reigns of James and Charles: of this we have offered one flagrant case, and might have adduced enough to fill a volume, had such been our object. We here insert lord Dunsany's petition to the parliament, as containing a clear and authoritative account of these incidents of his life.

"To the right honourable the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled. The humble petition of Patrick, lord baron of Dunsany.

"Showing,

"That after the prorogation of the session of parliament, held in Dublin in 1641, your suppliant repaired home expecting a commission with others, to parley or treat with the northern Irish, then in rebellion; but no commission issuing, and the rebels with great power and strength ruining and overrunning the whole country, posted to this city and addressed himself to the late lords-justices, informing them of the condition of the country, and craved their advice and aid; was, nevertheless, commanded home again, upon his allegiance, without any aid or help, to defend himself the best he could; upon which your suppliant repaired to Dunsany and manned that house, which became the only sanctuary for the distressed English and his majesty's army in that part of Meath, which he yet had kept from the malice of the enemy; and having so done he parted thence, and took his wife and children with him unto his house at Castlecorre, adjoining to the

O'Renys' country, and there likewise manned and maintained said house against the rebels, until the beginning of March following, and in the time of his abode there, did preserve both the lives and goods of a great number of English protestants, their wives and children, and from thence conducted them unto this city, to the great hazard of his own life, as many of them now in this city will testify, and did openly, in all the time of his residence in that country, protest against the rebellion and the movers thereof, dissuading many that would have gone into action not to go, nor to adhere unto the actors, and being no longer able to live there, about the time aforesaid, parted thence, and sent his wife and family, with such of the English as staid with them, unto Dunsany, by night, himself having taken another way unto this city, to tender himself unto the then lords-justices, which he did the 8th of the said month, voluntarily to satisfy them of the condition he lived in, and to acquit himself of either having heart or hand in that action, or in any sort adhering to the actors, by delivering the threatening letters sent him by the rebels, that they would prosecute him as an enemy, with fire and sword, if he would not assist them by sending men and means to the siege of Drogheda; which, rather than he would do, did hazard his life, in travelling by night out of all roads, there being several ambushes laid for him; and for his loyalty, had his own daughter, and his son's wife (being both great with child) stripped and sent home naked; and his said house at Castlecorre, after his parting, with all his goods and furniture, to the value of four thousand pounds, burned and destroyed. And although your suppliant did so voluntarily tender himself, upon the assurance of his own innocency with a desire to serve his majesty, was notwithstanding committed to prison, and after indicted as a rebel, when as the king, out of his wonted clemency, had published, in January before, under his royal hand and privy signet, a proclamation of grace to all that would lay down arms, and submit unto his mercy; of which your suppliant at the worst was most capable (of any,) in regard he was the first that tendered himself to his highness' service, and never took up arms against him, nor offended any, but relieved all that came in his way; and, after enduring eighteen months' imprisonment, his whole estate (except Dunsany) being destroyed by the rebels, was, by order of his majesty, among others, released, but was, though without order from his highness, bound over unto the king's bench, it being no proper court for his trial, and as yet standeth bound to appear there in Michaelmas term next, and so will be perpetually bound over in that kind, unless this honourable house takes some order for his relief. And for as much as your suppliant, being a member of this house, to have suffered in this kind, without your orders or privy, he conceiveth the same to be a great breach of the privileges of the house.

"And therefore humbly imploreth your honourable aid, and favour herein, by presenting his sufferings unto the lord-lieutenant general of this kingdom, and in the mean time, to admit him his place and vote in the house.

"And he will pray," &c.

The parliament was prorogued on the same day that this petition

was presented. And he obtained no redress till the restoration. A provision was then inserted in the act of explanation, by which the commissioners for the execution of that act were directed to restore to his lordship his seat, and one third of the whole estate of which he had been possessed on the 22d October, 1641.

This lord died in his 80th year, in 1668.

LETTITIA, BARONESS OPHALY.

DIED A. D. 1658.

WE have already in our notice of Sir Charles Coote, had occasion to mention a remarkable instance of firmness and courage in the conduct of this illustrious Irishwoman. We did not then wish to digress to a sufficient extent, to insert the whole correspondence which occurred between her ladyship and her besiegers. It is no less illustrative of the time in which she lived than of her personal character, and may be advantageously read by any one who desires thoroughly to view the events and the social state of Ireland, in a period in some respects unlike that in which we live.

This baroness was granddaughter to Gerald, eleventh earl of Kildare, and only daughter of Gerard his eldest son, who died before his father. She was created baroness Ophaly, and was heir general to the house of Kildare, and inherited the barony of Geashill. She married Sir Robert Digby of Coleshill, in the county of Warwick. Sir Robert died in 1618, leaving the baroness a widow with seven children.

With this family her ladyship lived in the castle of Geashill, in honour and respect with her neighbours and dependants, and like many noble and virtuous ladies who only require the occasion of circumstance to render them illustrious by the display of those high and generous virtues with which the Creator has so liberally endowed the gentler and purer sex, performing in contented privacy the duties of mother to her children, and of a kind and considerate mistress of her household and tenantry, until 1641, when the country fell into that disordered state, in which goodness and gentleness could be no protection. But the daughter and heiress of the Geraldines was also the inheritress of the fearless spirit of her race, and when the rudeness of that most degrading period suggested the hope of finding an easy prey in the feebleness of an unprotected lady, her brutal assailants met with a resistance worthy of commemoration in the record of history.

Geashill had in earlier times belonged to the O'Dempseys; and we find the name of four Dempseys among those who subscribed to the summons which the baroness first received from the rebels. On this occasion, Henry Dempsey, brother to the lord Clannmalier, with others of the same family, opened their proceedings with the following paper, of which the intent demands no explanation.

"We, his majesty's loyal subjects, at the present employed in his highness's service, for the sacking of your castle, you are therefore to

deliver unto us the free possession of your said castle, promising faithfully that your ladyship, together with the rest within your said castle *resiant*, shall have a reasonable composition; otherwise, upon the non-yielding of the castle, we do assure you that we will burn the whole town, kill all the Protestants, and spare neither man, woman, nor child, upon taking the castle by compulsion. Consider, madam, of this our offer, impute not the blame of your own folly unto us. Think not that here we brag. Your ladyship, upon submission, shall have safe convoy to secure you from the hands of your enemies, and to lead you whither you please. A speedy reply is desired with all expedition, and then we surcease.

"Henry Dempsie; Charles Dempsie; Andrew Fitz-Patrick; Conn Dempsie; Phelim Dempsie; James MacDonnell; John Vickars."

To this summons, she returned this answer:—"I received your letter, wherein you threaten to sack this my castle by his majesty's authority. I have ever been a loyal subject, and a good neighbour among you, and therefore cannot but wonder at such an assault. I thank you for your offer of a convoy, wherein I hold little safety; and therefore my resolution is, that being free from offending his majesty, or doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently, I will do the best to defend my own, leaving the issue to God; and though I have been, I still am desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet being provoked, your threats shall no whit dismay me."

"After two months," (writes Archdall) "the lord viscount Clannalier brought a great piece of ordnance (to the making of which, as it was credibly reported, there went seven score pots and pans, which was cast three times by an Irishman from Athboy, before they brought it to that perfection, in which it was at Geashill), and sent another summons to her ladyship in these words:—

"Noble Madam, It was never my intention to offer you any injury, before you were pleased to begin with me, for it is well known, if I were so disposed, you had not been by this time at Geashill; so as I find you are not sensible of the courtesies I have always expressed unto you, since the beginning of this commotion; however, I did not thirst for revenge, but out of my loving and wonted respects still towards you, I am pleased and desirous to give you fair quarter, if you please to accept thereof, both for yourself, children, and grandchildren, and likewise for your goods; and I will undertake to send a safe convoy with you and them either to Dublin, or to any other of the next adjoining garrisons, either of which to be at your own election; and if you be not pleased to accept of this offer, I hope you will not impute the blame unto me, if you be not fairly dealt withal, for I expect to have the command of your house before I stir from hence; and if you please to send any of your gentlemen of your house to me, I am desirous to confer thereof at large. And so expecting your speedy answer, I rest your loving cousin,

"LEWIS GLANMALEROE.

"P.S. Madam, there are other gentlemen now in this town, whose names are hereunto subscribed, who do join and unite themselves in mine offer unto you,

"Lewis Glanmaleroe, Art O'Molloy, Henry Dempsie, Edward Connor, Charles Connor, Daniel Doyne, John MacWilliam."

To this letter, lady Ophaly sent the following answer:—

"My Lord,—I little expected such a salute from a kinsman, whom I have ever respected, you being not ignorant of the great damages I have received from your followers of Glenmaleroe, so as you can't but know in your own conscience, that I am innocent of doing you any injury, unless you count it an injury for my people to bring back a small quantity of mine own goods where they found them, and with them, some others of such men as have done me all the injury they can devise, as may appear by their own letter. I was offered a convoy by those that formerly besieged me, I hope you have more honour than to follow their example, by seeking her ruin that never wronged you. However, I am still of the same mind, and can think no place safer than my own house, wherein if I perish by your means, the guilt will light on you, and I doubt not but I shall receive a crown of martyrdom dying innocently. God, I trust, will take a poor widow into his protection from all those which without cause are risen up against me,

"Your poor kinswoman,

"LETTICE OPHALEY.

"P. S. If the conference you desire do but concern the contents of this letter, I think this answer will give you full satisfaction, and I hope you will withdraw your hand, and show your power in more noble actions."

After his lordship had received this answer, he discharged his piece of ordnance against the castle, which at the first shot broke and flew in pieces; but his men continued with their muskets and other arms to fire until the evening, when they took away the broken piece of ordnance, and marched off in the night; but before their departure, his lordship sent the following letter thus directed:—

"To my noble cousin, the Lady Lettice, Baroness of Ophaley.

"MADAM,

"I received your letter, and am still tender of your good and welfare, though you give no credit thereunto; and whereas, you do understand by relation, that my piece of ordnance did not prosper, I believe you will be sensible of the hazard and loss you are like to sustain thereby, unless you will be better advised to accept the kind offer which I mentioned in my letter unto you in the morning; if not, expect no further favour at my hands, and so I rest your ladyship's loving cousin,

"LEWIS GLANMALEROE."

To which my lady returned answer by one of her own men who was kept prisoner.

"MY LORD,

"Your second summons I have received, and should be glad to find you tender of my good; for your piece of ordnance I never disputed

how it prospered, presuming you would rather make use of it for your own defence or against enemies, than to try your strength against a poor widow of your own blood; but since you have bent it against me, let the blood which shall be shed be required at their hands that seek it; for my part, my conscience tells me that I am innocent, and wishing you so too, I rest your cousin.

“LETTICE OPHALEY.”

She was further menaced by Charles Dempsie, who wrote the following letter, with a design of sending it to her that afternoon, but being beaten out of the town, he was prevented, and it was found in one of the houses.

“MADAM,

“I do admire that a lady of your worth and honour as you conceive yourself to be, should in so regardless a sort, instead of matters of conscience in your letters, use frivolous and scandalous words, expressly nominating us your enemies *Glanmaleros Kearnes*, and that, in that letter written this very day unto Sir Luke Fitzgerald desiring his assistance to the number of fifty men, which should quash and cashier us here hence, he being your enemy no less than we, secluding kindred, not prophaneness of religion. Nay, your ladyship was not formerly abashed to write to William Parsons, naming us in that letter unto them, a mixt multitude. Remember yourself, madam, consisting of more women and boys than men. All these letters before your ladyship shortly shall be produced. Both the messengers we have intercepted, together with your letters, and do detain them as yet prisoners, until such time as thereof we do certify your ladyship, which at the present we thought to do expedient. They are, therefore, censured to death, and this day is prefixed for their execution, your ladyship by your letters desires novelties. Hear then, Chidley Coote (correspondently to the intent of your letters to Parsons, coming to your aid), being intercepted in the way, was deadly wounded, ten taken prisoners, his ensigns taken away. One *Alman Hamnett's* man, if he come safe with his message, (as I hope he will not), will confirm this news. Had the character of these letters of yours been either Lloyd's or Hamnett's, that politick engineer and the adviser of quilllets, (by him that bought me), no other satisfaction should be taken but their heads; though, as the case stands, *Hamnett* lives in no small danger for manifold reasons.

“CHARLES DEMPSEIE.”

But notwithstanding all these menaces and attacks, she held out with great spirit, until fetched off safe by Sir Richard Grenville, in October, 1642, after which she retired to Coleshill.

RANDAL MACDONELL, EARL OF ANTRIM.

BORN A. D. 1609—DIED A. D. 1682.

Of the ancestry of the Macdonells we have already had occasion to take notice. The person we are now to commemorate is one of the many whom fortune rather than any inherent merit has made eminent, more by the conspicuous display of the ordinary passions and weaknesses incidental to our nature, than by wisdom, courage or virtue.

He was educated in England, where he early recommended himself at court by the specious attractions of person, manner, and imposing pretensions. These advantages were greatly improved by his marriage with the widow of the celebrated George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, by means of which he was enabled to appear with great splendour at the English court, and was introduced to the favour of the queen.

When the troubles in Scotland broke into war in 1639, this lord was forward to offer his services, which were accepted by the king, who was about to march into Scotland, against the covenanters with the duke of Argyle at their head. The earl was in the habit of speaking in lofty terms of the power and influence which he possessed in Ireland, and proposed to levy a considerable force of Ulster men, and make a descent on the Scottish Isles; over which he presumed that his own descent from the "lords of the Isles" gave him no small influence. He was thus to effect a diversion, so as to occupy the attention of the duke of Argyle on one quarter, while the king's army should make their approaches on the other. He was sent into Ireland to make his levies; but whatever service might have been thus effected by a more discreet and capable person, Antrim was utterly devoid of all the essential qualifications. His very forwardness to embark in a great design appears to have been but the effect of the want of all conception of the real difficulties to be encountered, and like many sanguine and shallow persons he was rather actuated by a blind self-confidence than by any distinct conception of his design. His imposing language which deceived the king, and it is probable himself, had little weight with the penetrating and masterly intellect of Strafford, then the lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Besides other objections, which we here omit, to his plan, Strafford on conversing with the earl at once discerned his entire ignorance of military affairs, and his incapacity for any service that needed forecast, prudence, discretion and experience in the conduct of affairs. The earl had, he found, entered upon an extensive and hazardous undertaking without any consideration of the means by which it was to be effected, and strongly remonstrated against both the project and the man. But Antrim's friends at court were all powerful at the time; the weighty influence of the queen was exerted for him, and the earl of Strafford was strongly pressed by the king to forward the undertaking. On this, every thing was put in train, and every assistance was given to the earl of Antrim; the organization of his army was projected and officers appointed, and emissaries were sent off to the Isles to concert a rising with the Macdonalds. After all this pomp of pre-

paration, it was but too apparent that the earl had overrated his power in the north; he was only enabled to attend the king's expedition with a force small in point of number, but fortunate in not being put to the proof. The English and Scottish armies having come in sight of each other, the king was prevented by his generals, who had no great wish to fight for him, from offering battle; and the reputation of Antrim was allowed to continue untarnished for other trials.

After the treaty of peace (signed on this occasion), the earl accompanied the king to Oxford, and returning to Ireland sat in the parliament 1640. After this he continued to live in Ireland, sustaining the character for which he was by nature best fitted, by magnificent and popular hospitality, until the growing troubles rose to a height incompatible with the peaceful pomps and vanities of life. His countess was compelled to take refuge in England, and again filled a distinguished place in the favour of queen Henrietta and her court. The character of the earl was assailed by the scandalous aspersion of having joined with the rebels, but this malicious charge was repelled by the strong testimony of Parsons, who was the witness of the harmlessness of his deportment in Dublin. In the commencement of the rebellion, his lordship is honourably to be distinguished for the humane and active assistance he gave to the distressed protestants, whose condition was then more deplorable than it afterwards came to be in the further stage of the war. Nor can we trace his lordship in any overt proceeding of a political tendency, till the spring of 1642, when having visited his property in the north, he was probably worked upon by the enthusiasm of his own dependents to form high expectations from the favour of the northerners. With the facile and prurient inflammability of a warm fancy and over-weening self-confidence, he at once began to reckon on the effects of his own authority and influence, by which he hoped to convert a rebel multitude into a royal army devoted to the interests of king Charles. In this expectation he was doomed to meet with disappointment; the rebels were pleased at the accession of a name so well suited to give speciousness to their favourite pretence of royal authority. But they saw easily through the ostentatious and feeble spirit that tried in vain to assume an ascendant over their minds. He was indeed too good for them, and too incapable either of going the whole length in atrocity which they uniformly sought in their leaders, and without which no one long continued to have any authority among them; neither had he the craft necessary to temporize, or to suppress his own temper and opinions. Disgusted with their cowardly massacres, which fell entirely on the unarmed and defenceless, upon whom they wreaked vengeance for the severe and often too sweeping justice of military judges; he was loud in the expression of his horror, and condemned their entire conduct, in a tone that plainly manifested an entire unconsciousness of all their peculiar objects and passions. He was prompt and liberal in relieving the distressed and hunted protestants, and it was but too plain that however desirable the accession of the rebel army might be to his lordship's private views, he was not exactly the person they wanted. An instance of his meritorious activity in this character occurred during the time when Coleraine was besieged by the Irish army in 1641, when he prevailed with the Irish officers

so far as to allow the people of the town to graze their cattle for three miles round; and was permitted to send in large supplies of corn to the starving inhabitants.

The earl failing to turn the rebels to his own purposes was not induced to embrace their motives or adopt their cause. So far from this, he raised a regiment of his own tenantry; but these plain proofs of loyalty were not in these uncertain times sufficient to protect him from becoming the object of suspicion. Monroe having entered the county of Antrim, considered the reports which had circulated of his commerce with the rebels and the fact of his being a papist, sufficient excuse to commit an outrage upon him not unworthy of Sir Phelim O'Neile.

Dunluce castle was the stronghold and residence of the ancient family of M'Quillan, the ancient chiefs of that district, and it was as leader of a Scottish army that the ancestor of the earl of Antrim had expelled these ancient proprietors, and obtained possession of their rock and domain. Here the earl was residing when he received a visit of seeming compliment from Monroe, the general of the Scottish force in Ulster. Monroe was welcomed with all the frank hospitality, and entertained with all the splendour of his generous but unobservant host. The entertainment was not well over when the signal was given, and the astonished earl seized and hurried off a prisoner, while the castle and domain were plundered by his cold-minded and plotting captor.

He was so fortunate as to escape from Monroe and fled into England, where he waited on the queen at York. It was at the time when the king's friends were labouring to procure a cessation of arms in Ireland; Antrim was, as was natural to him, soon led to put forward his notions of his own efficiency to promote this design, and was presently sent into Ireland with instructions; but he was taken on his landing and imprisoned by Monroe in Carrickfergus, where he lay for some months, his enemy all the time drawing his rents and remaining master of his whole possessions, without the slightest heed of the king's letters to command restoration. Once more the earl succeeded in escaping from his enemy and reached Oxford again, December, 1643.

It happened then, as is known to the reader, that the marquess of Montrose was endeavouring to raise an army to create a diversion in Scotland, so as to draw back the army which had marched into England, and was at the time in treaty with the parliament. Antrim was consulted, and engaged "that if the king would grant him a commission, he would raise an army in Ireland, and transport it to Scotland, and would himself be at the head of it; by means whereof, he believed all the clan of the Macdonells in the Highlands might be persuaded to follow him."* To this a ready consent was given, and the king by privy seal created him marquess of Antrim, 26th January, 1644.

The marquess with his characteristic disregard of circumstances, adopted the means which must be admitted to offer some specious advantages for his purpose. His conduct was in principle the same which had on the previous occasion, already mentioned, involved him in the proceedings of the rebels; but circumstances had widely

* Lodge.

changed, and the confederates of Kilkenny might well be assumed to be sincere in their allegiance against a common enemy. Rebellion had changed sides: a confusion of parties had now arisen which admitted of the utmost latitude of construction, and it must have appeared to the marquess a happy expedient to take the oath of association and become a member of the supreme council of Kilkenny. The device had the common justification of such measures, and it was successful. By the favour of the council he was enabled to raise 1500 effective men, whom he sent to Montrose under the command of colonel Alexander Macdonell; and who distinguished themselves very highly in all his battles.

The next appearance of the marquess is in 1647, when he was with two others sent by the council of Kilkenny to the queen and prince Charles, to desire that a lord-lieutenant might be sent to govern the country. The marquess of Ormonde landed soon after and concluded a treaty of peace, but Rinuncini being, as the reader is aware, pertinaciously opposed to peace; he was joined by O'Neile and the marquess of Antrim.

In 1651 he appears engaged in Cromwell's party and in his pay; he is mentioned at this time to have received £500 a-year from him, which was afterwards, in 1655, increased. This liberal allowance appears to have been for no other purpose but for the use of his influence in the north, and for the countenance of a name. His active services were not required, and he took no decided part on the parliamentary side: his own motive was probably no more than to save himself by a passive acquiescence; while, considering the party with whom he had to deal and the weakness of his own character, it is equally to be presumed that he was as useful as was in any way desired to Cromwell. This connexion did not prevent his using his best exertions to serve the royal cause. When the prince came into England he supplied him with arms and ammunition, and after the battle of Worcester assisted in procuring ships for his escape.

On account of these services, he afterwards obtained the restoration to his estates by the act of settlement. He was twice married, but had no children, and when he died in 1682, he was succeeded by his brother.

As we are now to enter upon the events which lead to, or are contemporary with the revolution of 1688, we shall in this, as in the memoirs which immediately follow, endeavour to pursue, as nearly as possible, the onward progress of events; and to avoid needless repetition, we shall, whenever it may be necessary to retrace our steps, recur to incidents already commemorated, as briefly as can be made consistent with clearness. It may be convenient to the reader to be apprised that in this and the memoirs immediately following, we mean to dwell at some length upon the incidents principally leading to the revolution. The remainder of this period, though replete with event, is little marked by illustrious characters; and our subjects are selected, more

with a view to the relation of the momentous and interesting train of incidents which constitute a *marked era* in the history of England and Ireland, than for any claim which the *persons* whose names must head these memoirs have upon our pen.

A. FORBES, EARL OF GRANARD.

BORN A. D. 1623—DIED A. D. 1695.

THE family of Forbes seems to be of Scottish descent: and like most others, is territorial, being derived from For-bois (the outer wood), the ancient form of the name, and of that of the lands near Aberdeen granted by Alexander the Second, where they long resided.

In 1622, a younger branch of this family, Sir Arthur Forbes descended from Patrick Forbes of Carfe, was with two other gentlemen of the same name (who were perhaps his brothers,) naturalized in Ireland, and received grants from James I., in the counties of Longford and Leitrim.

This person married a lady of the family and name of Lowther, and had issue, Arthur, the subject of this notice. He was in his eighteenth year at the rebellion of 1641, and could not therefore be much more than an anxious witness, or at most, a very subordinate actor at that fearful time, when he had not long entered the military service as an officer of cavalry. His mother was besieged for several days in Castle-Forbes, the residence of the family, and the siege is memorable for the valour and firm endurance which was shown in it, as also for the brutalities committed by the besiegers. The tenants of the estate, with those of lady Longford and Sir John Seaton, having been plundered and burnt out of their houses by the rebel party, crowded into Castle-Forbes for protection. Thither their persecutors quickly followed, to the amount of five hundred; and, relying on their own numbers, commenced a regular siege. They built themselves huts within musquet-shot of the walls, seized on the stock, and made several desperate assaults, in all of which they were valiantly repulsed. But not discouraged by these, they made a nearer approach, building within pistol shot and making trenches close under the walls, which they were thus enabled to annoy with a perpetual and harassing fire, by which many of the people within were shot through the windows. After some time they obtained possession of the well, from which the besieged obtained their supply of water, and contrived by a horrible expedient to render it useless: seizing a Scotchman, whom they caught in an attempt to enter the castle, they ripped open his belly and threw him into this well. The sufferings of the people and family within soon became unendurable for want of water, until they found a remedy for their distress by digging thirty feet into the ground within the bawn, and thus obtained a supply when nearly reduced to extremity. In this distressing condition matters went on until all the provision was consumed; and the lady Forbes gave her horses, which did not last very long; and the cow-hides were next attacked by the famishing, but brave and patient crowd, who bore

every privation and peril without murmuring. Lady Forbes, with lady Seaton, who had also taken shelter in the castle, wrote letters to the besiegers to entreat permission for some of the poor people that were within to go out and eat grass and herbs; they were answered, that "they would keep them in till the ravens did eat their guts." It was idly fancied by some of the poor people who had taken refuge within the walls, that their children might be permitted to go out unmolested to feed on the grass abroad, and under this delusion, two children were sent out. But the mistake was quickly ended, the children, eager for food and ignorant of the danger they incurred, went out without fear, and perhaps happy to feel themselves free; they had not proceeded many steps when they were fired upon by the reckless desperadoes, whose concealment they approached: one fell dead, the other was wounded. Immediately after, a poor woman, whose husband had fallen into their hands, went out with the devoted courage of her sex to beg his life—she had three children, of whom the youngest was at the breast—the mother and her sucking child were slain, with one of the elder children, but the other escaped. At last, after much negotiation, lady Forbes obtained terms. The rebels were so anxious to obtain possession that they were glad to obtain it at the expense of their revenge, though upwards of eighty of them had been shot from the castle walls during the siege. They permitted lady Forbes, with two hundred and twenty persons to march out with their wearing apparel and arms to Trim, which town they reached in safety, but after great hardships by the way; and from thence they escaped to Dublin.*

During the commonwealth, Sir Arthur Forbes adhered to the royal cause, and served in Scotland against the parliamentary troops, when they were commanded by Monk, from whom the royalists sustained a defeat, and were soon reduced. On this he returned to Ireland, where he was permitted, in accordance with the articles to that effect, between Monk and lord Lorne, to enjoy his estate if not disposed of. And as it appeared that he was quite unconnected with the rebellion in Ireland, his lands in the counties of Longford and Leitrim were restored.

When the Restoration was beginning to occupy the expectations of the country, Sir Arthur was sent by Coote to king Charles to invite him into Ireland. He was received with the utmost kindness as a known supporter, and dismissed with such commissions for the Irish loyalists as he had been directed to demand in case of the king's refusal to come in person.

His subsequent commissions during the long interval of broken rest, in which it was vainly endeavoured to restore the nation by settlements and commissions, we must here be content to enumerate from Lodge. After the restoration, he was appointed among the commissioners of the court of claims for the execution of the king's declaration, which appointment was repeated 1662. In 1661 he was returned to parliament for Mullingar. In 1663, when a conspiracy was formed for the seizure of Dublin, and several other towns, as already related

* Archdall.

in this volume,* Sir Arthur discovered, and by his great alertness and vigilance frustrated the intentions of the conspirators in the north, having seized and imprisoned Staples member for Derry, who was the leading conspirator; upon which the soldiers returned to their duty, and the remaining conspirators took refuge in Scotland. In 1670, Sir Arthur was sworn of the privy council, and appointed marshall of the army: he was allowed £687 8s. 4d. per annum pay, and a retinue of one trumpeter and thirty horsemen; in addition he was allowed £600 per annum secret-service money. In 1671, and again in 1675, he was appointed to the then high dignity of one of the lords-justices of Ireland; and in the last-mentioned year, he was created baron Clane-hugh and viscount Granard.†

After many services and honours, unnecessary to mention here, he was in 1684 raised in the peerage to the dignity of earl of Granard, and lieutenant-general in the army. In which post king James II. allowed him to continue; but difficulties soon arose in the execution of his duties as one of the lords-justices, which caused him to apply for his dismissal.

In our memoir of the duke of Ormonde we have already had occasion to notice the circumstances which indicate the secret course of the policy of king Charles and his brother, afterwards James II. The brothers were both Roman catholics—Charles in secret, James without reserve: the former was in truth of no religion; but the latter was not only sincere but bigoted in his faith, and a zealot to the church of his adoption. Charles, though indolent, averse from business, and still more so from the clash of creeds and parties, easily comprehended the impossibility of reconciling the English people to a popish king, and during his reign kept up a decorous reserve by the help of the natural indifference and insincerity of his nature. He shrunk from the conflict to which the duke of York and his priests were constantly endeavouring to urge him; and while he lived, though it is now easy to discern the early course of the political events which afterwards hurled his family from the throne, yet in point of fact the contest was not begun, nor is there any cause to predicate that he was likely to be seriously disturbed in his profligate and licentious reign, unless it be considered that as he grew older and more indolent, other counsels of a more determined character were beginning to assert their sway, and the duke of York, more zealous and active, though far less prudent, had actually commenced his career. Ireland was not without reason considered to be the safest ground to begin upon, and long before the period at which we are now arrived, lord Berkeley had been sent thither for the expresse purpose of preparing the way for the duke's objects, by the depression of the protestants and the gradual substitution of the papists, both in the army and in every post of power, influence, or emolument, in which it could be safely effected. Such changes were all through the chief means of operation resorted to, with a few bold attempts to effect a revolution of property, which, had they been successful, would have led by a shorter and safer path to the desired result.

* Life of the Duke of Ormonde.

† Lodge.

The conduct of Berkeley was impelled by his secretary Leighton, a creature of Buckingham's, who was sent over for the purpose of watching over and directing his administration; he was also attended by many influential papists from England, who were the judges, councillors, and spies of his actions: he was himself fully disposed for the prescribed course, and his measures were bold and decided, without scruple, or even a prudent regard to caution. Not content with favouring the church of Rome, he selected the extreme party of that church as the objects of his especial favour.

Among the clergy as well as the laity of the Romish communion in Ireland, there was at this time a division of opinion on the important question as to the authority of the pope in the secular affairs of the kingdom. One party acknowledged the king to be the supreme lord of the kingdom of Ireland; and declared or admitted that they were bound to obey him notwithstanding any sentence of the Roman see to the contrary. In conformity with this profession, a declaration was drawn up by Peter Walsh, a Franciscan, and signed by one bishop and several clergy of the Romish communion. Walsh, who was commissioned by the ecclesiastics of this party to express their sentiments to the king, drew up this declaration, which became famous under the title of the "Irish remonstrance;" it gave rise to the designations of both parties which were called remonstrants and anti-remonstrants, and was strongly framed to obviate the great and permanent objection to the toleration of popery as inconsistent with the constitution of a protestant government: it disclaimed all "foreign power, papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, inasmuch as it may seem able, or shall pretend to free them from this obligation, or permit them to offer any violence to his majesty's person or government." In addition to this, it expressed the resolution of the remonstrants to resist and discover all conspiracies against the king, and went indeed to as full a length in support of the divine and indefeasible right as might have conciliated the favour of James I.

But the grandchildren of this monarch, who were not less tenacious of that slavish principle, had a still more anxious object at heart, and were little likely to countenance any declaration which might appear inimical to the authority of the see of Rome. The duke of York felt that neither himself nor his royal brother had any concern in the allegiance which might be considered due to protestant princes. On the contrary, their present object demanded the opposite impression, to be industriously diffused; all their difficulties and all the unpopularity with which they had to struggle, were mainly owing to the ascendancy of protestant opinion and influence. They were therefore little likely to acquiesce in a declaration which they regarded more as a tribute to their enemies the protestants than to themselves. They were also well aware, and the suggestion is worth the reader's notice, that the rights of kings and the actual power of the crown were more in danger from the free opinions of protestantism, than from any interference on the part of Rome. Such appears to us to be a clear and self-evident explanation of the treatment of the remonstrants, and of the novel part taken in this contest by the English court. Under the name and external forms of protestantism, a popish monarch sat upon the throne,

and an heir presumptive of the same communion saw the prospects of his succession altogether dependent upon the success of his efforts in behalf of his church.

Strong counter declarations were soon got up, and a violent contention between the parties ensued. The duke of Ormonde, who approved of the remonstrance, had no objection to the promotion of a controversy, which served to divide and divert the spirit of the Romish church. But the scene was changed by the arrival of lord Berkeley, who not only took part with the anti-remonstrants, but made the vice-regal power subservient to their passions, by persecuting their opponents. Peter Talbot, Romish archbishop of Dublin, taking advantage of the disposition of the castle, obtained possession of the vice-regal ear, and persuaded Berkeley that he had unlimited power in Ireland, and that all the designs of the court factions would be effected without difficulty by the aid of himself and his party. He was not only permitted to celebrate a mass in Dublin, but accommodated with the plate of the castle by secretary Leighton. The remonstrants were quickly taught to feel the strength thus acquired by their adversaries, and vainly petitioned for protection. Their petition was intrusted to the duke of Ormonde, and by the interference of this great man, the lord Berkeley was instructed to protect them; but it is also probable that he received a private intimation which led him to disregard the injunction; for, exclaiming against the interference of Ormonde, he said that he should in future regard all instructions in favour of the remonstrants as coming from him, and pass it by without any notice.

Among the most evident indications of the purposes of the king's or rather the duke's party, were two which we shall find uniformly and consistently followed throughout—the granting of magisterial commissions to the papists, and their admission into the corporations: two steps, *at that period*, as directly subversive of the English interest in Ireland, as it is possible to conceive. It may at first sight appear difficult to some of our readers to see why, as forming a large portion of the people of this island, they should be debarred from offices which seem merely to imply an equality of civil rights. We must make a few observations on this important topic. In the abstract, unquestionably such exclusions are unjust: nor can any country in which they exist be considered as advanced to a high state of constitutional perfection. Such exclusions will, however, seldom be found to maintain their existence long, unless when they are rendered indispensable by the civil state of the country. And such was then the case of Ireland. This will be easily admitted by any impartial person who will recall the object of perpetual contention in this country, that it was not the civil equalization of parties but the restoration of an imaginary ancient state of things, of which the direct and immediate consequence must have been the utter prostration of the English, who were in point of fact the nucleus of civilization in Ireland. It was not equalization, but ascendancy, that was looked for, by a party in whose hands ascendancy must have become the establishment of a most degrading tyranny at home, together with the admission of a foreign jurisdiction. For the exclusion of the papists from civil equality, it was enough that they were actually under the unconstitutional, slavish, and arbitrary juris-

diction of Irish leaders, and of their priests—of which the first sought to wield the democracy for their own ends, and the second for the ends of the see of Rome. No power should be suffered to command the populace in opposition to the constitution without strong checks, even in a republican state; but in a growing country it was evident ruin to depress the thriving, wealthy, and informed classes under any pretext. In these observations the reader must perceive that we have confined ourselves to reasons purely political: the reasons here noticed are only those by which the more respectable portion of the papists were then influenced; for their cause was one with that of the Irish protestants—property law, and civilization, against disorderly and destructive cupidity, armed with the brute force of the (then) ignorant and demoralized multitude. It was not then, as is sometimes misapprehended, to exclude the members of the Romish faith from any fair privilege that they were excluded from certain civil rights: it was the consequence of their admission that was seen and guarded against. But we shall have to recur to this topic a little farther on.

The demolition of these just barriers against foreign and popular encroachment, was, as we have observed, a sure and unequivocal sign of a conspiracy against the constitution as it then stood, and the indications thus discoverable demand the more to be distinctly observed, because the whole task of the historian from the commencement, will be mainly to trace the progress of their effects, as they brought on the subversion of that ancient and corrupt system of arbitrary government, of which it was attempted to use them as a last support. The main cause of these effects, is, it is true, to be sought in the history of England, as this country was but the scene of a preliminary trial of strength and preparation; here the battle commenced and ended. In our next memoir we shall take a brief and summary view of its progress in England. These few remarks, which we shall presently have occasion to illustrate and extend, may serve sufficiently to put the reader in the possession of the leading characters of the policy which commenced the contest, and to explain the conduct of the eminent person of whom we now write.

In the year 1685, Forbes was, as we have already mentioned, joined with primate Boyle in the office of lord-justice. The time was one of extreme perplexity, as the designs, which we have been describing, were far advanced. The party which it was the policy of James, now seated on the throne, to depress, was grown discontented, alarmed, and suspicious; that to which they had been sacrificed, insolent, exacting, and exorbitant in its pretensions, and pressing forward to have all its objects carried with a high hand. Boyle and Granard were unanimous in their zeal for the maintenance of the English interest, though there were in their opinions sufficient differences to have held them asunder in ordinary times: while Boyle was zealous in the support of that church in which he was a ruler, Granard was the great patron of those shades of protestantism which dissented or maintained a worship and discipline separate from the established church of England; he had obtained five hundred pounds a-year from government for the presbyterian teachers in the north, and married a lady of presbyterian opinions. On that account he was at first the object of

strong suspicion to his reverend colleague, who was not perhaps wrong in the supposition that he was selected by the government to counteract any leaning on his own part to the church, and to divide the protestant interest. If such was the design of the English Council, it undoubtedly added one more to the long and tortuous tissue of errors in which it was involved. Ignorant of the true nature and operation of the dissent subsisting in the protestant churches of Ireland, it was not aware that the central principles of a common faith must, in the moment of extreme danger, combine the protestants of all denominations, which are united by those principles, for their common protection. And so it was at this time found: Granard, whatever may have been his private views, united sincerely with Boyle. They acted, nevertheless, with exemplary caution and moderation, as well as firmness. Receiving from the fears or designs of either party daily information and reports, equally unfounded, they dismissed them all, and were tempted or terrified by no imaginary inducement or fear from holding a calm and steady rein on both. In their determination to maintain the protestant interest, nothing in fact was more necessary than to ward off those gross and palpable injustices which the fear or zeal of the crowd will always be ready to exact. The earl was at last, however, compelled to give way to a power which was not to be repressed by any consideration short of its main object. He was pressed by his council, who were mere instruments of the English court, to authorise Roman catholics to commit any person without bail: he requested to be dismissed. The government was reluctant to take such a step, as his influence among the presbyterians was very great, and his appointment was considered to be a restraint upon himself also. The king therefore wrote him a letter to assure him that he would not do any thing injurious to the protestant interest. Nevertheless it immediately appeared so very visible that this assurance was thoroughly false, and had no view but the deception of the earl, that he soon found himself forced to act with the most decided firmness, to prevent himself from being made instrumental against the protestants; and entering with decision into their interests, he was dismissed in 1685 from his post of chairman to the council.

The remaining history of his life must be here briefly dismissed: as it contains nothing of sufficient importance to draw us into an extensive anticipation of the train of events into which we are presently to enter.

In 1690, the earl was sworn of the privy council to William III., and, in the following year, distinguished himself before Sligo, by the prudent dexterity which caused the garrison to surrender to the forces under his command and those of colonel Mitchelbourne. In the following year he took his seat in parliament, and was one of the committee appointed by the peers to present their address of thanks to the king.

He built a church at Castle Forbes, and promoted the linen trade there.

He died "in or about" 1695, and was buried at Castle Forbes.

RICHARD TALBOT, EARL OF TYRCONNEL.

DIED 1691.

The life of Richard Talbot is an essential portion of the history of his period, and, though apart from this consideration he would possess but feeble claims on the pen of the biographer, yet the history of his career may serve to afford a strong illustration of the effect of revolutionary periods, in raising the obscure to rank, fame, and public importance, without any aid from the possession of great talents or virtues. When wisdom and virtue are elevated to station and command by the dispositions of that power which overrules the tide of events, by the emergency which often sets aside for an instant the ordinary agencies of society, or by the accidents of wealth and exalted rank, they will undoubtedly win the homage which is their righteous meed: partly because the world is always ready to bow down before success, however won; and partly because men are more just in their judgments than pure in their actuating motives. The avowed conventions of society are in favour of goodness,—every popular vice must wear an honourable mask, and when bad men receive the praises of the multitude, it is not for the vices by which they are earned. But, after all that can be said, the fame of true wisdom and genuine goodness is rather a conquest over, than a consequence from, the moral influences actually operating on the world; it is an extorted concession hardly wrung, and, as in the case of the duke of Ormonde, too often followed by a long and lasting wake of detraction: while, on the other hand, base servility, whether to the humours of the people, the will of the despot of the hour, or the prejudices of the age, will rise wafted by all the influences which are at work in the ferment of human corruption: and will have a royal road of greatness, or, at least, notoriety. Between the two conditions we have thus contrasted, there is all the difference between stemming the tide, or floating with it. And there is another moral lesson which the same contrast is adapted to convey, whether it is sought in experience or the page of history: that true greatness of character will most frequently be found standing equally apart from the blind and fierce impulses of public opinion, and from the profligate venality of courts. In each of these *extremes*, there is a perpetual effort of usurpation, and an equal ignorance of the real rights of man, as well as a most strange unconsciousness of the true *locus* of that centre of moral and intellectual gravitation in which the actual power of civilized society resides, and its true balance is to be found. We should gladly extend our remarks on this most important, and much desiderated branch of moral science, but it is our business to display examples rather than enforce rules. The first duke of Ormonde has, we trust, afforded no doubtful example of a statesman who was equally inaccessible to the clamour of crowds or the corruption of tyrants, though true alike to the just claims and real interests of king and country, and assailed but too often by the ingratitude of both. In Tyrconnel, we here present the reader with a character remarkably illustrative of the contrast to these noble features.

Of the birth of Talbot we have not found any record, still less can we offer any notice of his early career; nor are these considerations such as to warrant the delay that they might offer in our narrative, which must derive its entire interest from the history of the time. We find Richard Talbot first in the historian's page the active advocate of the claims of the papists in 1662, and among the most forward and violent of those whom they sent to plead their cause in England; on which occasion he did more harm than good to the cause he was employed to serve, by his extreme want of prudence and moderation, and of all the qualities necessary for so difficult an office. If the reader should demand to what grounds we are to attribute a selection so injudicious on the part of his countrymen, we believe that, independent of the effect of mere violence to recommend the possessor to an angry crowd, Talbot was recommended by the reputation of his favour with the duke of York, into whose regard he had insinuated himself in the Netherlands before the Restoration, by a convenient and subservient attention, when attention and subserviency were harder to be met and of higher value. His devotion to the royal interests was shown, it is said, by an offer to assassinate Cromwell; and, after the restoration, his services were recompensed and his peculiar merits recognised, by the post of gentleman of the bed chamber to the duke of York.

His zeal in the cause he undertook, was increased by the early impression received in the course of the rebellion of 1641, and the terrors of the sack of Drogheda, left in his breast an abiding horror of fanaticism, which, in his narrow and worldly view, perhaps included all of religion beyond its forms and its secular associations.

In 1678, he was among those persons who were ordered to be apprehended on the accusations of the popish plot: but nothing to his prejudice having been discovered, he was permitted to leave the kingdom. From exile he was soon allowed to return, when this spurious excitement had subsided, and a strong reaction of popular feeling for a time gave strength to the actual machinations of the king's and duke's designs for the same end. On his return he lost no time in the exertion of his influence with the duke; and availing himself of his reputed knowledge of Irish affairs, he soon raised a fresh cloud of calumnies, doubts, and misapprehensions against the government of Ireland, then in the hands of the duke of Ormonde. The recall of this illustrious nobleman was the immediate consequence: Rochester was sent over with contracted powers; and the authority over military affairs, which till then had been committed to the lord-lieutenant, were now transferred to the lieutenant-general; which post was destined for Talbot.

Rochester, unwilling perhaps to go to Ireland, delayed his journey, and, in the mean time, a fresh and sudden change took place in the condition of affairs. The circumstances appear to be imperfectly understood: the king seems to have given way to those secret counsels in favour of Monmouth, which created a sudden coolness between him and the duke of York, of whose presence he endeavoured to rid himself by sending him to Scotland. The projected policy with regard to Ireland was entirely suspended, and matters remained there in a state of suspense, though aggravated by the increased animosity and the mutual accusations of parties.

Under these circumstances, while matters appeared not only to take a turn opposed to the duke's political designs, but even to menace his claim to the succession, the king opportunely died under circumstances impossible to be perused without some strong impressions of foul play. The duke was under a growing disfavour, and the earl of Rochester was on the point of being sent to the Tower, on a charge of official malversation in the treasury; and "a message was sent to Mr May, then at Windsor, to desire him to come to court that day, which it was expected would turn out a very critical day. And it proved to be so indeed, though in a different way."* The king was taken suddenly ill after taking "a porringer of spoon meat," which was made "too strong for his stomach," after which he had an unquiet night. The next day he was attended by Dr King, a chemist whom he had sent for concerning some chemical operations, upon which he was at the time engaged. When the doctor came, he was unable to understand the king, whose language was become suddenly so broken and incoherent as to be unintelligible. The doctor went out and reported this unusual circumstance to lord Peterborough, who desired him to return to the king: but he had hardly entered the chamber when the king fell down in a fit, which, for the moment, was judged to be apoplectic. The doctor then bled him, and he regained his senses; but still appeared so oppressed and stupified, that a return of the same attack was expected hourly. It was proposed to administer the sacrament to him, and he was addressed by Sancroft and Kenn, who, considering the real emergency of the occasion, spoke strongly to him of his sinful life: the king was meanwhile exhibiting in the presence of these reverend prelates a singular illustration of the life he had led, and of his awful unfitness to meet so sudden a call; for he was supported in the bed on which he sat by his mistress the duchess of Portsmouth. He was pressed to receive the sacrament, but resisted all entreaty till the duke of York sent for Huddleston, a favourite priest of his own persuasion: when this person had all things prepared for the purpose, every one was desired to leave the room but the earl of Bath and Feversham, when the sacrament according to the ritual of the Romish communion was administered with extreme difficulty, as the king was unable to swallow the wafer. After which, the company being re-admitted, the king "went through the agonies of death" very decently, according to Burnet: now and then complaining of being burned up within, but still commanding his sufferings enough to deliver his last injunctions to the duke, in favour of his favourite mistresses Portsmouth, and Nell Gwyn; and to give his blessing to those present, who fell on their knees to receive it, which seems to have been carrying the farce of court obsequiousness as far as can well be conceived. And thus king Charles II. died. In addition to the slight incidents which give a suspicious character to these circumstances, one far more unequivocal remains to be told. Poison was suspected by some of the physicians: and when the body was examined, great care was taken to divert the attention of the medical men present, from the stomach, which was not suffered to be examined; but while means were taken to divert and

* Burnet's Own Time.

interrupt the spectators' attention, it was suddenly put out of the way; but not before doctors Lower and Needham observed "two or three blue spots on the outside," from which their inference was evidently of an unfavourable nature. "Needham," says Burnet, "called twice to have it opened," but the operators pretended not to hear; and he heard a murmur amongst them when he repeated the call. Le Fevre, a French doctor, observed a blackness on the shoulder; and Short, whose creed encouraged him to speak his suspicions more freely, "did very much suspect foul dealing," and was soon after taken ill after drinking a large dose of wormwood wine given him by a patient, and died, expressing his opinion to the physicians who attended him, that he was poisoned for having spoken too freely of the king's death! These incidents may easily be overrated; yet it is not to be neglected that they are reported upon the authority of those who were least likely to be deceived; and whose inferences were the most likely to be grounded on a just appreciation of the actual circumstances. After having composed his history, Burnet received a very curious account from a Mr Henly, of Hampshire, of a conversation this gentleman had with the duchess of Portsmouth, who expressed herself as if she thought the king had been poisoned; and on being further pressed, she mentioned that she had always pressed his majesty to set himself at ease with his people, by coming to an agreement with his parliament; that he had made up his mind to follow this advice, and as a needful preliminary, resolved to send away the duke. These purposes were to have been carried into effect the day following that on which he was taken ill. She having been aware of these particulars beforehand, mentioned them (with an injunction of secrecy perhaps,) to her confessor: it was her impression that this person mentioned them to others, and that they thus went round through the parties most interested to prevent the king's designs by any means. This account, it must be observed, seems to coincide with the facts, so far as they are known, and account as well for the sudden interruption above mentioned in the Irish arrangements as far as the king's sudden death.

The licentious profligate, whose prudence, when fairly alarmed, might have led him to recall his steps and retrieve the fortunes of his race, was succeeded by his shallow and bigoted brother on the throne. Sincere and earnest in the principles he would have maintained, inflated with a false notion of the power and rights of kings, incapable of any sense of public rights, or not conceiving the real force and character of public opinion and national feeling, he tampered with these dangerous elements with a feeble and inadvertent hand, until they exploded, to the destruction of his house, and the subversion of the infirm and tottering pillars on which it stood.

Among his first acts was the reparation of that broken tissue of fraud and despotism, by which he had fondly hoped to effect his favourite purpose. The recall of the duke of Ormonde was confirmed with circumstances of gratuitous harshness; and having publicly avowed his adherence to the church of Rome, he prepared to pave the way for the restoration of the papal dominion in England by the completion of its triumphs in Ireland. The mere report of his favour went before his acts, and heaped fresh fuel in Ireland upon the flames of party

contention and fear. The Irish papists were naturally eager to avail themselves to the fullest extent, of a revolution which appeared to be working in their favour. The notions of the day with regard to civil rights were crude, loose, and unsettled. The various territorial arrangements which had been taking place since the great rebellion, by which lands and claims had appeared to be shifted by arbitrary awards and decisions with a meteoric uncertainty, had tended to this effect, as well as the continued interpositions of government, by stretches of prerogative and special enactment, rather than by ascertained ordinances and jurisdictions. With the understood sanction of the king, sudden impulses of popular feeling became more violent in the effects which they produced: the party animosity or alarm, as well as the ambition and cupidity of turbulent and designing partisans, were at once in arms, and all who looked for any advantage rushed with characteristic impetuosity to their object. The papists were animated not simply by the desire of obtaining political ascendancy—they were also governed by an ardent thirst for revenge: nor, considering human nature, do we consider the statement to their prejudice; for they were only obliged to look on the policy of which they had been the subjects, according to the principles they held; and if we abstract that stern and stringent policy from its own most imperative reasons, it could not fail to be regarded as oppressive. The time was now seemingly at hand for the assertion of their civil and ecclesiastical principles, and for seizing upon the ascendancy, which every party will not fail to usurp when the occasion offers. The restoration of the forfeited lands was expected to follow that of a communion, which the fondness of popular credulity now conceived to be the ancient faith of the land; and this expectation gave its usual excitement to the eagerness of the fresh impulse then communicated. The proceedings of council and their enactments appeared tardy to the popular zeal, and the departure of the duke of Ormonde to Dublin was the signal for a universal influx of the party, thus roused into life and hope. The alarm thus excited was increased by the selection of officers appointed by the English council. They were, it is true, protestants; for the king was checked at every stage of his rash course by the advice of persons more cautious than he; but they were generally supposed to be selected for dispositions likely to promote the royal aims: Boyle (until tried) was supposed to have a leaning to popery, and Granard being the zealous patron of the presbyterians, would thus, it was presumed, be not unlikely to lead to a division of the hostile camp. These impressions were indeed, as we have already noticed, soon found to be erroneous.

The rebellion of Monmouth, quickly suppressed, gave the king a pretext of which he gladly availed himself, to accelerate his operations. The Irish militia, embodied by the duke of Ormonde and composed of protestants, was by his orders disarmed, and the measure was rendered specious by rumours of a protestant insurrection, for which there was much cause, but no disposition. It was immediately after this act that Talbot was raised to the peerage by the king, and the act was approved by the loud applause of his party. The clergy of the church of Rome addressed the king, to petition that he would send over

the earl as lord-lieutenant, with plenary power to restore them to their rights and functions; but the king or his advisers felt that such a step would yet be precipitate: there was danger in suffering the too rapid advance of his policy in Ireland to expose its real design in England, where some degree of caution was, even by the infatuated king, felt to be necessary. The character of Talbot was rash and unmoderated by judgment. On this account it was judged safer to steer a middle course, and the earl of Clarendon was sent over. His near connexion with the king, and his zealous profession of loyal principles, together with his ignorance of Ireland, recommended him as a safe person to quiet suspicions and allay the disturbances, which, having been raised by intemperate eagerness, might lead to premature results. Clarendon began by congratulating himself in his public speech to the council on the quiet state of the country. He was ere long undeceived: the disarming of the militia had been productive of disorders unknown for many previous years in Ireland; the bands of plundering bonaghts which they had kept down, soon overspread the country with murders and robberies, and it was found necessary to restore, to a considerable extent, the arms which had been taken from the protestants.

The appointment of Clarendon was nothing more than the mask devised to cover the approaches of the grand attack—to quiet alarm and baffle the observation of England, which was now looking on these transactions with jealousy; but the zeal of James was too earnest for the slow and temporising methods which prudence would have demanded. A more long-sighted and dexterous politician would have shunned the precipitate course, which, producing its effects without mature preparation, is sure to terminate in a dangerous reaction. He would have known that no state of things is so perfect, that it may not be speciously undermined under the pretext of remedying its evils and repairing its defects; and that the measures by which these useful ends may be seemingly approached, are but instruments to be used according to the will of those who devise and govern their operation. A well feigned zeal for the protestant constitution of the kingdom, might easily have been reconciled with the demonstrations of a just and humane regard for the civil prosperity of their brethren of the Romish communion; and while by slow and cautious forbearance, the fears of the country and the discontents and jealousies which were gradually fermenting into an organized existence, might have been dissipated; the political forces of the nation, and the moral prepossessions which are sure to follow their direction, might have been worked round in the course of a few years, to a point at which resistance would be ineffectual, and the power attained well and widely rooted, and have sent out its fibres wide and deep through every institution and source of civil life. But neither James, nor the zealots by whom he was secretly impelled, nor the Irish party who were to be the vanguard of the struggle he was about to commence, had the patience for political manœuvring. The pliancy of Clarendon was to be associated with the fierce and unscrupulous resolution of Talbot, who was created earl of Tyrconnel, and sent over as lieutenant-general of the Irish army, and invested with all the powers over that efficient branch of the Irish administration, which had till then been an essential power

of the lord-lieutenant. Talbot was, as King remarks, "a person more hated than any other man by the protestants," he had been named by Oates as the person destined for the very employment now committed to his hands, and the remark circulated, that if "Oates was an ill evidence, he was certainly a good prophet." Tyrconnel entered upon his new office with ferocious alertness, while his first care was to new-organize the army; for this purpose he omitted no means, and suffered no sense of humanity or regard for the claims of right or honour to stand in his way. His sudden and violent steps were aggravated by insolence, and debased by dissimulation. "In the morning he would take an officer into his closet, and with all the oaths, curses, and damnations which were never wanting to him, he would profess friendship and kindness for him, and promise him the continuance of his commission, and yet in the afternoon cashier him with all the contempt he could heap upon him. Nay, perhaps, while he was then caressing him, he had actually given away his commission."* From the same historian we learn, "as for the soldiers and troopers, his way with them was to march them from their usual quarters to some distant place where he thought they were least known, where they would be put to the greatest hardships, and then he stripped them, &c., &c."† Thus turned out of employment, and stripped, these unfortunate men had to return home in the condition of paupers across the country. This was but a small portion of the evil inflicted by the same act. The soldiers by whom these were replaced, were selected for a purpose, and governed by impressions little favourable to any end but the insolence and disorder into which they launched at once. Raised for the understood purpose of aggression, they did their worst to exceed the purposes of their employer. Tyrconnel's orders, as the orders of the worst administration will commonly be, were couched so as to present the sound at least of civil right; it was simply ordered that all classes of his majesty's subjects should be allowed to serve in the army. Tyrconnel better understood the spirit of his employer, and went straightway to his end. He gave open and peremptory directions, that none should be admitted but members of the Church of Rome.

The consequences of this innovation were some of them immediate and deplorable. The change thus violently effected was not more remarkable for the ruinous and inhuman dismissal of the existing corps of the army, than for the indiscriminate admission, in their place, of the most unqualified and the most vile. Tyrconnel, whose object it was to carry his purposes with the rough and strong hand of violence, and to ruin as well as to depress, had no scruple in the adaptation of his instruments to his ends. The dregs and offscourings of society, robbers and adventurers, poured into his ranks, and incapable of discipline, continued to pursue their lawless vocations under the countenance of authority. Of their general conduct, King gives the following account:—"The new-raised forces and officers, being put into arms and command to which they were strangers, into good cloathes, and mounted on horses for which others had paid, behaved themselves with all the insolence common to such sort of men when unworthily

* King.

† Ibid.

advanced. They every where insulted over the English, and had their mouths continually full of oaths, curses, and imprecations against them. They railed on them, and gave them all the opprobrious names they could, and if any chastised them for their sauciness, though ever so much provoked, they had the judges and juries on their side; they might kill whom they pleased without fear of the law, as appeared from Captain Nangle's murdering his disbanded officer in the streets of Dublin; but if any killed or hurt them, they were sure to suffer, as captain Aston found to his cost, &c." King further continues his description of the constitution of the new force. "The non-commissioned officers were obliged without pay, to subsist their men, as they termed it, for three months,—a thing impossible for them to do, since most of them were not able to maintain themselves. The better sort of their captains and inferior officers had been footmen or servants to protestants. One gentleman's cow-herd was made a lieutenant, but he would fain have capitulated with his master, to keep his place vacant for him if his commission did not hold. Most of them were the sons or descendants of rebels in 1641, who had murdered so many protestants. Many were outlawed and condemned persons that had lived by torying and robbing. No less than fourteen notorious tories were officers in Cormack O'Neale's regiment, and when forty or fifty thousand such were put into arms, without any money to pay them, we must leave the world to judge what apprehensions this must breed in protestants, and whether they had not reason to fear the destruction that immediately fell on them. They saw their enemies in arms, and their own lives in their power; they saw their goods at the mercy of those thieves, and robbers, and tories, now armed and authorized, from whom they could scarce keep them when it was in their power to pursue and hang them; and they had all the reason in the world to believe, that a government that had armed such men of desperate fortunes and resolutions, was so far from protecting them, which is the only end of all government, that on the contrary, it designed to destroy both their lives and fortunes. The latter of which, as will appear by the sequel, they have in a manner entirely lost."

Upon an arrangement so fatal to the civil state of the country, the reasons given at the time offer a sufficient comment, the plenary power of the king to select his servants, will now demand no reasons on any side; but the excuse that the "Protestants would not concur with the king's intentions," and that there was therefore "a necessity of dismissing them," and that the permission to plunder the protestants was a necessary encouragement to raise an army, without which the king had nothing to trust, were the remaining pleas thus publicly and generally maintained, and the topics of controversial discussion between the writers and debaters of either party; they show clearly the bold and thorough-paced character of the agents and their aims, and render all their Irish acts clear from any ambiguity. The similar attempts to pervert the courts of justice to similar ends, must be viewed as the consistent prosecution of the same policy, in a country, from its imperfect civilization and continual disorder, subject to the irregular influence of every civil authority, and every power regular or irregular; the bench, always an organ of civil

administration capable of the most extensive influence, was particularly adapted to be converted into an instrument of tyranny. The barrier, apparently so wide and insurmountable, between judicial integrity and the accommodating subserviency of the place-man, is in reality no hinderance to the worst imaginable perversions, so long as the place-man can be elevated at the will of courts and bonded to their purposes. King James made short work of the matter by a summary removal of three judges, in whose places he substituted others. Sir Alexander Fitton, a person in all respects unworthy of the trust, was made chancellor; and, arrogating for his court a power above the laws, he accommodated it to the purpose of his appointment. The same method was applied to the common law courts, with the same success. Nugent, Daly, and Rice, three lawyers only recommended by their obsequious devotion to the dictates of the castle, were made judges, in direct opposition to the remonstrances of lord Clarendon, then lord-lieutenant. We think it now unnecessary to observe, that we consider the unfitness of these appointments not to consist in the creed of these men, but in their personal unfitness, and the party end of their election. It needs not to be urged that a person of any communion, having the principles of a gentleman, integrity and honour, could not be warped into the subserviency of which these persons are accused; but such persons were unquestionably not the instruments of king James's designs, or of the measures by which he pursued them—measures which it is to be observed, were censured even by the pope as impolitic and unjust. The only remaining fastnesses to be assailed were the corporations, upon which mainly depended the civil strength of the English; these were assailed with the same measure of consideration and justice, as the army and the bench. This attack was carried through with his characteristic violence. Clarendon being found quite unsuited for the thorough measures required, was recalled; and Tyrconnel, by the influence of the earl of Sunderland, to whom he agreed to pay a share of his salaries, appointed lord-deputy in 1687. He went to work with the civil as he had done with the military departments. He demanded from the Dublin corporation a surrender of their charter; they petitioned the king, and received an insulting repulse. By a most infamous mockery of justice, they were ejected by a *quo warranto* brought into the court of exchequer, which was the court in which the whole business of the king was done. The whole of these infamous proceedings may be found in great detail in the "*State of the Protestants of Ireland*," by archbishop King, a contemporary and a looker on, whose testimony cannot reasonably be objected to, on the ground either of insufficient judgment or means of observation, as he stands incontrovertibly at the head of those, who can be named eminent for high attainment or ability in his generation; and the querulous accusations of prejudice brought sometimes by very incompetent judges against his representations, are gratuitously unfounded, and would be unworthy even of the passing comment of a sentence, but that every word dropped in the support of party clamour derives some weight from the passions and the ignorance of the crowd who are concerned in public affairs.

"To prevent writs of Error into England," writes King, "all these

quo warrantos were brought in the exchequer, and in about two terms judgments were entered against most charters." For this purpose, all the lowest and most paltry chicanery was resorted to. It was endeavoured to find the corporators guilty of illegal acts, but in this design the instruments of James were totally frustrated. The principal pleas which were effectively resorted to were entirely technical, and consisted for the most part of quibbling objections to the form and wording of the charters. Some corporations were betrayed into surrender by the agents of their head landlords. Of this, the borough of Athy is mentioned by King, which thus fell a victim to the agent of the earl of Kildare. It is needless however to enter at length upon the curious history of the various artifices or tyrannical means made use of in this proceeding; for the most part they were even ridiculously unfair. It may generally be observed that the general principle adopted was to adapt the forms of law to the utmost extent to which they could by any stretch of language be made available, and when this was either impossible (an unlikely case to occur; for the reach of sophistry is unlimited,) or where some advantage was to be gained by more direct injustice, it was directly resorted to without any scruple. The only obstacle which indeed offered itself to the sweeping and resolute career of civil change, arose from the pressure of the party itself. The eager and inflamed zeal of the popular party quickly took flame at the prospect of a triumph. The intellect of the community, unenlightened to a degree not easily comprehensible from any thing now existing, was soon inflamed to the point of fanaticism. The people interpreted the intentions of their leaders, as the people ever will, according to their own prejudices, and in consequence were ready to rush to the results they expected and desired. Seeing the protestants oppressed, persecuted, and unceremoniously ejected from their rights, they joined impetuously in the violence with which they were assailed, and every street was disturbed with brawls arising from violence or insult attempted against those on whom the government was employing its whole arsenal of persecution.* The persons as well as the rights of the persecuted party were insulted, and every injury committed which the sense of impunity was likely to encourage.

The government also, was no less unsparing in its outrages upon the rights of individuals, than on those of public bodies, and in these latter far less form was required; it was the maxim of the king, and the continual text of his agents, that he "would not be a slave to the laws," and Ireland was the selected scene for the trial of this right. Here the laws were daily set aside by a dispensing power, and we could offer flagrant instances of robberies perpetrated virtually by the king under the pretence of this right. "If he had a mind to any thing, he sent an officer with a file of musqueteers and fetched it away without considering the owners."† In the pursuance of his purposes, neither public nor private rights were allowed to have any weight. Private property and patent offices or privileges were treated with less ceremony

* If any one should consider the representation here made as savouring of a party spirit, we may refer to the accounts which we have given of the rebellion of 1641, as clear evidence of the contrary.—Ed.

† King.

than the public character of corporate bodies had required. Instances are unnecessary, but the reader may be gratified by a few. The chancellor of the exchequer was turned out to make room for Rice the instrument of the crown; Sir John Topham, and Sir John Coghill, were turned out of their masterships in chancery. Of the persons thus deprived, few had even the privilege of a hearing; and they who had, were called before the chancellor, who on a private hearing dismissed them without further ceremony. It is however unnecessary to dwell further on this state of affairs; our sole object being to convey some general impression of the character of James's policy in this country.

Indeed, among the many circumstances which either tend to characterize or authenticate our view of this policy, there is none more unquestionable in the construction or the evidence it offers, than the fact that it had not the sanction either of the more moderate or the more respectable of any party. The court of Rome censured its folly and cruelty. Dr Macguire, the primate of the Roman church in Ireland, joined the better portion of the aristocracy and clergy of that communion in a strong remonstrance addressed to the king, to whom they represented that Tyrconnel's violence had only been directed to awaken a universal terror and indignation, and that he had displaced the protestants to no other end than to excite discontent and spread distress and confusion through the country.

Even here it is perhaps right to admit that some attempts were made to keep up some such shadow of justice as the purpose would admit of; one-third of the new corporations were allowed to be protestants, but this arrangement was so contrived as to convey no protection, the protestants were cautiously chosen from the quakers and other dissenting classes, who were at the time least likely to make common cause with the Church of England. The same was the method pursued with regard to the courts of justice; one protestant judge selected for those qualities which should have excluded him from the bench, sat with two of the church of Rome, and thus preserved the appearance of equal and indifferent justice.

While these attacks on the protestants were going on, it was not to be expected that the great seminary of the protestant church in Ireland was to escape its share of persecution. Before Tyrconnel's arrival, the king sent his mandate to the university, commanding the admission of a person named Green, as professor of the Irish language, and that he should be paid all arrears of the salary. It is needless to say that there was no such professorship, and thus the first attack was baffled. After Tyrconnel's arrival, a more determined effort was to be made; seeing that nothing was to be hoped from the fear or subserviency of the university, more violent means were to be used. One Doyle, a pretended convert, was named to be a Fellow in virtue of the king's dispensing power, but his utter unfitness was shown, so as even to confound Tyrconnel himself; the college, however, would have been overruled on this point, but the oath of supremacy which Doyle feared to take, was a surer ground of defence, and on a hearing in which every point was strained in his favour, the case was given up. The enemies of the Irish protestants did not however suffer their purpose to be

thus defeated. The chief means by which the University was then supported, was a government allowance of £388 per annum; this resource was stopped: such a proceeding was at the time nearly equivalent to a suppression of the university: it was soon followed up by still more summary proceedings. The learned body, to which, independent of all consideration of their main function as subsidiary to the church, Ireland was so much indebted, were expelled from their walls, and a garrison quartered in their room. The soldiers vented their fury upon the walls, and mischief to the amount of £2000 remained to be afterwards repaired by the university. The plate, furniture, and all property, private or public, were seized for the king; the scholars were persecuted, and prohibited on pain of death from meeting together to the number of three. The same course was pursued with all protestant schools, whether of public or private foundation. From this, the next step was the seizure of the churches, and the sequestration of all vacant benefices and bishopricks.

The sheriffs every-where appointed for the same purpose, and selected for the same qualifications, went beyond the intent of their employers in oppression and spoliation, and the country sounded with universal outcries against them, and the effects they quickly produced. The civil and military officers of the crown were leagued to plunder and oppress by all means which lay within their several vocations. A consequence, which, in the eagerness of fanaticism and cupidity had been lost sight of; occurred to aggravate the shock which the kingdom thus received; commerce, chiefly in the hands of the protestants, was utterly destroyed. This mischief is the more to be noticed, because it was not the mere result of the king's eager hostility against the protestants, but an avowed expedient for the general depression of the kingdom: for it was a well-known maxim, openly avowed by this feeble, though violent and wrong-headed bigot, that the depression of the people and the abatement of national prosperity, were the only security for the power of the crown. The scheme for the destruction of commerce involved every portion of his majesty's dominions, but it was considered a prudent caution to begin this unworthy operation upon the vantage ground of Ireland.

This country had, as we have already had occasion to state, suffered considerable shocks in the late reign, which had much disturbed its progress. Till the cruel and insane enactments against the exportation of Irish cattle, there had been a uniform consideration for the advantage of Ireland in all previous commercial enactments and regulations concerning trade, and no distinction had been made between the two kingdoms. For a long time this island had indeed fortunately escaped the attention of the commercial part of the English community, owing to the limited scope of commerce itself; and the kings of England, who mostly felt their own interest in the advantage of Ireland, were allowed to use their discretion. But when the country gentlemen had acquired general notions on the political interests of the country, they naturally fell into many errors, from false reasoning upon a subject of which the extent and difficulty had not begun to be appreciated. Hence arose the commencement of those commercial restrictions, so long injurious to this country. But king James and his culpable advisers delib-

erately adopted their ruinous policy, without any regard to any consideration but the increase of the royal power. In pursuance of this design, it was at the time affirmed by those who were supposed to be in the king's counsels, that he had determined to suffer the English navy to fall into decay, that the French might grow great at sea, and thoroughly destroy the trade which increased the wealth and promoted the insolence of his British subjects. It was at the time a cant among the royal partisans, that the king "could not have his will" of the people by reason of their wealth, and he could not himself forbear occasionally expressing himself to the same effect. It was openly reasoned by his officers that "it was more for the king's advantage to have his subjects poor than rich; for, said they, you see how willing the poor Irish are to enlist themselves soldiers for twopence a-day, who know no better way of living: but it were impossible to bring the rich churls of England (so they usually called them) from their farms, and shops, and such terms, to serve the king. They further alleged, that the poverty of the generality of France is the reason that they are so willing to be soldiers, and makes them so easily maintained when they are enrolled."*

The trade of the kingdom was, as we have stated, chiefly in the hands of protestants, and this gave an added reason for its destruction, so powerful, as to have in some measure thrown all others into comparative neglect. The protestants not entering into the general views of the king, drew from a sense of their own importance to the welfare of the kingdom, a fallacious hope that they might still receive protection. They soon were undeceived. They were quickly repelled and driven out of the kingdom by oppressions and injuries of which the following are chiefly enumerated as leading to this disastrous consequence: in the towns they saw the lowest persons, many of whom had been either their menials, or in some such way dependent on them, raised over their heads into situations which gave them that power to insult and injure, which the base and low will never be slow to use to the hurt of those who have been their superiors: the great and destructive exactions consequent upon the elevation into sudden authority of persons who had no money, and who were therefore necessitated to repair this want by extortions, under the pretext of taking goods on credit: the customs were also used for the purpose of ruining trade; the duties were raised by discretionary valuations, so that the merchant was often compelled to pay treble duties. There was another grievance, more circuitous in its operation, but not less destructive in effect:—the whole coin of the kingdom, which was short of the revenue, circulated once a-year into the treasury: from this, great care was taken that no part of it should be paid into protestant hands: and it was generally impressed on the members of the church of Rome, that they should deal exclusively with each other. Of this it was the consequence, that no one would deal with the protestants unless on credit, and that without any design to pay. They were similarly oppressed by the officers of the army, who took whatever they wanted by force when persuasion failed.

Of these injuries the consequence was, that the wealthiest traders

* King.

soon contrived to remove their property from the kingdom, and trade was at an end. Other means were resorted to by Tyrconnel, among which was the unhappy expedient of encouraging the illegal conveyance of Irish wool into France; but we cannot afford further detail of this class of oppressions, for which the materials are unusually abundant in the numerous documents which remain from the contemporaries. The attacks on property were not confined to trade.

In addition to the measures of destruction last mentioned, the whole tribe of informers sprung up with more than their usual fertility. The varied plots against the proprietors of lands, which had, in the administration of Parsons, been such an aggravation of the evils of that calamitous period, were now sadly increased in amount and variety. This can easily be understood: the protestants were then beyond all comparison the more civilized class: the insolence, injustice, and falsehood, which always belong to the triumph of the democracy of every party, were now aggravated by the character of the party itself, and by the general condition that it was now for the first time countenanced by authority. Formerly there was always a hope of escape at the worst, in the chance that the prosecution of private or official tyranny might be exposed to the English council or the eye of royal justice; but now there was no refuge at the throne; the fountain of all malversation and perversion of all right was the royal breast. Yet, even under these circumstances, so monstrous was the combination of villany and ignorance, that accusations failed, from being too evidently false for even the goodwill of the council to admit. On one occasion, they had indeed the mortification to be themselves the reluctant witnesses in favour of sixty protestant gentlemen, who had been before them to be examined on the very day that they were accused of holding an illegal meeting at Nenagh.

While the most unprecedented combination of oppression, misgovernment, and the most incredible infatuation, were thus working their most deplorable effects, and Ireland was a stage of every species of oppression, borne as oppression has seldom been borne in the history of nations, the triumphant party had their own quarrels: like foul birds, they soon began to tear each other upon the carcass of the fallen foes. The lord-lieutenant did not escape the enmity of those whom it was impossible even for his unscrupulous nature to satisfy: his secretary, when restrained in the selling of offices, resolved to ruin him, and drew up an accusation for the purpose. He was backed in this attempt by the titular primate and father Petre: but the influence of Sunderland prevailed to save Tyrconnel, who met the charge with a long and true detail of his enemy's corruption. We shall not enter into this detail; accusation found sufficient scope on either side, and it will be enough to state, that the secretary was dismissed from his employment, and the attack upon Tyrconnel had no effect in diminishing his favour with a master whom he served too well. More serious was the dissatisfaction of the English privy council at the great and sudden defalcation of the Irish revenue. Such a consequence was not to be viewed with much complacency by any; but there were in the council some lords, who saw with disapprobation the course which had been adopted towards Ireland, and now noticed its effects with a severity

not very acceptable to king James. Lord Bellasis, a Roman catholic peer, with just indignation, observed that a governor like Tyrconnel would ruin ten kingdoms; and so loud became the outcry in England, that at last he was compelled to go over to set matters right with the king. The king, perfectly willing for the destruction of both kingdoms, was under the necessity of disguising his policy as much as his violent and narrow disposition would admit, and was from time to time compelled to contradict his own declarations, and belie his purposes.

Tyrconnel committed the government of the kingdom to Fitton and the earl of Clanricarde, reminding them of the great power which their party had now gained, with a blasphemous imprecation that God might damn them should they be remiss in the use of it. He took with him chief baron Rice, and waited at Chester on the king, whom he easily satisfied. His foes were not so easily satisfied; the titular primate, who had been Sheridan's assistant in the recent accusation, and father Petre, who had joined in the same attempt, were filled with resentment. The English Romanists were dissatisfied at the atrocity of the means taken to exalt their party in Ireland, and the Irish members of the same church were utterly discontented at the result. The latter soon saw that while the protestants were insulted and robbed by soldiers and lay officials of every denomination, no substantial change was all the while effected in favour of the Roman church, neither were the hierarchy and ecclesiastical privileges on one side a step raised, or on the other depressed; and the Pope, who did not approve of any part of James's character and policy, showed his entire contempt of all their proceedings on every occasion, as we shall presently notice more fully.

Before proceeding farther with the train of events in Ireland, we shall now call the reader's attention to the concurrent progress of English affairs, upon which depended the great event of all this miserable wickedness and folly; and lest any reader should consider this an unnecessary digression, we may here observe, as we shall hereafter more fully explain, that numerous modern historical writers have, either by inadvertence or design, altogether misinterpreted the history of the period, from taking a narrowed view of events, isolated from all the essential concomitants of cause and circumstance. We cannot, indeed, too frequently repeat our maxim, adopted in this work, that to investigate aright the justice and policy of measures, the designs and principles of the party by whom they are to be administered, is the chief element, and, for the most part, the only one worth consideration. To estimate rightly the violent proceedings of the Irish government at this critical period, it becomes absolutely necessary to survey the whole system of instrumentality of which they were a portion.

King James had ascended the throne under circumstances unusually favourable. A severe struggle between the court and the country party had, by a succession of incidents, most of which were apparently accidental, terminated in the temporary prostration of the popular spirit. The sounds of party conflict had been silenced by the defeats and disasters of the popular party, by the guilt and folly of those who had made the public cause instrumental to their private malignity or ambition, or by the exposure of the great impostures which had be-

trayed the public zeal into a false position. A cessation of party intrigue was accompanied by an obsequious parliament, who, if the mere appearance of moderation had been preserved, and the king had simply contented himself with the attainment of despotic power, would have been content to fill his coffers, swell his prerogative, and sleep on their forms, under the soporific influence of a despotic sceptre, and in full faith in the divine right of kings.

But the divine protection which has, we are willing to believe, ever watched over the fate of England, ordered it otherwise, and broke this fatal trance. The king was, as the reader is aware, not nearly so desirous to exalt the prerogative, as to bring his heretic people to the foot of the Pope, and either his impatience, or that of the priests by whom all his actions were guided and governed, would not allow him to pursue his beloved object by the longer, but safer and surer, path of policy. His arrogant faith in the power of the crown, and the easy conquest over the ill-concerted rebellion of the duke of Monmouth, increased his power and his confidence, and he soon came to the rash and fatal resolution, to fling aside the flimsy disguise which had hitherto concealed his motives, and go directly to his object. The intemperance of his zeal hurried him on, and many of the steps which at first appeared to secure him a triumph, and to increase the terror and submission of his subjects, were, from their nature, sure to create a speedy and dangerous reaction. By a fatality, not singular in the events of Europe, the triumph of protestantism was to be ushered in by menacing appearances of protestant adversity all over Europe. A general revolution in favour of the church of Rome, appeared to have fully set in, and a seeming conspiracy of thrones and principalities in its favour, was crowned by the fearful consequences of the revocation of the edict of Nantz. The horrors of religious persecution, so much talked of, and so little truly imagined in our own times, let loose against protestants in the dominions of Louis, excited terror and despair in the British isles, among the crowd who looked no further than the bounded circle of the moment. But England, though at an humble distance it is to be confessed, reflected the horrors of the continent in that dreadful period. The will of the despot will never want agents suited to its utmost reach of cruelty and injustice: the execrable Jefferies and the monster Kirke, with their cloud of fiend-like officials, were let loose upon the English protestants; the one made a mockery of justice, and the other turned aside its very name, for the satisfaction of the tyrant's and bigot's eager fanaticism, and for the gratification of their own blood-thirsty natures. We are not under the necessity of entering upon the well-known details of their crimes, to be found in every history of England,* as strongly narrated by the latitudinarian Hume, as by the zealous and decided pen of Burnet. Suffice to say, that every town, and almost every village in England, was stained with judicial and military executions, on so little warrant or pretence of crime, that no protestant could feel safe. To throw a slight veil over this flagitious persecution, every pretence was adopted to give a civil character to the pro-

* See Hume's England, Vol. viii., p. 184, et seq.

ceeding: the common pretence was some suspicion of having been engaged in rebellion, being disaffected, having harboured rebels, or uttered disloyal language. The nearest general idea we can give of the nature of the proceedings, may be had from the statement, that even Jefferies, who pretended to use the forms of law, constantly threw even these aside to obtain quick and summary convictions; that not content with bullying the advocates, where any such had the courage to appear, and in his own person confounding the judge with the prosecutor, he adopted the still shorter method of endeavouring to bully the prisoners into admissions which might save any unnecessary delay between the bar and the gallows. Kirke had a still shorter course; setting aside the mockery of trial, he considered that the real object of the whole proceeding was the death of obnoxious persons, and he hanged those who were brought before him without further inquiry. Even these atrocities might have escaped the retribution they richly deserved, had the infatuated monarch been content to carry his objects in detail, and by slow approaches, making conquest precede the assumption of victory. His first step was the assertion of the power to dispense with the tests by which the members of the Romish communion were excluded from the army. He declared to his parliament his wish to retain the services of the numerous officers of that persuasion who had assisted in suppressing the late rebellion. He told them that the militia had been found useless, and that it was necessary to maintain a force, on which, in case of any future rebellion, he might rely, and that he would neither expose them to the disgrace of a dismissal, nor lose their service. For this purpose he demanded a supply, and at the same time mentioned, that by his royal prerogative he had dispensed with the test in their favour. The commons were as much disposed as it was possible for any body of English gentlemen to be, to submit to the encroachments of royalty, and it is most likely, as Hume suggests, that if he had been content to exercise the unconstitutional right which he thus claimed, they would have been silent; but, under the direct appeal, silence would have been too ignominious. The double assertion of a dispensing power and of a standing army, composed too of that class most incompatible with the constitution, and most likely to be used against it, was too much, and the commons were roused to the exertion of some freedom of speech. A remonstrance was voted, prepared, and transmitted; but they received a bullying reply from the king. They soon, however, gave way before the king's anger, and had the baseness to send Mr Coke, the member for Derby, to the Tower, because, while they were yet quailing under their terror at the angry reply of the king, he attempted to recall their spirit by the simple but eloquent reproof, "I hope we are all Englishmen, and not to be frightened with a few hard words." From such cowardice little resistance was to be apprehended by the king. They adjourned without committing themselves by any further consideration of the contested points, and when they next met, they entered with loyal alacrity upon the business of supply, voting a large additional revenue to strengthen the hand they feared. This victory was, however, in other respects frustrated by the firmness of the other house, and by the impetuosity of the king. The king's speech was received by the lords.

after the usual custom of the house, by a vote of thanks, which was yet merely personal. A few days after, when the consideration of its actual purport was proposed, an attempt was made to arrest this course, by the representation that by their vote of thanks the peers had precluded themselves from all further animadversion on the subject. This doctrine was promptly repelled, and several peers expressed their opinions in opposition to the court with frank spirit. The lead in this opposition was, however, taken by the bishop of London, in the name of the whole bench, which Hume, with a gratuitous levity of assertion which the whole history of the reign should have silenced, observes, was the quarter from which such a freedom was least to be expected. These, with the temporal peers who took the same side, strenuously urged, that the "test was the best fence they had for their religion; if they gave up so great a point, all the rest would soon follow; and if the king might by his authority supersede such a law, fortified with so many clauses, and, above all, with an incapacity, it was in vain to think of law any more; the government would become arbitrary and absolute."* Jefferies took the principal part on the opposite side, and attempted to maintain the doctrines of the court by such arguments as alone could have any weight in the maintenance of such doctrines; but as these consisted in menace and blustering assertion, the eloquence of Jefferies fell pointless, and he found himself disconcerted, humbled, and out of his element, in the presence of those who rebuked his insolence with merited scorn, and treated his reasons with the slight which was their due. The king was enraged, and committed the precipitate step which was never to be retrieved, by proroguing and finally dissolving a parliament, less hostile to his person and aims than any other he might after hope to bring together; and we would here call the reader's attention to the consideration which we think essential to a due allowance for the folly of this and many further steps of the king,—that his heat of temper, and the fierce indignation with which he met every opposition, prevented that moral recoil of fear and alarm, by which a more considerate and composed spirit would have been led to perceive danger, where James, in his blind and intemperate zeal, only saw offence; so inveterately was his understanding bigoted to the sense of his indefeasible power, that he felt the very remonstrance of those upon whose rights he would infringe, as an insult and an outrage, so that his resentment and gloomy pride went before all regard to consequences. By keeping this seemingly slight moral fact in view, and looking in addition on the exceeding instability of a temper so little supported by manly firmness or statesmanlike wisdom, it will be easy to conceive at a glance the opposite attributes of mind which appear to characterize his conduct—the extremes of presumption and imbecility are indeed never far asunder.

On the abstract merits of the question thus raised, as to the dispensing power of the king, the decision is involved in too many difficulties for the brief method of discussion which our limits would require. Lawyers have exerted all their ability to enlighten and obscure it, and with all the admirable resources of learning and talent

* Burr et.

which they can bring to bear on such questions, and have brought to bear on this, they can seldom be cited as the best guides in the investigation of a principle, or even in the policy and expediency of its application. Ever engaged in advocacy, and fettered by the habitual constraint of conventional maxims, which are in so many instances only valid in courts of justice, they are better judges of what is the law than of what is right, fit, or just. The mind of Coke will, on this very question, be found perched on the absurdity that the king is entitled to the entire service of all his subjects, which can only be true in virtue of an admission; and may, like some other maxims, be very useful as a summary statement of the facts and secondary principles it is meant to embody, but no more than a wretched assumption when applied as a first principle to the decision of a right which can only exist in one of three ways, as the inference from a necessary principle, from unquestionable and general admission of fitness, or from the express declaration of positive law. Viewed in the last mentioned aspect, there seems to be a general consent of lawyers, whose authority can hardly be rejected in such a question, that a dispensing power in the crown has always been admitted in the legislature as well as in the courts, up to the period in question; so far there can properly be raised no question. But the state of the law being so far ascertained, a very wide question must be admitted to arise as to the *limits* of such a power. If we have to look no farther than special precedents, it is evident that there may be a very grievous latitude for all abuse: as the encroachments of power and the delusions of party feeling would simply draw the variety of the precedents into a fallacious and dangerous, yet very simple and specious principle in favour of a general power. When once admitted in all the cases which appear to have arisen, there seems to be no reason why it should, for the first time, be arrested upon any new case which may arise, and this inference only shows that the principle must be found in some other mode of looking at the question than precedents. That some limit must exist, will be admitted the moment the constitution is denied to be a pure despotism.

But that we cannot afford space to go into refined distinctions, it would be indeed easy to prove, that the application of precedents is on such a question a defective mode of reasoning. Such has been, however, the argument mainly relied upon, and is perhaps the most efficient which could be used in a court of justice, of which the decisions are principally no more than the statement of law and authority. But it is enough to show that such questions are not precisely to be measured by the limits of men's prudence and legal decision, if it be considered that every unconstitutional stretch of power might, until that very period, have been maintained by such reasonings to an extent which must in fact have established the most contradictory positions. The frame of government actually contained within its texture numerous contradictory elements, and for several reigns there had been an inherent strife between its vital powers, which was itself a part of the constitution as it then stood. But in any form or state of government there are some essential principles of universal application which cannot fail to lead to a conclusion satisfactory to the reason, however it

may escape from the impassioned, partial, and conflicting views of courts and parliaments. Admitting without comment the necessity of some limiting power to the operation of human laws, we may state, in the simplest language, these elementary principles, which we think set bounds to every dispensing power, so far as it comes within their application. First, and most universal, is the principle which we have often seen stated in the works of juridical and historical writers, namely, when the law to be dispensed with, is itself inconsistent with the existence of such a power; on this we shall not dilate. Another involves the same principle, in a different manner, that is to say, when a dispensing power is at variance with the civil constitution of the country. Such a ground is not, however, within the strict bounds of legal argument. But there is a distinction which we conceive ought to be considered as a limiting principle, and to contain one true criterion of the general boundary of such a prerogative: it lies simply in the distinction between the *general* and special operation of a law. To dispense *generally* with a law, must virtually amount to a repealing power; to arrest its application in any *particular case* is different, and even if the interference should be erroneous, amounts to nothing more than an abuse of a discretionary power, needful for the due application of all the imperfect results of human wisdom. Here we would contend on this principle, that a general dispensing power is, in the strict sense of the word, contrary to law, unless it be assumed to be the despot's will; as any law independent of this *essentially* involves, that it is independent of such a prerogative; we must therefore feel ourselves bound to affirm that all decisions to the contrary, which legal writers have adduced, were either illegal, or not precedents in favour of the prerogative so exercised. Had king James's claim been, to dispense with the test in favour of his own chaplain, the case would escape the application of the principle. When he set it aside as affecting a particular set or body of individuals, it amounted to a gross, dangerous, and unconstitutional abuse of a prerogative; but when he declared a general exemption, he set aside the law of the land, and broke down the very barrier on which his own rights were based—his right became no more than the right of the strong, and opposition to whatever extent circumstances required and admitted, justifiable. In this conclusion it is only assumed that there is some limitary line, at which the trust reposed in the crown, for the national advantage, may be considered as betrayed. A question of great peril and difficulty, and open to great and destructive errors; but such is the necessary result of the imperfection of human judgments. The errors of human reason become dangerous in proportion to the importance of the interest at issue; and perhaps in such questions as that on which the English nation was then compelled to decide, the safest rule would be, that the case should be imminent and extreme, and the danger universal and fundamentally affecting the constitution of the country. Happily, such a question in the present state of things, is not very likely to arise in the British nation. The crown has been reduced to its just place in the combination of national authorities of which the legislature is composed; and though we have no doubt that from time to time unconstitutional proceedings will be

adopted for the purpose of raising every one of these powers above its constitutional level, yet at the present time, the danger of these, if any, seems rather in the democratic than in the kingly scale.

Such was the main question in that critical controversy between James and the English nation, in the course of which the several functions of the civil constitution of the state were attempted to be perverted by force or influence. The commons which, deriving its character and spirit ever from the preponderant power for the time in being, is therefore liable to great inequalities in its action, gave way, though not without sufficient demur, to give warning to a saner spirit than that of king James of the national feeling and of the tendency of his conduct. The stress of that great contest was destined to be thrown upon the church, which, as it was the direct object of attack, so under the merciful protection and guidance of Providence, it offered the first and most decided resistance which arrested the frantic career of James, and forced on the progress of his despotic attempts upon the freedom and religion of the nation, to a great and critical deliverance.

The house of peers, led on this occasion by the bench of bishops, who were supported by the lords Halifax, Nottingham, and Mordaunt, carried a motion of the bishop of London's for the appointment of a day to take the king's speech into consideration. These indications of the sense of the country and of the resistance which was to proceed from the church, were not confined to the parliament: the spirit, learning, and eloquence of ecclesiastical writers and preachers were called up, and sermons and pamphlets were multiplied with extraordinary ability and effect. Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tillotson, and many other eminent men, whose works yet hold a standard place in British literature, wielded the pen of controversy with a power which met no adequate opposition; and every week brought out some new work which was received with the most general avidity. The king made a rash attempt to arrest this torrent in its course, by an order to the bishop of London, for the suspension of Sharp, the rector of St Giles, who had preached some controversial sermons. The bishop remonstrated upon the illegality of the required act, and the king, determined to carry his point, had recourse to the jurisdiction of the court of ecclesiastical commission; a court which had not only been abolished but its renewal declared illegal. The bishop protested against its jurisdiction; he was sent to the Tower and suspended in his ecclesiastical functions.

The king thus found himself committed in a war with the Church of England. He attacked the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and was foiled at every point by the vigour, firmness, and courage of these learned bodies. Among the members of the Church of Rome he was by no means generally supported. The lords of that communion, who were his principal counsellors, did not concur in any of his rash measures, and in vain remonstrated at every successive step of a course of which they could not fail to feel the iniquity and to perceive the result. James was ruled by father Petre, a Jesuit, who, like Rinuncini, was incapable of comprehending any result but that one to which all his aims were directed. At Rome, where (as has always been observed) there is by no means the same blind zeal which belongs so often to the remoter realms of its spiritual empire, the conduct

of the king was despised and condemned; and this, we are much inclined to believe, was aggravated by the Pope's enmity to the Jesuits. Innocent was a man of very prudent worldly dispositions, and far more alive to the care of his fiscal interests than ecclesiastical concerns: of theology he was ignorant, but he was keenly alive to the insults and offences which he received from the French court, and more offended by James's sedulous and obsequious cultivation of Louis's friendship than pleased by his spiritual zeal. He was therefore in reality more inclined to throw his weight, to the utmost extent which decency would permit, into the protestant scale, and looked with a more friendly eye on the interests of the prince of Orange, who, though the champion of protestantism, was the foe of his foes, than upon the rash and infatuated measures of the English court, which he was, *pro forma*, compelled to sanction, but at the same time treated with all allowable slight.

Among other demonstrations, which, at the same time, showed the weakness and insincerity of James, was his conduct to the dissenters. He first let loose upon them the fury of Jefferies, but on coming to a direct quarrel with the church, and finding the want of some popular pretext for dispensing with the tests and penalties affecting his own church, he changed his tone; he began to speak sounding maxims about the blessings of toleration, of freedom of conscience, and the injustice of all suffering on the score of religious faith. Thus, as Hume (who is not to be suspected of a bias towards any creed, or any fixed principle of action or opinion,) writes, "even such schemes of the king's as might be laudable in themselves, were so disgraced by his intentions, that they serve only to aggravate the charge against him." It was in the prosecution of his plan for the depression of the church, and effecting his real object at a stroke, that, in 1687, he declared a universal toleration, which did not for a moment deceive any one. Every one understood that the main bulk of the dissenters were all more at variance with his church than the church of England; having, indeed, for the most part, quitted the church of England on the ground of some form or doctrine, retaining, as they alleged, the savour of popery. Yet even of these, the most considerable churches, the presbyterian and independent, especially the former, so far agreed in the articles of their communion with the English church, that in its downfall they must have seen their own. From the more leading and reasonable members of these communions the king received no credit, though they were glad to avail themselves of the indulgence thus obtained. The king had neither the patience nor the dexterity to conceal his true objects: while he endeavoured to win the English dissenters, he exhibited his real temper in the denial of his countenance to those of the same communion in Scotland. His declarations of indulgence, too, while they failed to effect the delusion intended, exposed the spirit in which they were designed, by indiscreet assertions of illegal power which accompanied them as a running commentary; "he had thought fit, by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all his subjects were to obey without reserve, to grant this royal toleration." In the midst of this infatuation, James felt, or more probably it was continually urged upon him, by those who were less confident than he in the despotic maxims on which he relied, that to give a permanent

security to the Romish church, it would be necessary to obtain the sanction of the legislative body. This he had, from the commencement of his reign, been vainly endeavouring to obtain; and nothing more plainly shows the real temper of the nation than his entire absence of success. Generally, the temper and opinions of the representatives of the nation are so far divided, and for the most part there is so much ignorance of constitutional interests, and so much indifference to all but private and personal interests, that it is not difficult to form a tolerably even balance in favour of any views of the cabinet; and, unless when some great national ferment has been raised, it is difficult to conceive a course of policy so deleterious to constitutional welfare and stability, that cannot soon be maintained by a sincere, zealous and powerful party, both in the house and throughout the nation. Such indeed is necessarily the constitution of public opinion; a thing, if we may so call it, more many-headed than seems to be generally imagined by those who write and speak of it; so that it is, as it were, the fictitious deity of journalists and street rhetoricians. And yet so strong, unanimous, and resolute, was the universal repugnance to the aims which James had so much at heart, that his first and most obsequious parliament, who would, if properly managed, have yielded up every barrier of the constitution, were found stubborn in this. In vain the king had recourse to the summary expedient of the *quo warranto*, and tried by the usurped prerogative of dissolving,* renewing, and changing at will the corporations, to command the boroughs and the magistracy: in vain he continued an illegal jurisdiction to interfere with the privileges of the electors. The result of all his interferences, tamperings, and closetings, was the same. The party which he was thus enabled to form did not amount to any assignable proportion of the constituency anywhere, and he was obliged to give up the hope.

In this infatuated course of tyrannical but self-destructive efforts, the king continued to rush forward with something like a judicial blindness for some years. It is indeed difficult to conceive the degree of rashness which his whole conduct evinced, without having recourse to the supposition of an influence behind the throne too great for ordinary discretion. The probable duration of his life was measured by his spiritual counsellors against the progress of their wishes; and all their counsels, directed to the conscience of the feeble and bigoted monarch, were strongly actuated by some sense of the desperation of their cause. At length matters began to take a more decided turn, and events occurred which soon precipitated the career of this rash and ill-fated king. Rather goaded by continued disappointment, and embittered by the influence of an unceasing controversy with his people, than warned by instances so decided of the national spirit, the king became more harsh and peremptory in the assertion of his designs, and took more decided steps. Of these the most decisive was the attack upon the bishops, which had the dangerous effect of drawing forth a decided and general expression of the national sense. In 1688, he published a fresh de-

* The elections in many of the borough towns were by this means placed directly in the nomination of the crown, or what was the same thing, in that of its minions. Such indeed is always the virtual result of any regulation which gives individuals a power or a preponderating influence over the elections.

claration of indulgence, to which he added a command, that it should be read, for two successive Sundays, in all the churches immediately after divine service. The bishops were commanded to send this round with the sanction of their authority. The command caused great alarm, and the bishops and clergy held meetings to consider what course they should steer in a matter of such pressing emergency. The enormous power of the crown, when directed against individuals, was too formidable to be looked upon with defiance: on the opposite scale, the voice of conscience, the sense of the nation, and the safety of their church, presented motives of greater weight. In this difficulty a few less firm advised a compromise—such as, in less trying times, had often evaded acts of tyranny by an equivocal obedience or a mental reservation. Against this most disgraceful and unworthy course the voice of the majority was now raised: it was clearly pointed out that their ruin was so evidently designed that no compromise could avert it; that the obedience now required would be but a step towards this purpose; that it was useless to consider how far they could safely comply, as the requisitions upon their compliance were uniformly precedents for greater demands; and if they must make a stand at some point, *the sooner the better*, and the more especially, as these compliances would have the effect of drawing other persons into still greater compliances, by which at last they might be left in a dangerously small party; for they could not reasonably expect the nobility to sacrifice their own private interests in a struggle for the church, if the clergy themselves led the way in its abandonment. These, and other such reasons, operated upon those who required them—the body of the clergy required no reasoning to actuate their conduct—and some of the bishops prepared to stand in the gap of the constitution, and to take that part which the interests of the church and state, as well as the feelings of the nation, demanded. They resolved that the declaration should not be read.

The king was not prepared for a step so decided; some few prelates who were nothing more than creatures of the court, had deceived him into the notion that his order would be obeyed by the majority of the bishops and clergy; and that from the general submission he might draw a reasonable pretext for proceeding for contumacy against the recusant party, and thus a very decided confirmation of his authority would be obtained. While the court lay still in this delusion created by its own partisans, the churchmen proceeded with quiet and secret celerity, to convey their orders, and intimate the course to be pursued to the clergy throughout the kingdom.

The feeble and indecisive Sancroft then at the head of the English church, found himself involved in the necessity of leading the march of resistance; and it may be observed that this is of itself a strong indication of the spirit of the moment, as well as of the strong sense of the emergent necessity of the occasion; two years sooner this archbishop would have given way: he now prepared to act as became the duty of his high station. Having convened his bishops and clergy and taken their nearly unanimous consent, he came with six bishops to London, where they agreed upon a petition to the king, expressive of the reasons for their resolution not to obey the late orders of council. They disclaimed any un-

willingness that a toleration should be conceded to the dissenters, but objected to the power by which it was attempted to be done, as laying both the church and constitution of which it was (then) a part, at the mercy of an illegal and arbitrary discretion. They expressed their willingness to consent to any measure to the same effect, which should be affirmed by the wisdom of the parliament and convocation; and noticed, that the power involved in such an order had been repeatedly declared illegal in parliament, in 1662, 1672, and in the beginning of the present reign.

Sancroft was himself ill, but sent the six bishops, St Asaph, Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Chester, and Bristol, to deliver the petition, which was however drawn up with his own hand. They were admitted quickly and received by the king with unexpected complacency. Deluded to the last, the king was persuaded that their object was simply to evade the public feeling, by throwing the responsibility of the required obedience upon their chancellors, and that their petition was only to suggest that it was usual to direct such an order to these functionaries, instead of to the bishops. The king's good temper was destined to have a speedy reverse; on hearing the actual petition, his rage and surprise were boundless, and his language was suitably violent. It was one of his habits to address the most indecorous and intemperate language on the most solemn or public occasions, to all who fell under his displeasure; and to the bishops his wrath was now shown by the most unmeasured reproaches. Among other things he told them "he was their king, and that they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him," to this the only reply was—"the will of God be done." Such was the crisis of this blind monarch's fate; there was no longer room for either party to retract.

For a fortnight matters lay quiet; the king was himself staggered by the decisive blow he had struck, and consulted with persons of every persuasion. The Roman catholic noblemen of his council strongly urged that he should let the matter drop in silence. But this was repugnant to the character and state maxims of James, who held that a king should never retract, and that any measure once begun should be carried through. Father Petre, violent, short-sighted, incapable of looking to consequences, and only alive to the fierce impulse of the conflict, was transported beyond all bounds of decorous reserve by the hope of a triumph. He said in his joy that the bishops "should eat their own dung," and exerted his entire influence to hurry on the king in the frantic path on which he needed no spur. The bishops were cited before the council, and asked if the petition was theirs: they urged that their own confession should not be brought against them, and, assuming that a course so unfair would not be adopted, they acknowledged the petition. They were then charged with its publication. To this charge they answered that, they had not only not published it but that all pains had been taken to prevent its being seen by any one beyond themselves and the king. There had been no copies taken from the original draught in the archbishop's own hand, but the one; and the publication must have proceeded from some one to whom the king had shown that one. The bishops were then re-

quired to enter into bonds for their appearance before the king's bench; but on pleading their peerage, they were sent to the Tower.

This step caused a ferment in the city, such as, says Burnet, was never "known in the memory of man." A ferment not soon allayed, or confined in its immediate effects. The bishops were sent by water to the Tower; the banks of the river were crowded the entire way with people, who threw themselves upon their knees, and asked their blessing as they past along; the soldiers who were their escort caught the universal enthusiasm and followed the example of the people. At the Tower they were received with the same testimonies of reverence and affection. The king was indignant but unalarmed by demonstrations which should have made him pause and reconsider his course, had it been other than infatuation—*si mens non lava fuisset*. The moderate portion of his friends were dismayed and urged moderation to no purpose; and in two days after, when the queen was delivered (or said to be delivered) of a son, they pressed it upon him to take the fair pretext which this event offered, for their release. But the king was inflexible; he replied that his authority "would become contemptible if he allowed such an affront to pass unpunished."

A week after their committal they were brought up on a writ of *Habeas Corpus* to the bar of the king's bench, and entered into bonds for their appearance in a fortnight, to answer the charges which should be brought against them. The trial came on at the appointed time, and excited a vast commotion of the city, and not less in the army which lay encamped on Hounslow heath. As the reader is already aware of the grounds of charge, it will be unnecessary to enter upon the details of this trial, simple in the character of its proceedings and the obvious questions at issue, but momentous in its consequences. There was in fact no ground on which the prosecution had a moment's chance to stand in any court having the least pretence to be called a court of justice. Williams and Powis, who conducted the case for the crown, found some thing to say, as advocates must and will. The only evidence against the bishops was their own confession; and the publication could not by any reach of ingenuity be brought home to them. Their right to petition could not be shaken by any argument sufficient to satisfy the most courtly understanding that had any pretence to sit there; and had the judges forgotten themselves so far, there was a jury. The people of England stood at the door; its first nobility crowded the court; the atmosphere of influence and corruption was excluded; and the justice of British law took its untrammelled course. The principal charge was that the petition was a libel against the king's government; to which it was replied, that the bishops had not only, in common with all subjects, a right to petition the king; but as peers they had a right to offer their counsel; and, being spiritual peers, more especially in matters of ecclesiastical concern; that having been required to act in direct violation of the law, and of their own ideas of the obligations of conscience and duty, they had a right to offer their reasons. It was also strongly argued that the dispensing power claimed by the king had been, by many votes of parliament, declared illegal, and that the point had been given up by the late king.

The trial lasted ten hours. The jury were quickly agreed upon their verdict, but they considered it prudent to make some show of prolonged deliberation. They therefore remained shut up till morning. The crowd continued all this time in anxious suspense; the king, with the impetuosity of his temper, had not allowed the fear of defeat to approach him. Early the next morning he went out to Hounslow Heath, considering his presence necessary to repress the temper which had upon that occasion manifested itself in the army. While he was there, the joyful acclamations of the city on the announcement of the bishops' acquittal rose loudly on the air, and was heard with no great complacency by the royal persecutor. His presence kept the troops silent; but he no sooner turned to leave them than their irrepressible joy broke forth. On hearing their tumultuous cheers, the king stopped to ask the cause: "Nothing but the acquittal of the bishops, which has reached them," was the simple but astounding answer. "Call you that nothing," said James; "but it shall be worse for them."

King James had little weighed his force, or the power with which he had thus rashly committed his strength; and he was not to be warned by defeat. He was like a personage described by Milton, who

"For very spite
Still will be tempting him who foils him still,
And never cease, though to his shame the more."

From the shame of defeat his pride and self-will only collected accumulated inveteracy; and he now resolved to show his contempt for the triumph of the bishops by transferring the same violence to the inferior clergy. But they too, had this lesson been wanting, had learned their strength, and seen the impotence of their persecutor. The chancellors and archdeacons of the dioceses were requested to send in a list of the clergy who had disobeyed and resisted the order of council. They refused to comply. And the bishop of Rochester, who had hitherto sat with the court of commission, declined to sit with them any longer. In consequence, this illegal court adjourned for some months, and never sat again.

These affairs were not, in their results, confined to England; but caused a profound sensation in every part of Europe; and it was generally considered, as it really was, a contest for victory between the crown and the church. The constitution of England was actually in the very crisis of a struggle between its higher and more vital powers: the rights of the nation, its liberties, its laws, and its religion, were quivering in the balance against those pervading and all-grasping powers of spiritual tyranny, on which the principles of the most crushing despotism reposed. In this awful juncture, the church and the courts of justice had held their ground; but two of the judges were dismissed on suspicion of having favoured the bishops, and the powers of the constitution were giving way to a more detailed system of attack—the magistracy had been changed and the corporations tampered with. The local authorities were easily taken in detail. The king's assumed power to dispense with laws and the disabilities they created, met no power to resist them in the provinces, and there were mayors and sheriffs everywhere to secure the king's interest at the next election. It is indeed plain enough that if not

forcibly interrupted by some external force, or by some exertion of that ultimate right which subsists in the people, in such cases of extremity, even the imprudence of James would not have been sufficient to prevent the victory he sought over the liberties of the nation; had he been allowed to proceed, experience would have been the result of failure, and fraud would have at last obtained what direct violence was found unequal to wrest from the courage of a people who are alive to a sense of their constitutional rights.

James had himself begun to feel that something more than violence was essential to the desired subjugation of the national spirit; and though confiding much in his own sense of the sacred and indefeasible powers of the crown, he did not altogether remit his endeavours to win the consent of every party. To the exertion of compulsory means he added all the fraud of which he was master, and stopped at no resource of falsehood or circumvention within his power. Having endeavoured to cajole every party and sect by promises, which few had the weakness to believe; when his professions failed to impose, he soon exposed his game by the abruptness with which he changed from flattery to persecution.

Amid these dangers, the hopes of the nation were turned to the illustrious prince of Orange, who, by his many eminent moral and intellectual endowments had obtained an unusual ascendancy in the European system; being at this time universally looked to as the centre of the protestant interests on the Continent. Equally opposed to the grasping and ambitious projects of Louis XIV., both by the political interest of his own country, and by religious principle, he had succeeded in organizing a formidable combination of the most powerful of the crowned heads and small independencies which then constituted no inconsiderable portion of the European states. As his wife was the next in succession to the British throne, until the recent event of the queen's delivery of a son; and as even after that there remained still no inconsiderable chance of her reversionary right, the prince, thus recommended by the double consideration of a common interest and a common religion, was naturally turned to in this season of urgent distress. He was pressed by the urgent applications of many public bodies and many individuals of rank, weight, and public influence, to hasten his interference. He was himself not an indifferent spectator of the progress of events; but a sense of justice, his respect for the filial tenderness of his princess, with the delicacy of his own relationship to the king, and also the immediate position of the system of politics in which he was then engaged, all contributed to restrain his conduct. He nevertheless was far from remiss, but continued to keep an earnest and vigilant attention to every turn of affairs in England. In this he was aided by the constant influx of intelligence from all the protestant parties; but he found a still more certain guide to the thorough comprehension of all the evolutions of the king's cabinet, and also an able and intelligent adviser, in that well known and sound divine and political historian, Dr Gilbert Burnet, whose independent and active spirit made him an object of strong dislike to king James, so that he soon began to feel himself unsafe in England, and took refuge in Holland where he was protected by the prince, to whom he quickly became a most

ready and influential adviser: thus indeed taking a greater share in the events of his time, than, from the nature of his agency, appears on the face of general history.

The prince's attention had first been called to the affairs of England by the king's anxiety to obtain the sanction of his consent to the abolition of the tests and the confirmation of his dispensing power; this he thought would not only influence the sense of parliament, but afford the best security for the permanence of those changes which he was endeavouring to bring about. With such views he gave the prince reason to expect the assistance of England in his Continental engagements. This strong temptation had been resisted by the prince, who, with a due sense of the machinations of his father-in-law, and of the necessity of the test to the preservation of the protestant religion in England, refused to concede more than his consent to a general toleration in favour of dissenters. The king, still anxious to obtain a more full concurrence, continued to push his object by a protracted correspondence with the pensionary, Fagel, who at last returned a full statement of the views entertained on the subject both by the prince and princess: in this paper he drew the important distinction between penal persecutions on the score of conscientious opinion, and the mere exclusion from offices; which latter he deemed to be not in the nature of punishment, but simply a necessary security for the established worship, under such circumstances, and from the interposition of such opinions as might endanger its safety. To recognise the necessity of such a security at that period, it is only necessary for the reader to call to recollection the history of the churches in that age when the persecution of the Huguenots had not merely aroused the fears of the protestant states, but given a tangible reality and substance to the object of those fears. The publication of Fagel's letter produced a very considerable effect upon all parties in England. To the protestants it imparted firmness, concentration, and spirit; it excited at once the enmity, and called forth the active hostility of the king. He entered into an amicable understanding with the Algerines, who then infested the Dutch marine, and gave them a friendly refuge in his harbours; he recalled his subjects from the prince's service, and began to strengthen his navy with no doubtful intentions.

The prince was not remiss; he sent over Dykvelt, his envoy, to remonstrate in behalf of the English protestants, and at the same time to feel the pulse of the nation, and cultivate every favourable inclination. The correspondence with Holland soon began to grow frequent and important; the Hague became a general resort for all whom apprehension or discontent drove from England; Admiral Herbert took up his residence there, and Admiral Russell made himself the means of keeping open a free communication. In England, all parties but that small one for whom the king was hazarding his throne, united in the common cause. Faction, which the slightest shade of difference in creed or form is enough to raise to all its intensity, was consigned to a temporary repose; the larger and more influential portion of the English peerage, spiritual and lay, concurred in their appeals to the prince; and applications too authoritative to be slighted, and too earnest to be resisted, came pouring in from every quarter. Many lesser incidents.

which our space has not permitted us to notice, added motives to the national appeal, and at length the prince became convinced that the interests of England, as well as of his own country, lay in the same course, and he resolved to follow the path thus pointed out.

His preparations had been already commenced, from the moment that his intercourse with James had assumed a hostile turn; the strengthening of his navy had become a matter of prudence, and the military character of his continental engagements rendered such a course both easy and little liable to be suspected. Availing himself of these circumstances, he completed his preparations with discretion and vigour, and at the fortunate moment, when the mind of England was agitated by the persecution of the six bishops, it was understood by all whose privity to his purpose was desirable, that the prince was on his way to England.

The king of France, by his interference, added resolution to the Dutch, offended the preposterous dignity of James, and filled England with a fear of being filled with Frenchmen, and betrayed to the ambition of Louis. King James, in the mean time, continued obstinate and incredulous. His understanding could not open itself to the conception of any invasion of those rights which he considered indefeasible; yet, besides the resistance he had found in the various civil and ecclesiastical authorities, he at this time received intimations of his real helplessness, which would have been warnings to a more prudent mind. His navy had nearly mutinied, because their admiral, Strickland, had a mass celebrated on board his ship; and, at the same time, declared that they would not fight the Dutch, whom they called "friends and brethren." A still more marked and fatal demonstration occurred in the conduct of his army. He made a plan to obtain the consent of the troops to the repeal of the test and penal statutes, by taking the regiments separately. His general, the earl of Litchfield, accordingly drew out a battalion in the presence of the king, and told them what was required of them, with the alternative of laying down their arms. The battalion immediately (with the exception of two captains and a few men) laid down their arms. James was completely unprepared for such a consequence, and gloomily commanding them to resume their arms, he assured them "that for the future he would not do them the honour to apply for their approbation."

During this emergency, Tyrconnel, who was pushing forward the king's views in Ireland with a hand retarded by no scruple, is asserted to have been the first to communicate decided intelligence of the imminent danger. This we do not believe, but think it probable that he was among the first to obtain decided intelligence. Such a warning would indeed have produced but little influence upon the indomitable folly of James. He had, early during the prince's preparations, received a letter of a more authoritative nature from the hand of his own minister at the Hague, and in the extremity of his terror, made a late effort, which only showed his feebleness and his fears, to retrace his steps. He offered to enter into an alliance with the Dutch; he replaced the lieutenants of counties who had been dismissed for adhering to the test and penal laws; he restored charters, and annulled the ecclesiastical commission court; he released the bishop of London from

the suspension under which he had been suffered to remain, and reinstated the president and fellows of Magdalen College. Such attempts at conciliation were late, and only drew upon him the contempt of all parties. The bishops, to whom in his terror he condescended to use flattery and protestations, sternly reminded him of his tyranny and misgovernment, and advised him for the future to be more select in his advisers. Notwithstanding all this appearance of terrified concession it is generally believed that upon some momentary rumour of the wreck of the Dutch fleet, he was on the point of recalling all these illusory retractations. But neither his pertinacious folly, nor his affectation of repentance, was to have any further effect to retard the approach of that retribution which he had so effectually drawn down: the measure of his crimes and infatuation was complete.

We do not feel it necessary to enter upon the relation of the subsequent incidents of this great event as connected with English history, but have felt ourselves compelled to go so far as we have written, in a general statement of their immediate causes, as the most clear and just method of meeting the numerous mis-statements of the party writers, who have maintained their opinions by the very usual method of narrowing the subject. The warfare of accusation and recrimination has been, as too frequently occurs among the writers of the last century upon Irish history, merely a battle of posts: single facts, and circumstances merely local, affording the entire materials of a controversy, in which the real merits of the question assumed to be under discussion, are, to a very great extent, shut out of view. The rancorous contest which was carried on in Ireland by two parties, violently imbittered against each other, by a long and furious contest of rights, and mutual or alternate injuries, which in countries more advanced would have been forgotten, exhibits a tissue of crimes and sufferings on either side, complicated beyond any power of analysis to disentangle; and affords abundant matter for the strong details of King and Borlase, or for the acrimonious compilations of Curry,* without in any way transgressing the line between fiction and truth. Such statements as these which such writers contain, would now be much softened and balanced by the better portion of their authors, and many strong extenuations would be found for the actors of those fearful times. It would be perceived that neither the crimination of unpaid protestant soldiers for such crimes as the soldiers of every party are prone to commit, nor the defence of the rash acts by which king James interfered to break down the protestant ascendancy in Ireland, in the remotest degree contain the real questions attempted to be thus settled. When the reader, however, looks upon the true character of king James, and his whole subversive policy, his rejection of all principle, his

* We do not of course mean here to bring these writers into any comparison. King may justly be viewed among the greatest men of his time. His views are by no means narrowed; but his statement abounds with such details as must always occur in the representations of those who are eye-witnesses of the events they relate. The difference is this; King's facts are illustrations and instances of the real respective positions of the actors then on the stage of events; Curry's are altogether irrelevant to the great transactions then in their course, and being exclusive of all the questions really at issue, serve no end but the most pernicious and exasperating misrepresentation of history.

contempt of all right, his monstrous acts of despotic injustice, his base hypocrisy, and flagitious falsehood, and the avowed object of all this baseness and violence, he must comprehend that the question, how far the members of the Romish persuasion had a claim to certain rights, either in precedent or natural justice, is altogether nugatory. The precedent may be admitted, and the natural right be allowed, but the act of imaginary *justice* will be seen to spring from the most wicked and dangerous conspiracy, to enslave a great people, and destroy the civil rights and the religion which they revered and loved. It was no time for acts of justice; it is not upon the verge of battle that questions of national equity are to be canvassed; however just it may have been to admit the Romish laity to corporate rights, or even to equalize them with those of the opponent communion, the act was *designed* and *adapted* to effect a wicked, ruinous, and unjustifiable end. The measures by which justice might be consulted, had ends far different from justice; and it certainly should not be demanded, that the protestants of that day were to stop to concede rights and immunities, of which the avowed design was to wrest from them all that they possessed. The contest was, in effect, one between king James and his kingdom: the indignity of the protestant church was its direct and immediate object. In Ireland the schemes of the tyrant were carried on with more fierce determination, and their true intent well understood; and there was, concurrently with this general sense, the natural terror of one party, the anticipated triumph of the other, and the many hostile feelings and restrictions of both. The rights of men, and the conflict of reason and statement, were not seriously relied upon by either, and behind the questions which were hung out to give speciousness to the partisans of a tyrant, there were other views, of which his advocates say nothing. Such are, in our view, the considerations which render it expedient to look upon the events of the revolution in England, as the just commentary upon the Irish history of the same period. The question then at issue, was neither one of detailed grievances, nor yet was it one of abstract right. It was, and ought ever to be, like all great questions, resolved with a view to the general rights and interests of the nation, and to the character and principles of the claimants. In the abstract there was no reason against a popish judge or a popish corporation, but they were justly referred to certain well known and not concealed principles, to certain hopes of an ulterior nature, and to a dangerous and unconstitutional relation with certain unconstitutional authorities greater than the law. Such reasons, while they existed, made general positions such as are applied to these questions, ridiculous. The *transfer of land* was the popular excitement of the *Irish* party of that day, and no one can pretend to doubt but they must have obtained their end had they been enabled to pursue the means adopted.

It would, indeed, be for the benefit of Ireland, if such details as exhibit to either party the frightful tablet of the injuries which they have received from the other, had never been written; for, while the inferences to which such details must ever lead, are inconclusive, their effect in creating and keeping alive animosities is fearful. Had not the bitterness of the 17th century been industriously propagated—had not dangerous positions been kept alive, the protestants and papists of

the present century might have found some difficulty in discovering the grounds of that civil inequality, which, till recently, has existed. We are aware of all that might be replied to this assertion, but we write after much and long deliberation.

We have now very fully stated to our readers the reasons for which we shall continue to lay before them the acts of the main parties, and the leading events during this period, with the least possible reference to the detail of local and personal inflictions and sufferings.

The news of William's landing in England brought with it a sudden change of spirit on either side. The leaders of the king's party were terrified—the protestants were raised from their dejection. Under the government of Tyrconnel they had been nearly prostrated by the most severe and merciless persecution; and the last hand had been put to their ruin, by their having been disarmed, and in their defenceless state exposed to the licensed assaults and robberies of the low and savage banditti, to whom the lord-lieutenant handed over the country. Tyrconnel now, like his master, thought proper to court the party which he had roused to the fiercest and most uncompromising hostility. He flattered them with audacious lies, and endeavoured to draw a testimony to his character and government which he hoped might have shielded his person and government from the justice which seemed to be visibly impending. In this expectation he was quickly undeceived. The protestants assumed a silent attitude of menace; the seizure of the castle was proposed: but it was hoped that the course of events would now give them the desired relief, and that Tyrconnel would fly the country. Tyrconnel had recourse to measures of desperation; he let loose the armed rabble under his command upon the country, and fearful crimes were committed. The public agitation was suddenly awakened to tenfold terror, by a report industriously spread, of a conspiracy to massacre the protestants of Ireland. The alarm was terrific: the timid multitude, of every age, and sex, and condition, left their homes, and crowded to the shores and quays, in the vain hope to find vessels to convey them from the scene of apprehended carnage. Tyrconnel sent to assure them of their safety, but they refused to be convinced.

Every effort was at the same time made to keep up the courage of the Irish party. Tyrconnel's zeal and resolution appear to have suffered no abatement from the desperation of his cause; but his ability was unequal to a crisis in which nobler courage and more adequate judgment could have been of little avail. His activity only served to precipitate the downfall of the interests he had so perseveringly laboured to sustain. He recalled to Dublin the troops, which served for the moment to repress the spirit of the north; and Enniskillen and Londonderry gave a powerful example to the protestant body through Ireland, and a memorable and glorious record of heroic courage and constancy to history. We thus passingly advert to these memorable events, because we must at this period take up the thread of history in the succeeding memoir, to which we are now endeavouring to hasten. The life of Tyrconnel derives its chief importance from the succession of events of which he was a principal agent, and having so far availed ourselves of his life, we shall now dismiss him as briefly as we can.

For a moment king William was persuaded that Tyrconnel might

be gained to his side; but Tyrconnel knew well enough that, deserted by the adventitious recommendations of his position as the leader of the Irish party, and the favoured agent of a cause which demanded his principles, he must have quickly fallen into contempt. He was, perhaps, in some respects sincere; but whether he was or not, the price of perfidy would have been low, compared with the rewards of success, and of success it is evident that Tyrconnel did not despair. William encouraged by the representations of Richard Hamilton, sent him over to gain Tyrconnel, but Hamilton took the opposite part, and laboured to give firmness to Tyrconnel's resolution of resistance.

It was, however, under the circumstances, necessary to dissemble with the protestants, and dissimulation was carried so far as to send a deputation with a pretended commission, to remonstrate with James in Paris, against any farther resistance towards the prince of Orange. This mission is remarkable for the craft and treachery of its contrivance and conduct. Lord Mountjoy was sent, charged with such a direct and open message as suited the overt professions of Tyrconnel. Rice, chief baron of the exchequer, was associated with him, and conveyed the real purposes of his false and double-dealing employer. On their arrival in Paris, Mountjoy was seized and incarcerated in the Bastille. Rice gave representations adapted to encourage the hopes of James, and to induce the French king to be liberal in his aid.

Tyrconnel was himself encouraged by the success of his messenger, and casting aside all fear, pressed on in the course he had adopted for the depression of the opposite party. To complete the disarming of the protestant body, before the occurrence of any trial of strength in the field, was his policy, and it was pursued with the savage and remorseless barbarity which the reader of the foregoing pages might be 'ed to anticipate. He was universally charged with treachery, but he bluntly denied the instructions which he had given to lord Mountjoy--a denial which deceived no one on either side.

On the 12th March, 1689, James landed at Kinsale, high in that confidence which seems to have been the result of an entire want of all calculation of the consequences of events and circumstances. He was met by Tyrconnel, to whom he gave the title of Duke.

We may now dismiss the subject of this memoir, as the succeeding occurrences which have their place in the remaining short interval of his life, will come more appropriately under other names. The events of the struggle which have now to be related, were so entirely military, that Tyrconnel held but a very subordinate position in the course of affairs. Shortly after the battle of Aughrim, he reached Limerick, together with Sarsfield, who conducted thither the shattered remains of the army under his command. There, a difference of opinion arose between himself and Sarsfield, as to the further course they should pursue. Sarsfield was for a continuance of military operations, but Tyrconnel saw that the chances of resistance were for the time at an end. He died a few days after his arrival, on the 14th, 1691, and his death was generally attributed to vexation and a broken spirit.

REV. GEORGE WALKER, GOVERNOR OF LONDONDERRY.

BORN ABOUT A.D. 1617—KILLED A.D. 1691.

THE great struggle to which the events in the preceding memoir may be held as preliminary, was destined to be terminated by a personal conflict between the heads of the adverse interests on the banks of the Boyne; and we preserve the order of events by giving a summary account of them from the landing of James until that decisive fight in the course of the present memoir.

From a small but compendious account written by the Rev. John Graham, we learn the few following particulars respecting the family history of the hero of Londonderry. His father was appointed to a benefice in Derry in 1630, and in a few years after, obtained the rectory of Cappagh in the county of Tyrone; from which he was further preferred to the chancellorship of Armagh. He had a son and a daughter; the son George Walker was "instituted to the rectories of Donaghmore and Erigal Keerogal, in the county of Tyrone," in March, 1662.* He was educated in the college of Glasgow.

Of this brave man the history is wrapped in comparative obscurity, until we arrive at the last few glorious and eventful years of his long life, spent, we have every reason to believe, in the strenuous practice of the less ambitious but not less exalted and elevating duties of a christian pastor. Thus presenting an eminent instance of the truth, that those divine precepts and that holy spirit which inculcates and imparts humility and charity, can, when the cause of God and the call of the country demand, send the hero to stand in the breach, and lead soldiers and patriots to their desperate and devoted duty. If it be said in abatement of these reflections, that George Walker was naturally of a busy and ambitious temper, and however noble was his service on that emergent hour of national peril, yet that it was his military taste which spurred him to the honourable post he filled; we must deny the inference: in the following memoir there will be amply found the evidence of a nobler spirit. But there is one preliminary observation which must to all reflecting minds render superfluous all further evidence on this question: when George Walker left his ministerial duties, to take the lead in that dreadful and trying scene of danger and privation, of heroic patience and daring, he was seventy-one years of age. For nearly half a century he had pursued the homely and retired path of a minister of God's word, in a country resounding on every side with the din of arms. In the strength and energy of his four-and-twentieth year he saw the troubles of the great rebellion, when there was every temptation for the enterprising, and when the safest refuge was in arms. But Walker's bold and leading spirit was not either tempted or driven to the field. It was when the sacred ramparts of the protestant church were assailed, that the soldier of Christ stood up in the very path of his duty to lay down his life, if so required, in its defence. It may perhaps be alleged by many a pious christian

* Memoir of Walker by the Rev. J. Graham,—1832.

reader, that even in such a case the consecrated teacher of the word of charity should have taken a different course; we are not here concerned to deny the affirmation; Walker may have erred,—we think not; but all that is here required is the inference that his error, if such, had origin in a sense of duty, in a moment so critical and appalling, that it may well have been permitted to the Christian, like Peter, to draw the sword of the flesh, when the enemies of the Lord were come up with swords and staves to do him violence. Rather let the pious Christian believe that the minister of Donaghmore was the approved soldier of Him, to whom victory must be ascribed.

At the breaking out of the contests of this period, the citizens of Derry and the protestants of the north looked with great and declared satisfaction on the protection which they anticipated in the presence of a protestant commander, many of whose soldiers were also protestants. Sir William Stewart, Viscount Mountjoy, had distinguished himself and received two dangerous wounds in fighting in the Imperial service against the Turks, had on his return to Ireland, in 1687, obtained the rank of general of brigade, and, being of Scotch descent, an earnest protestant, and his family connected for nearly half a century with the military government of Derry, his appointment to the military command in Ulster procured the exemption of that province from the general disarming of the protestants which obtained elsewhere in Ireland. Accordingly, when the fearful rumour of an intended massacre of the protestants, prepared in desperation by Tyrconnel, on the success of the landing of William in England becoming known, spread wild and uncontrollable dismay among the defenceless crowd in Leinster and other protestant districts, it only aroused in the north to a firm uncompromising resolution of self-defence. In his first alarm at the state of matters in England, Tyrconnel had determined to reunite all the troops under the command of Mountjoy with its garrison for the defence of Dublin. But on learning the spirit and defensive preparations of Ulster following their removal, he hastily endeavoured to repair the error by placing garrisons anew in the frontier towns, and by directing that a newly raised regiment, entirely composed of papists, under the Earl of Antrim, should take up its quarters in Londonderry, which was at this time filled with refugees apprehensive of the imaginary massacre. These apprehensions now fearfully presented themselves to their minds, and on learning that the dreaded regiment had already reached Newtown-Limavaddy, twelve miles distant, a resolution to resist its entrance began to be diffused among the citizens; and before night a plan had been concerted between Horatio Kennedy, one of the sheriffs, and a few youths of Scottish extraction, ever since commemorated by the honourable appellation of the "Prentice Boys of Derry," for mastering the guard, seizing the keys, raising the drawbridge, and locking the gate at the ferry of the river on the occasion of the regiment approaching next day and attempting to enter the town, which was successfully carried out on Friday the 7th December, 1688. Like the other corporations of Ireland, that of Londonderry had just been arbitrarily remodelled. The magistrates were men of low station and character; among them was only one person of Anglo-Saxon extraction, and he had turned papist. A contemporaneous epic poem in its praise, quoted

by Lord Macaulay, who says its writer had evidently a minute knowledge of the city, runs thus—

“ For burgesses and freemen they had chose
 Brogue-makers, butchers, raps, and such as those;
 In all the corporation not a man
 Of British parents, except Buchanan.”

And this Buchanan is afterwards described as

“ A knave all o’er,
 For he had learned to tell his beads before.”

The bishop, Ezekiel Hopkins, resolutely adhering to the doctrine of nonresistance, which he had preached during many years, had aided with his influence this rabble corporation in counselling submission to the warrant enjoining reception of the soldiery, and in expostulating against the subsequent measures for securing the city, and against inviting to its defence the protestant gentlemen of the neighbouring counties, who promptly responded to the summons, arriving by hundreds on horseback and on foot by various roads. But the daring young Scotchmen who had taken the lead on this occasion, had little respect for his office, and interrupted his oration, remarking that there was then no time but for action. The corporation was substituted by their predecessors in office, and the bishop retired from the city. Tyrconnel, on learning this, was alarmed, and sent Mountjoy back, accompanied by Lieutenant-colonel Lundy with six companies, and with orders to reduce the city. Instead, however, of attacking, Viscount Mountjoy negotiated with the authorities of the city, who had in the interval made preparations for defence, and despatched letters to William and the Irish Society of London imploring aid by a gentleman of reputation called David Cairnes, who, by the weight of his character and representations, had greatly influenced the opinion of the inhabitants, at first doubtful and timid, to follow up the act of the “Prentice Boys” by these measures. This negotiation resulted in the city being allowed to retain its protestant garrison, and the citizens their arms, with assurance of a pardon under the great seal, for the act of resistance, and two sons of Mountjoy remaining as pledges in the city. Phillips, the restored governor, who had succeeded the venerable granduncle, commemorated in these pages,* of Lord Mountjoy, freely resigned his powers to the grandnephew, and the latter entered with spirit into all the wishes of the citizens, and exerted all his talent and skill to secure the defence of the city. Although these proceedings could not fail to attract the jealous attention of Tyrconnel, yet the more dangerous attitude of the protestant party made it imperative to proceed with some caution. Perhaps, as Lord Macaulay thinks, for a moment Tyrconnel really wavered in his hopes. It is certain he opened a communication with the Prince of Orange, and professed himself willing to yield, and that William, advised by his most influential Irish friends in meeting assembled, was induced to send an agent of unquestionable influence, and who undertook to

* Sir Robert Stewart, vol. ii. p. 363.

bring it to a successful issue, to negotiate a capitulation on terms honourable for all, and that should arrest the calamities that seemed to be impending. But before the arrival of this envoy of peace, the hesitation of Tyrconnel, whether genuine or feigned, was at an end. The rumour that the Viceroy was corresponding with the English had set the natives on fire; and the cry of the common people was, that if he dared to sell them for wealth and honours, they would burn the castle and him in it, and would put themselves under the protection of France. Tyrconnel now protested that he had pretended to negotiate only for the purpose of gaining time. Yet before he declared openly what must be a war to the death against the English settlers, and against England herself, he was at considerable loss how to rid himself of Mountjoy, who, although true to the cause of James up till now, would, it was well known, never be a consenting party to the spoliation and murder of the colonists. The wonderful dexterity of the man, however, suggested to him the plan referred to at the close of the preceding memoir,* by which he might at one and the same time thoroughly deceive the Irish protestants, and remove out of the way a commander whom he could not trust, until he had matured his arrangements to hand over Ireland to James and Romanism. A double-tongued embassy to the late King of England warned him by the mouth of one ambassador, of the foolishness and hopelessness of further attempt to recover possession of Ireland, and counselled submission to its occupation by England. The tongue that spoke this message was Lord Mountjoy's, and its voice chiming with his own convictions he believed it sincere. Another ambassador accompanied him whose mouth told a different tale, more truly sincere because more true.

Before leaving for Paris, Lord Mountjoy sent a statement of the considerations which induced the act to his friends in the north, enclosing copy of stipulations which Tyrconnel had passed his word of honour to observe, to the effect that no change in the *statu quo* should take place in Ulster during his absence in matters military or civil; stipulations which the latter did not and never meant to observe. On his arrival at Paris, Viscount Mountjoy was immediately imprisoned by the French authorities at the solicitation of James, and shut up in the Bastille, where he remained upwards of four years. It was unfortunate for the protestants of Derry, that, in accepting this mission, Mountjoy left Lieutenant-colonel Lundy in command of that city, a man either entirely devoted to the cause of James, or, as Lord Macaulay suggests, so faint-hearted and poor in spirit as to have given up all thought of serious resistance when, some time after, an Irish army was despatched by Tyrconnel under the command of Richard Hamilton, a double traitor to his friends and to his military parole of honour, in order to subjugate the north before aid could arrive from England. As soon as the two envoys had departed, Tyrconnel set himself to prepare for the conflict, which had become inevitable. The whole Irish nation was called to arms, and the call was obeyed with strange promptitude and enthusiasm. The flag on the castle of Dublin was embroidered with the words "NOW OR NEVER: NOW AND FOR EVER:"

* See page 423.

and these words resounded through the whole island. "Never in Europe," says Lord Macaulay, "has there been such a rising up of a whole people. The peasantry had during three years been exasperated by the application of religious and patriotic stimulants. The priests, most of whom belonged to the old families which had been ruined by the Act of Settlement, but which were still revered by the native population, charged every Catholic to show his zeal for his church by providing weapons. The army, which under Ormonde had only consisted of eight regiments, was now increased to forty-eight; and the ranks were soon filled to overflowing." No man dared to present himself at mass without a weapon of some kind or other. A day was fixed on which every protestant was required to bring every sword or gun to the parish church, and the house in which, after that day, any weapon was found, *being inhabited by a protestant*, was given to be sacked by the soldiery. Then came a destruction of property as reckless as the world ever saw. During the few weeks of Lent, the French ambassador reported to his master 50,000 horned cattle, and, popular report added, 4 to 500,000 sheep, uselessly butchered, were rotting on the ground all over the country. It was utterly impossible for the English settlers to resist an outbreak so terrible as this. Every place in the south in which they had mustered for common defence fell into the hands of the papists. The fastnesses of the gentry were either given up, or burned by the owners, who, with such valuables as they could carry, set out, armed and mounted, for the secured spots in Ulster.

We shall now proceed directly with the train of circumstances more immediately belonging to the siege of Derry. The northern protestants having generally agreed in the determination to stand up in their own defence, directions were circulated among the most influential or competent persons for the steps which appeared most immediately desirable for such a purpose. Among others, Walker received at his rectory of Donaghmore some communications urging the necessity of securing Dungannon. He acted promptly upon the suggestion, and at once raised a regiment for the purpose. He considered the necessity of preserving this communication between that town and Londonderry, to which city he repaired, for the purpose of consulting with Lundy who then commanded there. Lundy seemed at first to enter into the spirit of the country, and without any hesitation agreed with the brave rector of Donaghmore, and sent some companies to strengthen Dungannon. Two days after, however, orders were sent from Lundy to break up the garrison at Dungannon. We only mention these incidents as plainly manifesting the temper and spirit which governed Lundy's actions, and appeared more decidedly in the course of events.

On the 20th March, captain James Hamilton arrived from England with 680 barrels of powder, and arms for 2000 men. He brought to Lundy the king's and queen's commission as governor of the town, with instructions for swearing into office the different civil and military officers, and promises of speedy assistance. The king and queen were then proclaimed in the city. The remainder of the month and the beginning of April were spent in active preparations for an expected siege. It was on the 13th of April that Mr Walker received accounts

of the approach of the enemy, and immediately rode to Londonderry to apprise Lundy of the information. Lundy received the intelligence with slight, and pretended to treat it as a false alarm. Walker returned to Lifford, and the same evening the Irish army came in sight at Clodyford.* On their presence being ascertained, several persons, among whom David Cairnes is chiefly mentioned, urged Lundy to secure the passes of Fin water, that the enemy might not get over before the city should be ready for its defence. Lundy replied that his orders were already given. Having already betrayed every post over which he possessed either authority or influence, he now exercised his authority for the betrayal of the last trust committed to him, and having, as he hoped, by treacherous dispositions of the resources of the garrison, provided for the betrayal of the city, he had in this also, taken the most efficient means in his power to prevent any interruption to the approach of its enemy. But the firmness of its defenders, in some measure, baffled this treachery. King James' troops under Hamilton and Pagnan, were directed immediately to ford the river at Clodyford. Here they should have been stopped by Lundy, who on the 14th took the command of the troops destined to oppose their passage: as they approached he pretended to distrust the courage of his men, and made a precipitate retreat to Derry. The enemy advanced to Lifford, where they met a spirited and efficient resistance through the whole night, from colonel Crofton and captain Hamilton. In the morning they were joined by Walker, who then, according to his orders from Lundy, proceeded to take his post at the long causeway, and colonel Crofton remained to maintain the advanced post against the enemy. Their ammunition being spent, the soldiers under Crofton were compelled to retreat: they were necessarily joined by Walker's companies, and both effected an orderly retreat into Derry, to the number of 1,000 men. Walker immediately waited on governor Lundy, and strongly urged that he should lead out the whole garrison with the troops, on this occasion, added to their force, and take the field against the advancing enemy. Lundy objected that the conduct of the troops on the previous day had not been such as to warrant much confidence in their efficiency, and refused. Walker was of a very different opinion as to the conduct and efficiency of the troops, and of the expediency of a forward movement.† On the 15th, colonels Cunningham and Richards arrived from England, with two regiments, and a supply of ammunition. Many of those who had come from Coleraine and Dromore, were so discouraged by the great apparent weakness of the town, and the deficiency of most of the essential means and materials of defence, that they refused to remain, and thus for a time caused great depression in the garrison, as well as among the citizens. There was a want of horse for sallies; no engineers to direct their work; no fire-works to annoy the besiegers; not a gun rightly mounted on the walls; while the crowd of useless persons assembled on the walls was very numerous, and materially tended to aggravate and hasten the subsequent calamitous effects of scarcity, by the increased consumption of a

* Walker's Diary.

† Ibid.

supply already insufficient. On the 17th, news of the approach of king James' army having reached the town, a council of war was called by Lundy: it was mainly composed of those over whom he had maintained an influence, and those upon whom he was enabled to impose a false statement of circumstances: it came to the following resolution—"Upon inquiry it appears, that there is not provision in Londonderry, for the present garrison and the two regiments on board, for above a week, or ten days at most, and it appearing that the place is not tenable against a well appointed army: therefore it is concluded upon, and resolved, that it is not convenient for his majesty's service, but the contrary, to land the two regiments commanded by colonels Cunningham and Richards, now on board in the river Lough Foyle. That considering the present circumstances of affairs, and the likelihood the enemy will soon possess themselves of this place, it is thought most convenient that the principal officers shall privately withdraw themselves, as well for their own preservation, as in hopes that the inhabitants, by a timely capitulation, may make terms the better with the enemy; and that this was judge most convenient for his majesty's service, as the present state of affairs now is."

It seems from this, as from the statements of Mr Walker, that while the citizens of Derry were still resolutely bent on resistance, there was yet a secret influence in the councils of these authorities, and which devoted them to the disgrace of a surrender. Treachery and terror were both at work, and while governor Lundy meditated his own interest in the contrivance of a tame capitulation, and many whose age and caution led them to a keen view of the difficulties and dangers of their position, and to despair of the result of resistance, the people, and their patriotic leaders, watched their conduct with distrust. There was, as yet, however, a general indecision as to the course expedient to be pursued, and while those in authority wished to enter upon a negotiation with James, a habitual sense of subordination prevented any decided indication among the numerous lookers on, of their strong repugnance to such a course. Yet in this uncertain state of the authorities, some deference to the well-known feeling of the city was yet felt to be necessary: and when captain White was sent out to meet the king, for the purpose of receiving his proposals, it was made a condition, that the army which he commanded should not approach the city nearer than within four miles of its walls. The reader, who has justly appreciated the arrogant and inconsiderate disposition of James, will easily apprehend that he received so much of these overtures as suited his own wishes, and dismissed the remainder without notice. Confident in the expectation of a surrender, and imagining that this object would be the more readily gained by a show of force, the next morning he marched his army and appeared with flying colours before the walls: his reception was such as to startle the credulous arrogance of his expectations, and to abate something of his absurd confidence. Though the governor, true to his own purpose, gave orders that not a shot should be fired until farther communications had taken place; the citizens considering themselves betrayed, rushed to the walls and fired upon the hostile troops. This act disclosed to James the unwelcome truth that his own troops were

hardly to be relied on, for they ran panic-struck and disordered from the fire. It was with some difficulty that the spirit of the citizens could be quieted, so far as to allow of further negotiation: it was however evident that no hostility was offered by James, and they were strongly assured that he only came to treat. Having thus obtained a temporary calm, the governors once more sent out archdeacon Hamilton, and Mr Neville, to beg pardon in their name for having drawn him into such dangers, and to represent the great difficulty of bridling the fury and disaffection of the unruly multitude. The ex-king, on their request, drew off his troops that same evening to Jamestown, to await the event of their promised efforts to bring the people to submission.

But in the interim, the whole proceedings of the council had been disclosed by Mr Moggredge, the town clerk: their design was, indeed, such as to rouse the utmost indignation, as it was nothing less than a desertion of the citizens to the vengeance of their inveterate enemy, by a secret flight from the city. The resolution of the council was, "that colonel Cunningham, his ships, men, and provision, should return to England, and all gentlemen and others in arms should quit the garrison and go along with him." This arrangement, which contains pretty nearly an equal proportion of cowardice, treachery, and cruelty, at once roused a spirit among the citizens which set all further temporizing at defiance. The faint-hearted and the false saw that it was time to save themselves, and great numbers made their escape, not without much danger, from the angry soldiers, who were with difficulty restrained from firing upon them. Lundy, who was of all these the most an object of dislike, was compelled to have recourse to contrivance for his escape; disguised as a labourer, and loaded with a bundle of matches, he accompanied a party of soldiers, who were sent out on the pretence of a sally to relieve Culmore, and thus reached the shipping in safety.

On this, the garrison, fully resolved on holding out against the army of James, thought it expedient to choose governors. The duties of the government were committed to George Walker and Major Baker. On accepting this trust, they immediately entered upon the arrangements essential to their devoted purpose. Their first step was, the convenient distribution of their forces. The following are the particulars of this arrangement, as given by Walker in his account of these proceedings: colonel Walker, 15 companies; colonel Baker, 25; colonel Crofton, 12; colonel Mitchelburn, 17; colonel Lance, 13; colonel Mount-ro, 13; colonel Hamilton, 14; colonel Murray, 8. Each company consisted of 60 men; the whole amount of force was 7020, with 341 officers. That the reader may the more clearly understand the details of the celebrated siege of this most illustrious city, it may be useful to lay before him a brief description of its fortifications and chief localities, and for this we cannot find any thing more adapted to our purpose than the following description prefixed to Walker's diary. "The form of the town comes somewhat near an oblong square; and its situation lengthways is north-west and south-east, or on a diagonal drawn from the church through the market-house, to the magazine, is near upon a north and south line.

"The length of the town through the middle, from Ship-quay gate

to Bishop's-gate, is about 300 paces, or 1500 foot. The wall on the west side the town 320 paces; the wall on the east side about 380.

"The breadth at north-west end 140; at the south-east end 120; from Butchers-gate to Ferry-gate, where the town is broadest, 180 paces.

"The wall is generally seven or eight foot thick; but the outside wall of stone or battlements above the Terra-plene, is not more than two foot in thickness.

"The four corners have each of them a bastion; on the long side to the west-ward are two other bastions; and on the side to east-ward one bastion, one demi-bastion, and two other works which are commonly called platforms.

"There are four gates—Bishop's gate at the south-east end, Ship-quay gate at the end opposite to it, Butcher's gate at the north-east side, and Ferry-quay gate over against it.

"In the middle of the town is a square, called the Diamond, where the market-house stands (during the siege turned into a guard-house).

"Near the south-west end of the town stands the church, on the top whereof, being a flat roof, were placed two of our guns, which were of great use in annoying the enemy. In the south-east angle of the town was the principal magazine. Within the town also were several wells; and before Bishop's gate was a ravelin built by colonel Lundy; and the ground on forwards to the Wind-mill hill, was taken in by the besieged to the distance of 260 paces from the town, and about the same distance across the river, and for fear this ground should be taken from the besieged by the enemy, another line was industriously drawn from the south-west quarter of the town to the river to secure their retreat.

"The number of guns placed on the bastions and line, was eight sakers, and twelve demi-culverins.

"The whole town stands upon an easy ascent, and exposed most of the houses to the enemy's guns."* This description of the city and fortifications of Derry as it then stood, needs no addition to impress the reader with a sufficient sense of the bravery of the gallant and devoted men who now united to defend it to extremity. But in addition to all the disadvantages of situation under which they laboured, they were encumbered with a large and helpless crowd of women, children, and aged people, most of whom were fugitives, who had gathered in from the surrounding districts, and served no end but to consume their provisions, and dishearten them with complaints and sufferings. Under such trying circumstances, the brave defenders of Londonderry entered on their task; to the companies, divided as we have said, were allotted their several posts, and each was taught to man its own bastion at the moment of necessity. The duty of maintaining the spirit of the garrison was divided between the eighteen clergymen of the English church, and seven presbyterian ministers, who each in rotation addressed their respective congregations; and while they animated their zeal and fired their valour by strong representations of the justice and emergency of their cause, at the same time directed their thoughts to the only true source of strength and hope of success.

* Description prefixed to Walker's History of the Siege.

On the 20th April, the besiegers marched towards Pennyburn hill, and took up a position which separated the city from the fort of Culmore. On the same day Mr Bennet was sent from the garrison to England, to give an account of their condition, and assurances of their resolution to hold out to the last. The soldiers were ordered to fire after him as he went, that he might be supposed to be a deserter from the city. This day also, many messages were sent in to induce a surrender, but all were in vain; and on the following day, a demi-culverin began to fire on the city at the distance of about 1260 yards, but without any material effect. This ineffective demonstration was answered by a vigorous sally, which seems to have taken the besiegers by surprise, as they lost two hundred of their men, with the French general Mammont, and six other officers of rank. They rallied, and the sallying party made good their retreat with the loss of four soldiers and one lieutenant. On this occasion, the horse led by Colonel Murray, about fifty in number, were so closely pressed in their retreat, that Mr Walker was under the necessity of mounting one of the horses, and riding out to rally them, as their brave leader was surrounded by the enemy. The whole were thus brought off, and three pair of colours were the honourable trophy of this first trial of their valour.

The enemy, dissatisfied with such results, soon contrived to bring their artillery within a closer range; and at the distance of about 650 yards, opened a fire which told severely upon the houses, which by the elevation of the city were exposed to their range. The besieged, in no way disheartened, returned their fire with no less spirit, and many fell on both sides. Among the numerous casualties on record, Mr Walker mentions one which is curious enough for repetition. A bomb thrown by the besiegers from Mr Strong's orchard, fell into a room where several officers were at dinner; it lighted upon a bed, bursting its way into the room underneath, exploded and killed the owner of the house, and struck down the wall, so that the officers, all untouched, came out of the opening thus made.

After suffering a loss of several men from another sally, the besiegers found reason to be dissatisfied with their progress, and drew a new line across Windmill hill "from the bog to the river," and planted a new battery. But the effect was trifling, and only drew forth from the gallant men within, a contemptuous exhortation to spare the labour and expense, reminding them that the breach which they toiled so vainly to effect was needless, as they kept their gates open, which they might find wide enough if they had the courage to try.

The danger was however more truly appreciated by the commanders, and it was felt to be necessary to take immediate and decisive steps. Having consulted with Baker and the other principal officers of the garrison, Walker resolved on a sally; he selected ten men out of each company, and having put them in "the best order their impatience would allow," he led them out at the Ferry gate, at four in the morning. They advanced with silent rapidity, and dividing, one part of them dislodged the enemy's dragoons from the hedge behind which they were posted, and the remainder seized possession of the trenches. There was but slight resistance, as the enemy were borne down at

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every point by the impetuosity of the assault, and soon began to save themselves in great confusion; they left two hundred dead on the field, and had five hundred wounded so severely that above three hundred died within a few days. Among the killed there was a general officer, with seven of inferior rank, and four taken prisoners, with five pair of colours.

The immediate result of this well-conducted and successful sally was a considerable abatement of the enemy's courage, and for the following fortnight they kept very much in the back ground. The want of horse restrained the besieged, who were of the two the more willing to assume the offensive. Some time thus passed, without any material change in the position of either side. The interval was not however without adventure. Several officers, among whom captain Noble is especially mentioned by Walker, made occasional sallies at the head of small detachments mostly not exceeding ten or twelve, whenever any party of the enemy were seen to approach; and these, sometimes becoming entangled with superior numbers, were relieved by fresh assistance from the walls. On all these occasions the enemy were compelled to retire with loss, while that of the city detachments was very slight. The difference in the composition of the force on either side seems to have been very much to the disadvantage of the besiegers; and, as most commonly will be found, the moral inferiority was not less than the physical. Many were discouraged by the consciousness of a bad cause, and the conduct of the besiegers was itself not unworthy of it. Their attempts at negotiation were so marked by treachery, that no reliance could in the slightest matter be placed on their most solemn pledge; of this there are many instances. Among them, it is mentioned by Walker, that "having hung out a white flag to invite to a treaty, Mr Walker ventured out to come within hearing of my lord Lowth, and Colonel O'Neile, and in his passage had a hundred shots fired at him; he got the shelter of a house, and upbraided them with this perfidious dealing, and bid them order their men to be quiet, or he would order all the guns on the walls to fire on them; they denied they were concerned or knew any thing of it, and this was all the satisfaction to be expected from persons of such principles."* Besides many similar acts of the most atrocious falsehood and treachery, it was ascertained by the confessions of several prisoners that there was an avowed and distinct understanding among the besiegers that no faith was to be kept with the besieged.

The besieging army was removed from Johnstown to Ballyagry hill, about two miles from the town; but sentries were posted at such stations as made it a matter of great danger for any one to approach the wells outside the town, and the want of water within having become extreme, this danger was constantly braved by the citizens. Many were thus slain; and a gentleman is mentioned by Walker, who had the bottle shot from his mouth at one of these wells.

On the fourth of June, the enemy made an assault in considerable force on the works at Windmill hill, then in possession of the citizens. They were repulsed with great loss. Among the incidents of this

* Walker's History of the Siege.

conflict, there are some which indicate plainly that the advantages of courage and discipline lay with the citizens. The assailants exhibited great surprise when they found that their antagonists, instead of firing a volley and running away, reserved two-thirds of their discharge, and stood firing in successive volleys as they came on. Colonel Butler, son to lord Mountgarret, and thirty horsemen, having forced their way to the top of the works, the city party were astonished to find that their bullets took no effect upon them; but captain Crooke remarked that they were cased in armour, and ordered that the horses should be aimed at, which was so effectually obeyed, that of the thirty but three succeeded in getting off. "We wondered," writes Walker, "that the foot did not run faster, till we took notice that in their retreat they took the dead on their backs, and so preserved their own bodies from the remainder of our shot, which was more service than they did while they were alive." On this occasion, the enemy's loss was four hundred, with nine officers slain and seven taken; while the city lost but six privates and one officer—a plain proof of the superior character of their force. This disastrous repulse appears to have animated the councils of the besiegers with an impatient wish to retaliate. On the same night they opened a severe and destructive bombardment on the city, the effects of which were terrific: "they plowed up our streets, and broke down our houses, so that there was no passing the streets nor staying within doors, but all flock to the walls and the remotest parts of the town, &c."* This new mode of attack was attended with more serious results than any to be apprehended from their prowess in the field. Mr Walker gives a lively description of it. "They plied the besieged so close with great guns in the day-time, and with bombs in the night and sometimes in the day, that they could not enjoy their rest, but were hurried from place to place and tired into faintness and diseases, which destroyed many of the garrison, which was reduced to 6185 men on the 15th of this month; these bombs were some advantage to us on one account; for being under great want of fuel, they supplied us plentifully from the houses they threw down, and the timber they broke for us."† There cannot indeed easily be found a more striking illustration of the heroism that can gather "resolution from despair."

In the course of these proceedings, the spring had passed without any progress on the side of the besiegers, while the brave defenders of the city, unimpressed by the arms of their enemy, were beginning to feel the severest extremities of toil, exposure and privation. In the beginning of June, the allowance of food for the several companies had sunk to the lowest amount consistent with the bare support of life; the garrison dragged on a sickly existence of prolonged starvation, and though the noble spirit of resistance was still unshaken, yet the animal energy which had so often repelled the assault from their gates, and which stood unmoved amidst the daily cannonade which had already laid their city in the dust under their feet, was sadly broken; the brave soldiers and citizens of Londonderry were become so enfeebled, that the summer heats, now setting in, were scarcely to be

* Walker's Hist.

† Walker's Hist.

endured by their attenuated frames; and, already more thinned in their force by famine and unwholesome living, than by the enemy, exhausted nature now began to give way with accelerated rapidity. On the 7th of June, three distant ships were seen to approach the river, which awakened a momentary hope of relief; but unhappily they were soon deterred by the apparent dangers of the entrance, and after some vain hesitation sailed away.

On the 15th June, a fleet of thirty sail appeared in Lough Foyle, and once more excited anxious expectation in the fainting garrison. The obstacles were nevertheless of the most formidable character; the besiegers, well supplied with artillery and ammunition, raised strong batteries on Charles fort, at the narrow part of the river, where the ships must pass before they could reach the town; they also lined the bank on both sides with musquetry. In addition to these preparations, they contrived to fasten a strong boom across the water, which, by arresting the entrance of the ships just under their guns, would have exposed them to the fullest effect of their fire. Such obstacles demanded the spirit of a Rodney or a Nelson, and were far too discouraging for Kirke. Signals not very intelligible to either were exchanged from the steeple of the cathedral and the masts of the fleet; and at last a messenger sent from the ships contrived by swimming to reach the city, and convey information. From him they learned the amount of relief intended for them and contained in the ships. Another messenger despatched at the same time had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and was suborned to make delusive statements to the garrison; for which purpose they hung out a white flag, and offered to permit the garrison to communicate with their prisoner. The trick was however ineffectual.

Kirke retired, but employed a little boy who twice succeeded in making his way into the city, baffling the search of the enemy by the dexterity with which his letters were secreted. One letter he carried in his garter; the second was sewed in a cloth button. Kirke's letter will here convey the immediate position of affairs,—it is addressed to governor Walker.

“Sir,—I have received yours by the way of Inch. I writ to you Sunday last, that I would endeavour all means imaginable for your relief, and find it impossible by the river, which made me send a party to Inch, where I am going myself to try if I can beat off their camp, or divert them, so that they shall not press you. I have sent officers, ammunition, arms, great guns, &c., to Inniskillin, who have three thousand foot, one thousand five hundred horse, and a regiment of dragoons that has promised to come to their relief, and at the same time, I will attack the enemy by Inch. I expect six thousand men from England every minute, they having been shipped these eight days. I have stores and victuals for you, and am resolved to relieve you. England and Scotland are in a good posture, and all things are very well settled; be good husbands of your victuals, and by God's help we shall overcome these barbarous people. Let me hear from you as often as you can, and the messenger shall have what reward he will. I have several of the enemy has deserted to me, who all assure me they cannot stay long. I hear from Inniskillin the Duke of Berwick

is beaten, I pray God it be true, for then nothing can hinder them joining you or me.

"Sir, your faithful servant,

"J. KIRKE."

"*To Mr George Walker.*"

About the middle of June, Baker was become too seriously ill to take any part in the further conduct of the defences, and by his own desire colonel Mitchelburn was appointed in his place, as governor in commission together with Walker. The object of this provision as explained by Walker, being in order that one might be always present in the town when the other commanded the sallies, and also, in case of death to avoid the danger of new elections.

About six days after, the besiegers were joined by field Marshal Conrade De Rosen, a French officer whom James had made commander in chief of the Irish armies. De Rosen, as often occurs to those who come fresh and untried to scenes of difficulty, despised the enemy, and conducted himself much as if he thought the defenders of the city might be intimidated into a surrender by oaths, imprecations and menaces, which only excited their contempt; he also had recourse to persuasion and promises, which had no greater effect,—“God having under all our difficulties,” writes Walker, “established us with a spirit and resolution above all fear or temptation to any mean compliances, we having devoted our lives to the defence of our city, our religion, &c.” So great indeed was that devotion, that feeling themselves tottering upon the very verge of visible destruction, and considering the temptation to save themselves in their emergency so great by a surrender which they thought infamous, the governors thought fit at this period to forbid the mere mention of surrender, on pain of death. The desertions began to be numerous, as among the crowd there were necessarily many who were more awake to safety and the wants of animal nature, than to honour and the dictates of conscience. The balls were spent, and for their cannon they were necessitated to use bricks coated with lead, yet with these clumsy substitutes they seldom fired without execution. De Rosen on his part was not deficient in the active employment of the various resources of war to distress the city and shorten its defences: he planted new batteries, formed new lines and began a mine to destroy the half bastion near the gate at Bog-street. All these elaborate preparations were frustrated by the commanders of the garrison, by whom his mine was countermined, and his foremost and bravest men killed by well directed discharges from the walls. One evening late, a regiment under the command of lord Clancarty contrived to enter the works of the city, and even lodged several men in a cellar under the bastion. Captains Noble, Dunbar and others, were ordered to steal out at the Bishop's gate and creep silently round by the wall until they came unexpectedly upon the enemy, who as yet thought that they had the whole matter to themselves; precisely following the direction of the governor, the sallying party came round until they were very near the assailants, who immediately saluted them with a hurried and ineffectual fire; they received the discharge with the most thorough composure, and advanced without returning it until they

came "to a right distance," and then opened a deadly fire. Almost at same instant a discharge from the walls followed up their fire, and lord Clancarty with his men were compelled to fly, abandoning the mines, and leaving a hundred soldiers dead on the spot.

On the 30th June the gallant Baker died, and was interred in the Cathedral, with the sorrow and the state due to his merit.

The garrison was by this time reduced to the necessity of eating horse flesh, dogs, cats, rats and mice, greaves of a year old, tallow, starch, dried hides, &c. A statement of Walker's, giving the prices at which these articles were sold in the markets, will convey some idea of the condition to which they were reduced.

Horse flesh sold for, per pound,	£0 1 8
A quarter of a Dog, fattened by eating the bodies of the slain Irish,	0 5 6
A Dog's head,	0 2 6
A Cat,	0 4 6
A Rat,	0 1 0
A Mouse,	0 0 6
A small Flock taken in the river, not to be bought for money, or purchased under the rate of a quantity of meal.	
A pound of Greave,	0 1 0
A pound of Tallow,	0 4 0
A pound of salted Hides,	0 1 0
A quart of Horse blood,	0 1 0
A Horse pudding,	0 0 6
A handful of sea Wreck,	0 0 2
Do. of Chicken weed,	0 0 1
A quart of Meal when found,	0 1 0

A fact mentioned by Walker somewhat amusingly illustrates this state of want. A fat gentleman, conceiving himself in so much danger of being eaten, by those whose grim and famished looks seemed to his frightened apprehension, to indicate a strong disposition to such a meal, hid himself for three days and endeavoured by abstinence to disencumber himself of an obesity so dangerously attractive to the eye of starvation. Yet in the midst of all this trying distress, the spirit of the soldiers never flagged, and their conversation was full of hope and resolution.

The enemy who failed to conquer their spirit, made some attempts to sow division in the garrison, and contrived to propagate a report which caused some excitement, that Walker had a large store of provisions secreted in his own house. The governor contrived to have a search proposed, by which such suspicions were turned aside and he was fully restored to the confidence of the army. Negotiations of a fraudulent nature, and illusory representations, were at the same time had recourse to. Lieutenant-general Hamilton whom the reader may recollect as having made king William the dupe of a mistaken confidence in his honour, sent to offer conditions, and received from Walker and his heroic companions for answer, that they much wondered that he could expect their confidence, having already so unworthily broken faith with the king; that though an enemy, he had

once been generously trusted, yet betrayed the trust; and it was not to be believed that he would learn more sincerity in an Irish camp.*

General De Rosen sent a letter to demand an immediate surrender, threatening in case of refusal to take revenge upon the surrounding districts as far as Ballishanny, Claremont, Belfast, and the barony of Inishowen, and to order the robbery of the protected as well as unprotected protestants, and have all driven to perish under the walls of their city. The proposal and menace were alike disregarded; but De Rosen was not slow in executing the threat so far as lay in his power. This officer, not without grounds in probability, but contrary to the fact, conceived the notion that none but the superior officers in the garrison could have the desperate resolution under these circumstances, thus to spurn at all conditions; and that it was impossible the soldiers could have been made aware of his offers. Thus ignorant of the spirit of the soldiers and citizens of Derry, he contrived to disperse among them, proposals and copies of his letters to their governors. Among other expedients for this purpose, a "dead shell," containing copies of the whole correspondence, was thrown into the city. He little knew the single and resolute spirit which made the garrison as one man, prefer death in any honourable form to a life of dishonourable submission to a perfidious, unscrupulous, and cruel despotism: he was not perhaps fully aware of the dreadful lesson which had been taught by Tyrconnel, who had already made it obvious to every Irish protestant, that pardon and protection were but delusions to gain some immediate purpose, and that the dupe was only let live to be hunted down as convenience might offer, by an untiring persecution from which there was no earthly refuge but in arms, or the barter of conscience and truth.

On the 2d July the menace of the French general was fulfilled, and a crowd of poor protestants was seen approaching from a distance, driven on like a herd of cattle by the troopers of De Rosen. For a short time the garrison was completely at a loss to understand the strange approach of a vast crowd of at least 30,000 persons approaching their walls; and mistaking them for the enemy, fired upon them from the walls. It was not long however before they perceived the truth, and by singular and providential accident their fire had not harmed a single person among the crowd, but passing over their heads, slew several of those drivers who were mingled in the further verge of the crowd. The governors of the city were filled with indignation by a sight so full of shame and horror: they ordered a gallows to be raised in sight of the Irish camp, and apprized De Rosen and his army that they would hang their prisoners if the poor protestants were not suffered to return to their homes. These prisoners themselves admitted that they could not complain of such a decision, and entreated to be allowed to write to Hamilton: the permission was granted, and we give the correspondence as illustrative of the miscreant spirit of those who commanded the besieging army. The following was the letter written by the prisoners:—

* Walker's Diary.

"My Lord,—Upon the hard dealing the protected, as well as other protestants have met withal, in being sent under the walls, you have so incensed the governor and others of this garrison, that we are all condemned by a court-martial to dye to-morrow, unless these poor people be withdrawn. We have made application to marshal-general De Rosen, and having received no answer, we make it our request to you, (as knowing you are a person that does not delight in shedding innocent blood) that you will represent our condition to the marshal-general. The lives of twenty prisoners lye at stake, and therefore require your diligence and care. We are all willing to die (with our swords in our hands) for his majesty; but to suffer like malefactors is hard, nor can we lay our blood to the charge of the garrison, the governor and the rest having used and treated us with all civility imaginable.—Your most dutiful and dying friends,

"NETERVILLE,

"E. BUTLER,

"G. AYLMER,

"——MACDONNEL,

"——DARCY, &c., in the name of all the rest.

"Writ by another hand, he himself has lost the fingers of his right hand.

"*To Lieutenant-general Hamilton.*"

To this, Hamilton returned the following answer:—

"Gentlemen,—In answer to yours, what these poor people are like to suffer, they may thank themselves for, being their own fault; which they may prevent by accepting the conditions (which) have been offered them. And if *you* suffer in this, it cannot be helped, but shall be revenged on many thousands of those people, as well innocent as others, within or without that city!"

An epistle of which the brutality cannot easily be exceeded in so few words.

Still, the lieutenant-general took two days to consider the danger of his own disgraceful position, and the real consequences which should be the result of persisting in the cruel expedient he had adopted; and feeling that if the garrison fulfilled their menace, he should stand committed to outrages too shameful even for him, resolved to comply and purchase the safety of the prisoners by suffering the protestants to disperse to their homes. The commanders of the garrison on their part, obtained some advantage from this barbarous proceeding, as they thus contrived to get rid of 500 useless persons. This the enemy endeavoured in vain to prevent, and even pretended that they could distinguish by smelling, those who had been in the city,—and the assertion is not quite improbable. Some able men were also thus obtained for the service of the garrison.

By many conversations from the walls, they ascertained the edifying fact which should not be omitted in this history, that the native portion of the force under De Rosen was treated with contempt and neglect. The Irish soldiers expressed "great prejudice and hatred of the French, cursing those damned fellows that walked in trunks,

(meaning their jack-boots,) *that had all preferments in the army that fell*, and took the bread out of their mouths, and they believed would have all the kingdom to themselves at last." A belief quite warranted by reason and experience, however the rude Irish soldier may have reached it.

The effects of disease and famine may be clearly estimated at this period of the siege, from the statement of Walker: considering that the losses occasioned by any other means were but trifling.

July 8,	the garrison is reduced to	5520,		
— 13,	do.	do.	5318,	loss in 5 days, 207
— 17,	do.	do.	5114,	4 — 299
— 22,	do.	do.	4973,	5 — 141
— 25,	do.	do.	4892,	3 — 81

Total in 17 days, . . . 728*

Giving thus an average loss of near forty-three a day, from the mere effects of exposure and starvation. A state of suffering which is strikingly exemplified by the fact, that in a sally which they made on the 25th of July, in the hope of carrying off some of the besiegers' cattle, though they slew 300, yet it was remarked that many of the sallying party fell by the force of their own blows. A remarkable illustration also of the superiority of moral power over the mere animal strength of a rude multitude.

Under these circumstances Walker began to fear for the constancy of the garrison, of whom more than four hundred perished within the next two days, making upwards of 2000 per month. He felt in himself an unshaken confidence that they could not be entirely deserted by overruling Providence, and endeavoured to impart his own faith and spirit to the garrison on the 30th in a discourse delivered in the cathedral, in which he reminded them of the many signal deliverances they had received, of the importance of their defence to the protestant religion, and enforced from these considerations the inference that when at the worst they would obtain deliverance.

About an hour after, they espied from the wall three large vessels approaching the harbour, which they rightly conjectured to be sent by Kirke for their relief. The anxious suspense of the famine-struck defenders of Londonderry needs no description: they hung out a red flag from the steeple of the cathedral, and fired several guns to express their extremity of distress: a loud and simultaneous cry, "now or never," broke from a thousand voices, as the ships approached the point of danger, under the guns of the enemy; and a furious cannonade for some minutes arrested their entrance. The ships returned the fire with spirit, and still proceeded without wavering a moment, until the Mountjoy, commanded by captain Browning, having struck the boom and broken it, was thrown upon the sands by the recoil. The enemy set up a tremendous shout, and rushed forward to board the vessel: but firing her broadside among them, she was carried back by the shock of her own guns, and floated again. The contest after this was quickly at an end: the three vessels entered without any further impediment:

* Walker's Diary.

they were the Phoenix and the Mountjoy transports, commanded by captains Douglas and Browning, and convoyed by the Dartmouth frigate, captain Leake: they contained a large and needful supply of beef, meal, and other provisions— and the Heroes of Derry were saved, just when their entire provision was barely enough to keep them two days more alive. At this moment there remained alive 4300 men, of 7300 originally numbered within the garrison. Their provision consisted of nine lean horses, and one pint of meal per man. It remains to be added, that the gallant captain Browning, with four of his men, were slain by the enemy's fire, while the Mountjoy was aground.

We need not dwell further upon the particulars of this most interesting event. The siege was at an end; the enemy had been taught to appreciate the spirit of Derry too well at its last ebb, to risk any further encounter. They drew off to Strabane. They had scarcely completed their encampment, when they heard of the bloody defeat of general Macarthy by the Enniskillen men; and wisely reflected that their safest course was furthest from the scope of such rude encounters. They broke four guns, and threw twelve cart-loads of military store into the river, and marched with discreet precipitation to safer quarters. Thus writes Walker, "after 105 days being closely besieged by near 20,000 men constantly supplied from Dublin, God Almighty was pleased in our utmost extremity to send relief." Nearly 9000 of the besieging army had fallen before the walls.

A few days after, a meeting of the council and chief inhabitants of Londonderry met and agreed upon an address to king William, which they committed to the care of their governor to present. Walker proceeded on his way by Scotland. He was received with every mark of respect in Glasgow, which claimed the honour of his education. At Edinburgh he met a no less honourable reception: there he was waited on by a body of presbyterian ministers, who applied to him for some information respecting the condition of their Irish brethren, and received from him an affecting narrative of their distresses and sufferings. By this city he was admitted as a burgess and guild brother, and received from the town clerk, Æneas M'Cleod, a formal certificate of his admission to this honour. Pursuing his route to London, he was met at Barnet by Sir R. Cotton, who came to meet him, and conveyed him from thence in his coach to London. During his journey, a letter from the king addressed to him and to Mitchelburn had reached Londonderry, in which his majesty expressed in strong terms his sense of what was due to them for their efforts in preserving that city, and acknowledging that he looked upon it as his duty to reward their services as commanders in that heroic and unequalled defence. The university of Cambridge showed a sense worthy of itself, of the importance of these services by a degree of doctor. Soon after his arrival, Walker attended a meeting of the Irish Society, to which he detailed the effects of the siege in destroying the greater part of the town, and suggested the necessity of assistance for the purpose of its being fitted for the re-occupation of the citizens. The society acted at once upon the suggestion, and on its application the corporate authorities of London set on foot an effective contribution to the required end of relieving the sufferers and repairing the town. At the same time abate-

ments were made in the rents, and timber gratuitously supplied for the work of repair.*

At this time Walker prepared his diary of the siege, from which the chief part of this memoir is drawn. It was received with great applause; but was not long unattacked by a pamphlet, written by Mr Mackenzie, the presbyterian minister of Cookestown, whose account of the same transactions, more in detail and substantially correct, is generally allowed to be written with a feeling invidious towards Walker, and not to be trusted so far as it may be construed to affect his account. This was followed by a succession of pamphlets by the friends and partisans on either side; the controversy was closed by Walker's vindication of his diary, which a recent writer of considerable authority has justly called unanswerable: we transcribe the conclusion of this document, of which the learned writer just cited very truly observes, that it "will be sufficient to excite a wish that more of his writings had been preserved."

"Mr Walker has not taken pains to satisfy those who do him the honour to confess that God has been pleased to make him an instrument of some good to them, and yet seem angry with him without reason. He has not taken those pains to satisfy them, or establish himself in their esteem, as if it were a discouragement to want their good opinion. He does not know whether it would be for his credit to have it, for there is 'woe against him of whom all men speak well,' and he is well pleased to want that mark, and he knows that no man can be so innocent, but he must endure reflections and abuses, and that therefore the slanderer's throat is called an open sepulchre like death, that all men must submit to, and in such cases Mr Walker is not so unreasonable as to desire to be singular only as he could not propose to get any reputation by writing, so he had some hopes he should not lose any by it. He has written this vindication of his account of the siege of Derry, not that he thinks he has so great an occasion to satisfy himself as to satisfy others, and that he thinks that he ought, in justice to all those poor gentlemen and people who were concerned with him in Derry, to keep up the reputation of their service, that they may never receive any stain from the dirt or scandals any envious persons can throw upon them, to prejudice them in the king's favour, or the sense he has so often been pleased to express of their fidelity and courage.

"He has been upbraided with having given a very imperfect account of the siege of Derry, and that matter he will not dispute with his enemies; for it is impossible it could be otherwise, or that the little time and convenience he had to be exact in such a thing could prevent it. He is the more willing to allow this, because two very extraordinary things occur to him, which at the time of writing the book he had forgotten, and they being so considerable in demonstrating that providence which attended the defence of the town, and that was so remarkable in its deliverance, he begs to insert them in this paper.

"In the account of the siege you may find that people were every day

* Ordnance survey, County History.—Rev. John Graham.

going out of Derry; the enemy by that means had constant intelligence, and we had reason to be under great apprehension and concern, more especially for our ammunition; we therefore considered how to prevent that, and having a great quantity in Mr Campsie's cellar we removed it to another place. The very next day after we had removed it, a bomb broke into the cellar, and if our gunpowder had been there we should certainly have been destroyed.

"Another thing of as great moment was omitted, and that was, a bomb from the enemy broke into a cellar near Butcher's Gate. Some had the curiosity to examine what mischief it had done, and there they saw seven men dead, that had been working at a mine unknown to us, and that if it had not been for so miraculous a counter-mine, they might have gone on with their work and ruined us. Mr Walker will not say but there may be other as considerable things omitted, but they too nearly concern himself, and it would not become him to sound his own praises, more than it would to reproach others."

On the differences between Walker and Mackenzie, Harris observes, "There are some variances between the account of the siege of Derry published by Dr Walker, and the narrative of it drawn up by Mr John Mackenzie, who were both present and in action during the siege—the former a clergyman of the church of Ireland, and the other a dissenting minister, and chaplain of a regiment there in that busy time; and these variances are to be accounted of only from the consideration of the different tempers and interests of parties, which often lead good men astray. Mr Mackenzie is much more circumstantial than Dr Walker, who gives only a diary of the circumstances just as they happened; a method which naturally engages our belief. I have extracted from them both, where they do not clash; and sometimes show where they do. In his account of the election of governors after the escape of Lundy, Dr Walker alleges, that himself and major Baker were chosen to that office; on the other hand Mr Mackenzie gives the election to major Baker alone, who named Dr Walker to be his assistant in the siege, and he was properly only governor or commissary of the stores. It is unaccountable that Dr Walker, who published his diary in London immediately after the raising of the siege, should assume to himself an office by election, to which he was not elected. This would be a strain of falsity of which thousands could contradict him. But the truth of Dr Walker's assertion is evinced by this, that he signs first in all the public instruments and orders passed during the siege; and his memory is vindicated against Mr Mackenzie's insinuations by a pamphlet published in 1690, entitled, 'Mr Mackenzie's narrative, a false libel,' to which the reader is referred; wherein not only this point, but many others are set right."*

From the House of Commons Walker received a vote of thanks and a grant of £5000—a stinted and insignificant return for the services he had performed; nor was its inadequacy redeemed by the bishopric of Londonderry, which the king is generally asserted to have bestowed upon him, but of which he never took possession. From the public,

* Harris' life of William III.

the Irish society, and the House of Commons, he received however a full allowance of all the empty honour which he had so richly earned: he probably found more real satisfaction in the opportunity allowed him of serving the city, for which he had already risked his life and spent his substance, by means of the weighty influence which his statements had acquired. On his advice the house addressed the king in behalf of the sufferers of Londonderry. They also instituted an inquiry into the circumstances of the mismanagement of Irish affairs, and into the causes of the misfortunes of the army. On these subjects Walker's testimony was important, and received as decisive. The misconduct of Lundy in abandoning the passes, and in various ways opposing and preventing the defence of the city entrusted to his care, and the no less detrimental treachery of Sheils (or Shales) the purveyor, were clearly exposed by his testimony.

He received an invitation from the Oxford University, and the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and a Diploma, in which he is described in these terms, "*Reverendus vir Georgius Walker, strenuus ipse ac invictus Civitatis Derensis propugnator, atque eodem facto totius Hiberniæ, uti speramus, conservator atque vindex. Die Mar. 2, 1689.*"

Before his departure from London, Walker was entertained by the city, and nothing appears to have been wanting to mark the sense of his merits on the part of the English public. He was everywhere received with enthusiasm, and whenever he chanced to be recognised in the streets, the populace showed their admiration, and the public feeling of England, by following him in crowds.

When he was on his way to present the address of the citizens of Londonderry, he was advised to appear in the uniform of a lieutenant-general before the king; but, with better taste and sounder sense of principle, Walker rejected this absurd counsel, and presented himself in his canonical attire. By the king he was received with the kindness and favour so justly his due; and in addition to other marks of respect, Sir Godfrey Kneller was commanded to paint a portrait of him for the king.*

On William's arrival in Ireland, Walker was among those who received him on the quay of Carrickfergus, and accompanied him to the battle of the Boyne, where he received a mortal wound, as he was crossing the river with Schomberg. He was interred at his own church at Castle Caulfield. "In the year 1703," writes Mr Graham, "a very handsome monument was erected in the wall over them [his remains] by his widow. He had put the church, which is a very fine one, in complete order, a short time before the revolution, as is recorded on an inscription over the door of it. It seemed when the writer of these memoirs saw it in 1829, to have undergone no material change since Walker's day, but was then in good repair. The following is a copy of the inscription under the monument of this heroic man. It is surmounted by his family arms, finely represented on a marble slab:—

* Graham.

P. M. S.
 His Juxt. lector,
 Reverendi Georgii Walker, S.T.D.
 Hujus Parochiæ olim Rectoris,
 Ossa reconduntur.
 Ille cujus vigilantia et virtute
 Londini Deriensis Civitas
 Anno MDCLXXXIX,
 A Gulielmi III. et fidei hostibus
 Liberata Stetit,
 Ad Boandi fluminis ripam
 Pro eadem causa adversus eodem
 Hostes,
 Anno MDCXC.
 Occisus cecidit.
 Cujus reliquiis et memoriis
 Mostissima adhuc illius vidua
 Isabella Walker
 Hoc monumentum posuit
 Anno MDCCIII.

 Saxo autem erit Fama perennior,
 Nec futura minus quam præsentia secula
 Tam purum Militem, tam fortem Sacerdotem,
 Mirabuntur.*

There is no reference made here to the fact mentioned by Lord Macaulay, that, shortly before his death, the subject of it had become bishop-elect of the rich see of Derry. Learning on his march to the field of the Boyne, that this see had become vacant, William immediately bestowed it upon the brave defender of Londonderry, who was forthwith loaded with felicitations from every quarter. The presence of our hero with the army of William, and the circumstance of his death on the occasion of that fight, has been interpreted by this noble historian with acrimony, and even injustice, to the memory of our hero. So far was George Walker from having, as stated by him, 'contracted a passion for war;' from having 'forgotten that the peculiar circumstances which had justified him on becoming a combatant had ceased to exist;' from being 'determined to be wherever danger was; or from exposing himself in such a way as to excite the disgust of his royal patron;' so untrue was it, as Lord Macaulay asserts, that, 'while exhorting the colonists of Ulster to play the men, Walker was shot dead,' that in fact Walker did not take any part whatever in the military work of this campaign. Deputed by the Episcopalian and Presbyterian clergy of Ulster to present congratulatory addresses to William on his arrival in Ireland, Walker waited on him for that purpose at Belfast on the 19th of June, and was then requested to accompany him on his march for the sake of the information he could impart as to the country and the people. That the substantial liberality of William, shown a few days after to the Presbyterian clergy of Ulster,—the origin of the donation so long bestowed on them by the English government,—was the effect in some degree of Walker's representations, there cannot be reasonable doubt.

* Graham.

The Londonderry and Enniskillen troops, did not join the army till nearly the eve of the battle, and therefore Walker could not truly be represented as accompanying them on the march from Belfast. He did not enter the fight with them; he did not even enter the Boyne at the same spot, nor until long after they had passed and won themselves a footing on the south bank; nor was he slain near where they were in contention. He seems to have remained near Duke Schomberg on the north bank until the latter, seeing the French Protestant regiments driven into the stream, and their brave commander carried back mortally wounded across the ford, thought the emergency required from him the personal exertion of a soldier. Walker accompanied him to the brink of the river, and may perhaps unconsciously have followed, sometime after, into the stream; but it was a stray cannon shot which terminated his life, while a (perhaps too near) spectator of the fight.

"Five generations have since passed away; and still the wall of Londonderry is to the protestants of Ulster what the trophy of Marathon was to the Athenians. A lofty pillar, rising from a bastion which bore during many weeks the heaviest fire of the enemy, is seen from far up and down the Foyle. On the summit is the statue of Walker, such as when, in the last and most terrible emergency, his eloquence roused the fainting courage of his brethren. In one hand he grasps a Bible. The other, pointing down the river, seems to direct the eyes of his famished audience to the English topmasts in the distant bay." "There is still a Walker club and a Murray club. The humble tombs of the protestant captains have been carefully sought out, repaired, and embellished." "It is impossible;" adds Lord Macaulay, from whom we have copied, "not to respect the sentiment which indicates itself by these tokens. A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors, will never achieve any thing worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants."

GUSTAVUS HAMILTON, VISCOUNT BOYNE.

BORN A. D. 1639—DIED A. D. 1723.

AT the same time with the events related in the preceding memoir, other incidents of little less historical interest were occurring in the neighbouring territories. Of these we shall now have occasion to relate the most memorable, as the illustrious soldier whose name and title stand at the head of the present memoir, was among the few Irishmen who bore a principal part in the wars of the revolution in Ireland.

In the latter end of the reign of James I., Sir Frederick Hamilton, a descendant of the Scottish Hamiltons, who stood high among the most noble and ancient families of Europe, having obtained great distinction under the standard of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, came over and served in Ireland, where he obtained considerable grants. His youngest son Gustavus, so called after the Swedish king, was a captain in the Irish army toward the end of the reign of Charles II. In 1667, he was among those who attended on the duke of Ormonde at the university of Oxford, and obtained on that occasion its degree of doctor of laws.

On the accession of James II., he was sworn of his privy council; but when it became evident that this feeble monarch, being engaged in an attempt to overthrow the constitution and church of England, was seeking to break up those institutions under which Ireland had been advancing into civilization and freedom, for the purpose of more surely effecting his purposes in England, Hamilton indicated that his first duty belonged to the church and constitution by resigning his seat at the Council board, and having thereupon been deprived of his commission by Tyrconnel, retired to reside on an estate in the county of Fermanagh.

Enniskillen, though then as now the capital of this county, was at this time merely a village. It was built on an island surrounded by the river which joins the two beautiful sheets of water known by the common name of Lough Erne. The stream and both the lakes were overhung on every side by natural forests. The village consisted of about eighty dwellings clustering around an ancient castle, long time the seat of the Coles. The inhabitants were, with scarcely an exception, Protestants; and boasted that their town had been true to the Protestant cause through the terrible rebellion which broke out in 1641. Early in December, 1688, and about the time of the scene of the 'Prentice Boys' of Londonderry, they received from Dublin an intimation that two companies of Popish infantry were to be immediately quartered on them. The alarm of the little community was great, and the greater because it was known that a preaching friar had been exerting himself to inflame the Irish population of the neighbourhood against the heretics. A daring resolution was taken. Come what might, the troops should not be admitted. Yet not ten pounds of powder, not twenty firelocks fit for use, could be collected within the walls. Messengers were sent with pressing letters to summon the Protestant gentry of the vicinage to the rescue; and the summons was gallantly obeyed. Among others came the subject of our memoir. In a few hours two hundred foot, and a hundred and fifty horse had assembled. Tyrconnel's soldiers were already at hand. They brought with them a considerable supply of arms to be distributed among the peasantry, who, greeting the royal standard with delight, accompanied the march in great numbers. The townsmen and their allies, instead of waiting to be attacked, came boldly forth to encounter the intruders, who were confounded when they saw confronting them a column of foot, flanked by a large body of mounted gentlemen and yeomen. The crowd of camp followers ran away in terror. The soldiers made a retreat so precipitate that it might be called a flight, and scarcely halted till they were thirty miles off in Cavan.

Elated by this easy victory, the Protestants proceeded to make arrangements for the government and defence of Enniskillen and of the surrounding country. Gustavus Hamilton was appointed Governor, and took up his residence in the castle. Trusty men were enlisted and armed with great expedition. As there was a scarcity of swords and pikes, smiths were employed to make weapons by fastening scythes on poles. All the country houses round Lough Erne were turned into garrisons. No Papist was suffered to be at large in the

town; and the friar who was accused of exerting his eloquence against the English was cast into prison.

When it was known, as previously related, that Lord Mountjoy had been sent by Tyrconnel to reduce again Londonderry and Enniskillen to obedience after these outbreaks, and had come to satisfactory terms with the former, a deputation, consisting of our hero and others, was sent by the defenders of the latter to excuse or justify their conduct, but obtained no great satisfaction. Enniskillen therefore kept its attitude of defence, and Mountjoy returned to Dublin.

On learning soon afterwards that a great force had been sent northward under Richard Hamilton to reduce the Protestants of Ulster to submission before aid could arrive from England, Gustavus Hamilton again returned to Londonderry to concert measures with Lundy, now left in charge of that city, for the common defence. Under discouraging circumstances, and notwithstanding the disheartenings and dissuasions of the treacherous Lundy, Hamilton undertook the defence of Coleraine, repelled a spirited attack made on that town by the whole Irish army, and gave time for concentration and aid to the cause, until the pass of Portglenone being forced and it was deemed expedient to retire into Londonderry with their stores and arms: when Hamilton returned again to his charge at Enniskillen.

The treachery of Lundy would have greatly increased the difficulties of the situation in this now famous village, but for the heroic courage of the English colonists. In the beginning of the year 1689 the Protestant inhabitants of Sligo, ejecting the garrison and corporate authorities imposed upon them by Tyrconnel, and choosing Robert earl of Kingston and Sir Chidly Coote as their commanders, had scarcely proceeded to commence their military organization when a letter from Governor Lundy from Londonderry was received, earnestly entreating these commanders would come to the assistance of that city. Scarcely, however, had these officers and their forces passed Ballyshannon when a letter was received by them from a self-appointed committee in Londonderry, to the effect that their men could not be received into that city; where they said there was no accommodation for them. No sooner had they left Sligo than Sarsfield, commanding for Tyrconnel, as designed by the treacherous Lundy, forthwith took possession of that town. In the same letter Lord Kingston was directed to advance to join the Protestants in the Lagan district, who, it was said, were awaiting his aid. Suspecting something wrong, Lord Kingston rode forward in the direction of Londonderry without delay at the head of a few horsemen, and learned that Lundy had previously caused the Protestants to leave the places to which he had directed him, while all the approaches to Londonderry itself were cut off by the enemy. Lord Kingston then made the best of his way,—surprising a French ship in Killibegs for the purpose,—with one or two officers to England, to acquaint William with the state of matters, while the body of his troops and their officers—in despite of Lundy, whose purpose it was to have them disband and fall easy victims to their mortal foes—betook themselves to Fermanagh and to the protection of its common centre of operations; the borough town of Enniskillen.

The singular unaptness of this island town for every defensive pur-
 II. 2 F. Ir.

pose, commanded as it was from several heights, and especially by a conical hill which rises from the very shore of the lough over its eastern extremity, compelled its defenders to have recourse to an expedient as singular as effective, viz., to regard it simply as a centre from which to issue on every side as occasion for military enterprise presented itself; but never to allow a hostile force to approach within many miles of its site. A strong body of Protestants from Cavan with military, driven before the forces of James, proceeding to the siege of Londonderry, swelled their numbers and resources as their organization was taking shape and form. From twelve companies, under Gustavus Hamilton as colonel, and Loyd as lieutenant-colonel, they grew into "seventeen troops of light horse, thirty companies of foot, and several ill-armed troops of heavy dragoons."

Yet the work these men had to do, unused as most of them were, not to arms, but to military organization, might well be described as Herculean. The English inhabitants of Ireland, comprising those of English descent, have been well described as an aristocratic caste, which had been enabled by superior civilization, by close union, by sleepless vigilance, and by cool intrepidity, to keep in subjection a numerous and hostile population. It is impossible to deny that, with many of the faults, they possessed all the noblest virtues of a sovereign caste; these virtues have ever been most resplendent in times of distress and peril; and never were these virtues more signally displayed than by the defenders of Londonderry and of Enniskillen, when Lundy their commander had betrayed the one as well as the other; and when the overwhelming forces of the enemy were threatening to swallow them up.

Under Gustavus Hamilton they repelled with loss in April the terrible horsemen of Lord Galmoy from the valley of the Barrow; the captain and the men most dreaded by the protestants for their rare discipline, skill in arms, barbarity and perfidy, who had sat down before Crom Castle, a miserable fort in the neighbourhood, and on the shore of the eastern Lough Erne. They maintained a vigorous partizan war against the native population. Early in May they marched to encounter a large body of troops from Connaught, who had made an inroad into Donegal. The Irish were speedily routed, and fled to Sligo, with the loss of a hundred and twenty men killed, and sixty taken. They then invaded the county of Cavan, drove before them fifteen hundred of James's troops, took and destroyed the castle of Ballincarrig, reputed the strongest in that part of the kingdom, and carried off the pikes and muskets of the garrison. The next excursion was into Meath. Three thousand oxen and two thousand sheep were swept away and brought safe to the little island of Lough Erne. These daring exploits brought terror even to the gates of Dublin. So little had been thought of the gathering at first, that Tyroconnel assured James, when on his way from Cork to that city, that it was scarcely to be named, and that Enniskillen would fall before a single company. Colonel Hugh Sutherland was now ordered to march against Enniskillen with a regiment of dragoons, and two regiments of foot. He carried with him arms for the native peasantry, and many repaired to his standard. The Enniskilleners did not wait till he came into their neighbourhood, but advanced to encounter him. He declined an action, and retreated, leaving his

stores at Belturbet, under the care of a detachment of three hundred soldiers. Gustavus Hamilton attacked Belturbet with vigour, his forces made their way into a lofty house which overlooked the town, and thence opened such a fire that in two hours the garrison surrendered. Seven hundred muskets, a great quantity of powder, many horses, many sacks of biscuits, many barrels of meal were taken, and were sent to Enniskillen. True to the provident and industrious character of their race, the colonists, unlike their enemies the Rapparees, had in the midst of war not omitted carefully to till the soil in the neighbourhood of their strongholds. The harvest was not now far remote; and till the harvest, the food taken from the enemy would be amply sufficient.

Yet in the midst of success and plenty the Enniskilleners were tortured by a cruel anxiety for Londonderry, for there could be no doubt that if Londonderry fell, the whole Irish army would instantly march in irresistible force upon Lough Erne. Detachments were therefore sent off which infested the rear of the blockading army, cut off supplies, and on one occasion carried away the horses of three entire troops of cavalry. Some brave men were for making a desperate attempt to relieve the besieged city, but the odds were too great.

Yet the Enniskilleners were not without their discouragements. A severe check, the result of overconfidence, followed on a retaliatory incursion of a strong body of horse, under the Duke of Berwick, from the army besieging Londonderry, which suddenly approached their military pale. On learning their approach, Gustavus Hamilton sent out a company of foot to occupy a close and difficult pass near the town, through which they must needs pass. With a temerity born of their successes in recent fights, instead of restraining themselves as the laws of strategy demanded, to the occupation of a position where a handful of men might have arrested the march of an army, these hardy and impetuous irregulars advanced upwards of a mile into the open, and found themselves, before they could commence or even contemplate a retreat, surrounded by an overwhelming squadron of most carefully disciplined cavalry. A few of the footmen succeeded in cutting their way through the enclosing troopers. Twenty-five slain, and twenty-six prisoners were the cost of this lesson of caution to the protestants of the district.

The illness of Hamilton himself was another discouragement. The anxieties of a position such as his could not fail to wear out the hardest nature. Wielding an authority wholly resting on voluntary obedience, and as yet without any legal sanction, he had not only to provide food for a numerous immigrant and helpless population, to distribute rations with equal justice amongst ravenous and undisciplined soldiery, to exercise all the functions of a civil and military governor over a variety of defensive positions, but to watch with sleepless and anxious eye every point of the compass, and keep his scouts and watchmen in continued activity and unceasing communication with himself. It is no wonder, therefore, that his health gave way under the military toils added to these numerous cares.

Another discouragement was the character of the news reaching them about this time from Dublin. The proceedings in the Irish parliament, called together by James, which commenced its sittings on the 7th

of May, and was prorogued towards the end of July, excited at once their alarm and indignation. During an interval of little more than ten weeks, these proceedings proved most truly that, great as may have been the evils which protestant ascendancy has produced in Ireland, the evils produced by popish ascendancy would have been greater still. Every week came tidings that James had sanctioned some new act for robbing or murdering protestants. By one sweeping Act the tithe was transferred from the protestant to the Roman Catholic clergy; and the existing incumbents were left, without one farthing of compensation, to die of hunger. A Bill repealing the Act of Settlement, and transferring many thousands of square miles from English descendants and loyal Irish, was brought in and carried by acclamation, and although conscious of the iniquity, and protesting against it, James was actually bullied into sanctioning its provisions. But the portentous law, the law without parallel in the history of civilized nations, the murderous Act of Attainder, the measure by which three thousand persons, comprising the half of the peerage of Ireland, gentry of every grade innumerable, tradesmen, artisans, women, children, clergy, persons against whom nothing was or could be charged, except that they were disliked by those who drew it up, were doomed to be hanged, drawn and quartered without a trial, and their property to be confiscated,—and for the first time in European history, even the power of pardoning in respect to them was, after a certain period had passed, taken away from the crown,—unless the persons so named, many hundreds of whom could never learn of it, surrendered themselves to justice by an early day, this atrocious measure, which when passed was kept in strict concealment until the period for pardon had passed, which to read of even at this distance of time excites horror, is one which their recent history tells us would have been scouted even by semi-barbarians; the revolted negroes of Brazil and the bloodthirsty Indians of Guatemala. In comparison with this, the swindling by issue of base money; the conversion of old iron picked up in the streets and arsenals of the value of three-pence into coins forced into circulation at that of a guinea; while the protestants of Dublin, who were forced to receive it, were subjected to a tariff of former prices; even this open-faced robbery on the part of James, of which the news reached them by the same messengers, seems comparatively less infamous. But the cruelest of all was the treatment of those High church divines. These men, who still proclaimed the doctrine of the divine right of James, notwithstanding their exclusion from office and official functions, simply because they were protestants, were either shut up in prison or insulted and shot at by the heretic-abhorring soldiery. Ronquillo, the bigoted member of the church of Rome who then represented the King of Spain at the court of James, wrote to his master about this conduct with indignation; and said that the inconveniences suffered by the Catholics in England were nothing at all in comparison with the barbarities exercised against the protestants by the Roman Catholics in Ireland. By these acts the Enniskilleners too well knew what awaited them should the Jacobites conquer all Ireland.

Nor was this all, or the worst. Irritated at the rejection of all terms offered by James, and piqued at the repeated defeats his forces had sus-

tained, it was determined at Dublin that an attack should be made upon the Enniskilleners from several quarters at once. General Macarthy, an officer descended from the ancient Irish family of that name; an officer who had long served with distinction in the French army under an assumed name; an officer who had succeeded in driving forth a thriving protestant colony from Kinsale and in reducing Munster, and who in consequence had been rewarded by James with the title of Viscount Mountcashel, marched towards Lough Erne from the east with three regiments of foot, two regiments of dragoons, and some troops of cavalry. A considerable force, which lay encamped near the mouth of the river Drouse, under the command of the celebrated Sarsfield, was at the same time to advance from the west. The Duke of Berwick was to come from the north with such horse and dragoons as could be spared from the army which was besieging Londonderry. The Enniskilleners were not fully apprised of the whole plan which had been laid for their destruction. Gustavus Hamilton received intelligence first of the approach of Sarsfield's force; and according to the method of warfare uniformly pursued by him, he sent off the gallant Loyd with a thousand men to encounter this enemy. After a rapid march of twenty miles Loyd succeeded in surprising the Munster camp, and at the close of a short and a furious contest, routed their five thousand well armed soldiers with great slaughter, and but little loss on his own side. They had no sooner returned to Enniskillen than they were apprised that Macarthy was on the road with a force exceeding any they could bring into the field; and was not far from their town. Their anxiety was in some degree relieved by the return of a deputation they had sent to Kirke, the commander of an expedition sent for the relief of Londonderry from Liverpool, and which had arrived in Lough Foyle on the fifteenth of June. "Kirke," says Lord Macaulay, "could spare no soldiers; but he had sent some arms, some ammunition, and some experienced officers, of whom the chief were Colonel Wolseley and Lieutenant-colonel Berry. These officers had come by sea round the coast of Donegal; and had run up the Erne. On Sunday, the twentieth of July, it was known that their boat was approaching the island of Enniskillen. It was with difficulty they made their way to the castle through the crowds which hung on them, blessing God that dear old England had not quite forgotten the sons of Englishmen who upheld their cause against great odds, in the heart of Ireland." "Wolseley seems to have been in every respect well qualified for his post. Though himself regularly bred to war, he seems to have had a peculiar aptitude for the management of irregular troops; and his intense hatred of popery was, in the estimation of the men of Enniskillen, the first of all qualifications for command. The return of the deputation with these officers and supplies, did not take place one day too soon. On the very day previous, an account came to Enniskillen that Crom castle had been invested by the army under Mountcashel to the great alarm of its little garrison, who, as they reported in the despatch to governor Hamilton, "were totally unaccustomed to cannon." Wolseley assuming the chief command, as both Hamilton and Loyd were broken down for the time by past exertions, at once determined to raise the siege. On the very day following their arrival, he sent Berry for-

ward with such troops as could be instantly put in motion, and promised to follow speedily with a larger force.

Berry had approached within a few miles of a new position taken by Macarthy in advance, when, encountering a much more numerous body of dragoons, commanded by the notorious Anthony Hamilton, he retreated judiciously to a pass some miles in the rear, where a narrow causeway led across a marsh, with a copse of brushwood on both sides, at its further extremity, within which he placed his men. Hamilton came up immediately, and dismounting his troopers near to the causeway, commenced firing over the bog and into the copses. At the first fire of the Enniskilleners Hamilton was severely wounded. In their next discharge the second, who then assumed the command, was shot dead. More than thirty of their men fell with them. The dragoons then fled, and were pursued with great slaughter for upwards of a mile. "Macarthy soon came up to support Hamilton; and at the same time Wolseley came up to support Berry. The hostile armies were now in presence of each other. Macarthy had five thousand men and several pieces of artillery. The Enniskilleners were under three thousand; and they had marched in such haste that they had brought only one day's provisions. It was therefore absolutely necessary for them either to fight instantly or to retreat. Wolseley determined to consult the men; and this determination, which in ordinary circumstances would have been most unworthy of a general, was fully justified by the peculiar composition and temper of the little army, an army made up of gentlemen and yeomen fighting, not for pay, but for their lands, their wives, their children, and their God. The ranks were drawn up under arms; and the question was put, 'Advance or Retreat?' The answer was an universal shout of 'Advance.' He instantly made his dispositions for an attack. The enemy, to his great surprise, began to retire. The Enniskilleners were eager to pursue with all speed, but their commander, suspecting a snare, restrained their ardour, and positively forbade them to break their ranks. Thus one army retreated, and another followed, through the little town of Newtown Butler. About a mile from that town the Irish faced about and made a stand. Their position was well chosen. They were drawn up on a hill at the foot of which lay a deep bog. A narrow paved causeway which lay across the bog was the only road by which the Enniskilleners could advance; for on the right and left were pools, turf-pits, and quagmires, which afforded no footing to horses. Macarthy placed his cannon in such a manner as to sweep this causeway. Wolseley ordered his infantry to the attack. They struggled through the bog, made their way to firm ground, and rushed on the guns. There was then a short and desperate fight. The Irish cannoneers stood gallantly to their pieces till they were cut down to a man. The Enniskillen horse, no longer in danger of being mowed down by the fire of the artillery, came fast up the causeway. The Irish dragoons who had run away in the morning were smitten with another panic, and without striking a blow galloped off the field. The horse followed the example. Such was the terror of the fugitives that many of them spurred hard till their beasts fell down, and then continued to fly on foot, throwing away carbines, swords, and even coats, as encumbrances. The infantry, seeing themselves deserted, flung down

their pikes and muskets and ran for their lives." So far we have copied the account of this fight from Lord Macaulay, as not only the most concise but the most accurate. When he adds, "that now the conquerors gave loose to that ferocity which has seldom failed to disgrace the civil wars of Ireland; that the butchery was terrible; that near fifteen hundred of the vanquished were put to the sword," he does not enquire whether quarter were asked and refused, whether it was in human nature for the pursuing few to know when they were safe against the fresh attacks of the flying many; against those who would have shown them no mercy had the fortune of the day been the reverse and against them. Fear is cruel, and so is hate. Yet the Enniskilleners took four hundred prisoners, including Macarthy himself, although wounded. In despair he had advanced upon them at the last, courting death, and firing his pistol at them when otherwise, as he was told, he might easily have escaped. The Enniskilleners lost only twenty men killed and fifty wounded.

The battle of Newtown Butler was won on the same afternoon on which the boom thrown over the Foyle was broken. At Strabane the news met the army of James which was retreating from Londonderry. All was then terror and confusion; the tents were struck; the military stores were flung by waggon-loads into the waters of the Mourne; and the dismayed Jacobites, leaving many sick and wounded to the tender mercy of the victorious Williamites, fled to Omagh, and thence to Charlemont. Sarsfield, who commanded at Sligo, found it necessary to abandon that town, which was instantly occupied by Kirke's troops.

Recovering from his illness, Gustavus Hamilton, with his renowned Enniskilleners, joined the army under Duke Schomberg, which soon after landed in Ireland; and constituting themselves his advance guard, distinguished themselves by feats of valour. On the twenty-seventh of September a body of them, under Colonel Loyd, having routed a force of five thousand men under Colonel O'Kelly, with seven hundred men and three commanders slain, their own force not exceeding a thousand men, the Duke was so pleased as to cause the whole body to be drawn out in line, and rode along it uncovered to express his thanks. In the month of December a party of them under Colonel Wolseley had no sooner surprised the garrison at Belturbet than they learned preparations were making at Cavan to recover the place. According to their uniform custom they resolved to anticipate the attack. Before they could reach Cavan the Duke of Berwick had arrived there with a powerful reinforcement; and the forces were four thousand against one thousand. They met near Cavan. The onset of the Enniskilleners carried all before it. Pursuing into the town the conquerors dispersing began to plunder. The enemy concentrated in the fort, and began the fight anew. The Enniskilleners would have certainly been cut to pieces, but Wolseley conceived the idea of setting the town on fire. Thus forced out he was able to lead them again against the rallied enemy, and again to defeat them with great loss. Three hundred slain, two hundred prisoners, several officers of rank inclusive, and a large booty of cattle were the result of this foray.

In the battle of the Boyne Hamilton commanded a regiment, and there signalized himself by his usual valour and conduct, having had a horse killed under him on the thirtieth of June in the following year, and a very narrow escape from death.* At the capture of Athlone he waded the Shannon at the head of his regiment, being the first man to plant his foot in the rapid stream, and on gaining possession distinguished himself by resisting the efforts of the French army encamped close by to recover it. On account of its great importance the government of this place was committed into his hands. He was present and took a prominent part in all the principal battles fought by De Ginckle.

On the reduction of the country he was made one of the privy council, promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and received grants of forfeited lands. In the reign of Anne, he was further raised to the rank of major-general, and represented the county of Donegal in parliament, until created viscount Boyne. At the siege of Vigo he commanded a regiment, and made himself so useful upon the occasion, that he was presented with a service of plate by the queen.

In 1714, George I. advanced him to the dignity of baron Hamilton of Stackallier. The same king granted him a military pension of £182 10s. yearly, and promoted him to the title of viscount Boyne, by patent dated 1717.

He married a daughter of Sir Henry Brooke, and had by her a daughter and three sons. He died September, 1723, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

PATRICK SARSFIELD.

KILLED A. D. 1698.

THE ancestors of this gallant officer on the paternal side, though originally English, were among those early colonists who were proverbially said to have become more Irish than Irishmen. In the sixteenth century, by one of the numerous revolutions of that country, the property of the manor of Lucan came into the possession of the Sarsfields. In 1566 Sir William Sarsfield was distinguished for his good services against Shane O'Neill; for which he was knighted by Sidney. His mother was of noble native blood; and he was firmly attached to the old religion. He had inherited an estate of about £2,000 a-year, and was therefore one of the wealthiest Roman Catholics of the kingdom. His knowledge of courts and camps was such as few of his countrymen possessed. He had long borne a commission in the Life Guards, and had lived much about Whitehall. He had fought bravely under Monmouth on the continent, and against Monmouth at Sedgemoor. "According to Avaux," the representative of Louis at the court of James at Dublin, who made it his study to observe and to report to his master upon the qualities of the public men of that court, "Patrick Sarsfield," says Lord Macaulay, "had" when, in the commence-

* Preamble of his patent.

ment of 1689, elected one of the members of the city of Dublin in the parliament of James, "more personal influence than any man in Ireland. He describes him as indeed a gentleman of eminent merit, brave, upright, honourable, careful of his men in quarters, and certain to be always found at their head in the day of battle. His intrepidity, his frankness, his boundless good nature, his stature, which far exceeded that of ordinary men, and the strength which he exerted in personal conflict, gained for him the affectionate admiration of the populace. It is remarkable that the English of all ranks and opinions generally respected him as a valiant, skilful, and generous enemy, and that even in the most ribald farces which were performed by mountebanks in Smithfield, he was always excepted from the disgraceful imputations which it was then the fashion to throw upon the Jacobite party in Ireland."

But not only were men like Sarsfield rare in that house of commons; of which it has been truly said, "that of all the parliaments which have met in the British islands, Barebones' parliament not excepted, it was the most deficient in all the qualities which a legislature should possess;" he took not, he could not take, any share in the infamous proceedings that have made its name odious in every Christian and legal ear. The traitorous manœuvre by which the garrison of Sligo was withdrawn in the month of April left that port and town defenceless, when it was immediately seized upon by a detachment under Sarsfield, who was sent, in anticipation of the withdrawal, as the result of the intelligence between Lundy of Londonderry and Tyrconnel of Dublin. Sarsfield remained in charge, ever watchful of these daring irregulars, until he was instructed to concentrate an expedition against the armed colonists of Enniskillen; an expedition which was surprised and dispersed on the stream of the Drouse before its preparations were completed. On the loss of the battle of Newtown-Butler, fought by Macarthy against the Enniskilleners, he retired from Sligo before a force sent by Kirke from Londonderry. So little did James appreciate the merits of the best officer in his army, that it was not without great difficulty that the French ambassador Avaux and commander Rosen prevailed on his Majesty to give Sarsfield the command of an expedition despatched in the autumn of that year into Connaught, and to raise him to the rank of brigadier on the occasion. "He is a brave fellow," said James, with an air of intellectual superiority that must have made his auditors stare, "but he is very scantily supplied with brains." Sarsfield, however, fully vindicated the opinion of his French admirers. He dislodged the English from Sligo; and he effectually secured Galway, which had been in considerable danger.

It was one of the misfortunes of James to have repeated changes in the generals sent him from France to take the command-in-chief of his troops in Ireland. Lauzen, who succeeded the patron of Sarsfield, although he brought with him seven to eight thousand French infantry, the best perhaps the Continent could supply, was an unfortunate exchange for Rosen. At the battle of the Boyne, in apprehension that the left wing of the Jacobite army would be turned, and a pass, in the rear of the fight, called Duleek, be seized by the troops of William, which had forced a passage over the bridge of Slane, Lauzen not only

detached all his own men, but the horse of Sarsfield and Sarsfield himself, to cover that only possible line of retreat, leaving the native forces to meet the strength of the English, Enniskilleners, and Dutch, in the centre and right, without an officer capable of handling them. Thus prevented from displaying the skill and courage which his enemies allowed him to possess, Sarsfield could, on this fatal day for his master, only protect James in his flight with his horse, while the French infantry with considerable coolness covered the retreat of the beaten and disorderly Irish horse and foot.

The conduct of the native soldiery, in the series of fights which terminated in this crowning victory of the Williamites, had sunk their military reputation to the lowest point, and had exposed them to the bitter contempt both of their enemies and of their allies. The Jacobites at Paris, English and Scotch, never spoke of them but as dastards and traitors. The French were so exasperated at the reports that reached them of their behaviour, that Irish merchants, who had been many years settled at Paris, durst not walk the streets for fear of being insulted by the populace. So strong was the prejudice, that stories were current to explain the intrepidity with which the horse had fought as contrasted with the pusillanimity of the foot soldiers. It was said that the troopers were not men of the aboriginal races, but descendants of the old English of the Strongbow conquest, or the Scots of the Ulster settlement. And notwithstanding Lord Macaulay's faint contradiction, this was unquestionably true of their officers, and largely of the men also. The forlorn hope, who were cut off to a man after leaping their horses over the wall into the Windmill-hill outwork of Londonderry, were Butler's, under the command of a Butler of Ormonde of the line of Mountgarret. The cavalry which made the gallant attempt to retrieve the day at the Boyne, and which had so nearly succeeded, were chiefly of the Kilkenny Normans, and were led by a Hamilton, of Scottish ancestry. Sarsfield himself, the first swordsman of their force, was of the hated Saxon race. The correspondence of Avaux, of Rosen, of Lauzen, and of St. Ruth, the representatives, at different times during this period, of France in Ireland, abounds with complaints of the conduct of the Irish force. The language of James himself, in the unseemly speech he addressed to the Lord Mayor of Dublin on the morning after his flight from the field, teemed with reproaches of the cowardice of that official's countrymen. But in truth the Irish foot had become a curse and a scandal to Ireland through lack of military administration alone. A few months of strict discipline and regular drilling have frequently turned rude but athletic and enthusiastic peasants into good soldiers. But the Irish foot soldiers had not merely not been well-trained; they had been elaborately ill-trained. The greatest of our generals repeatedly and emphatically declared that even the admirable army which had fought its way under his command from Torres Vedras to Toulouse, would, if he had suffered it to contract habits of pillage, have become, in a few weeks, unfit for all military purposes. But, from the day on which they were enlisted, the foot soldiers of James were not merely permitted, but invited, to supply the deficiencies of pay by marauding. Accordingly, after eighteen months of nominal soldiery, they were

positively further from being soldiers than on the day they had joined the ranks. As to the question of race, the more the early history of the country is examined into, the more evident it is that the population of Ireland is mixed in a much larger measure than is generally supposed of the same elements as those of England and Scotland, although perhaps not in the same proportions. Although yielding in course of ages to the influence of the language of the country which was that of the ministers of their religion, it is manifest that Scot and Pict, Dane and Norman and Saxon, all warlike races, all having migrated originally from the north of Europe, obtained at different epochs permanent or temporary rule over more or less of the soil of the island, and gradually blended with and impressed their character on the few survivors of the earlier populations. How little ground indeed there was for the imputation of natural poltroonery has since been signally proved by many heroic achievements in every part of the globe.

With the sentiments we have referred to, however, on the part of the French officers and men, as to the military character of the Irish infantry, it is not to be wondered at, that, when the fugitives from the Boyne had taken refuge, discomfited, indeed, and disgraced, but very little diminished in numbers, in the city of Limerick, to which they were speedily followed by William, and the fortifications of which were indeed scarce worthy of the name, the allies should have laughed at the idea of defending them, and should refuse to throw away their lives in hopeless resistance to the advancing army. But, undisciplined and disorganised at it was, there was much spirit, though little firmness, in the Irish infantry. And when they rallied at Limerick, their blood was up. Patriotism, fanaticism, shame, revenge, despair, had raised them above themselves. With one voice officers and men insisted that the city should be defended to the last. At the head of those who were for resisting was the brave Sarsfield; and his exhortations diffused through all ranks a spirit resembling his own. All honour to the man who refused to despair of the courage of his countrymen, or of the cause of his country and his king. A compromise was made. The French troops, with Tyroconnel who shared their sentiments, retired to Galway. The great body of the native army, about twenty thousand strong, remained in Limerick. A French captain,—Boisseleau, who understood the character of the Irish better, and therefore judged them more favourably than the rest of his countrymen, still held the chief command. When it became known in the English camp that the French troops had quitted Limerick, and that the Irish only remained, it was expected that the city would be an easy conquest; nor was that expectation unreasonable, for even Sarsfield desponded. One chance, in his opinion, there still was. William had brought with him none but small guns. Several large pieces of ordnance, a great quantity of provisions and ammunition, and a bridge of tin boats, which in the then watery plain of the Shannon was frequently needed, were slowly following from Cashel. If guns and gunpowder could be intercepted and destroyed, there might be some hope. If not, all was lost; and the best thing that a brave and high-spirited Irish gentleman could do

was to forget the country which he had in vain tried to defend ; and to seek in some foreign land a home and a grave.

A few hours, therefore, after the English tents had been pitched before Limerick, Sarsfield set forth, under cover of the night, with a strong body of horse and dragoons. He took the road to Killaloe, and crossed the Shannon there. During the day he lurked with his band in a wild mountain tract named from the silver mines which it contains. In this desolate region Sarsfield found no lack of scouts or of guides. He learned in the evening that the detachment which guarded the English artillery had halted for the night about seven miles from William's camp, under the walls of an old castle, in apparent security. When it was dark, the horsemen quitted their hiding place, and followed their guides to the spot. The surprise was complete. About sixty fell. One was taken prisoner. The rest fled. A huge pile was made of waggons and pieces of cannon. Every gun was stuffed with powder ; and the whole mass was blown up. 'If I had failed in this attempt,' said the gallant Sarsfield to his solitary prisoner, a lieutenant, 'I should have been off to France.'

Sarsfield had long been the favourite of his countrymen ; and this most seasonable exploit, judiciously planned and vigorously executed, raised him still higher in their estimation. Their spirits rose ; and the besiegers began to lose heart. William did his best to repair his loss. Two of the guns which had been blown up were found to be still serviceable. Two more were sent for from Waterford. Batteries were constructed of small field pieces. Some outworks were carried. A small breach was made in the rampart. But ere this could be done, the rains began to fall. The swampy ground began to engender fever. A great effort must be made to carry the place at once. If that effort failed the siege must be raised.

It failed. On the twenty-seventh of August the city was entered by five hundred English grenadiers. The Irish fled before the assailants, who in the excitement of victory had not waited for orders. But then a terrible street fight began. The defenders, as soon as they had recovered from their surprise, stood resolutely to their arms ; and the English grenadiers, overwhelmed by numbers, were, with great loss, driven back to the counterscarp. The struggle was long and desperate. The very women took part in it, and flung stones and broken bottles at the assailants. When the conflict was the fiercest a mine exploded, and hurled a German battalion into the air. Slowly and sullenly the besiegers, late in the evening, returned to the camp. Gladly would they have renewed the attack on the morrow. The soldiers vowed to have the town or die. But the powder was now nearly exhausted ; the rain fell in torrents ; the roads, deep in mud, were approaching a state when retreat would be impossible ; the deadly pestilence was hovering over them. Sarsfield's blow had told. William hastened to remove his troops to a healthier region. It was with no pleasurable emotions that Lauzun and Tyrconnel learned at Galway the fortunate issue of the conflict in which they had refused to take a part. They were weary of Ireland ; they were apprehensive that their conduct would be unfavourably represented in France ; they

therefore determined to be beforehand with their accusers, and took ship together for the continent.

Tyrconnel, before he departed, delegated his civil authority to one council and his military to another. The young Duke of Berwick was declared commander-in-chief; but this dignity was merely nominal. Sarsfield, undoubtedly the first of Irish soldiers, was placed last on the list of the councillors to whom the conduct of the war was entrusted; and some believed that he would not have been in the list at all, had not the viceroy feared that the omission of so popular a name might produce a mutiny.

From October 1690 till May 1691 no military operation on a large scale was attempted in Ireland. The part of that kingdom which still acknowledged James as king, could scarcely be said to have any government. The only towns of any note were Limerick and Galway, where the shopkeepers underwent such oppression as to steal away, when an opportunity presented itself, with their stuffs to the territory occupied by the troops of William. Merchant ships were boarded on arrival at these ports, and their cargoes taken by force to be paid for in the debased coinage of iron, or in native commodities at arbitrary prices. Neither the council of regency nor the council of war were popular. The Irish complained that men who were not Irish were entrusted with a large share in the administration. The discontent soon broke forth into open rebellion. A great meeting was held of officers, peers, lawyers, and prelates. It was resolved that the government set up by the lord-lieutenant was unknown to the constitution; that he had no power to delegate his authority, when himself absent, to a junto composed of his creatures. The Duke of Berwick was told he had assumed a power to which he had no right; and would only be obeyed if he would consent to govern by the advice of a council wholly Irish. This young nobleman yielded, but with reluctance, and continued to be a puppet in a new set of hands; but finding he had no real authority, altogether neglected business, and gave himself up to such kind of pleasure as so dreary a place afforded. There being among the Irish chiefs none of weight and authority enough to control the rest, Sarsfield for a time took the lead. But Sarsfield, though eminently brave and active in the field, was little skilled in the administration of war, and still less skilled in civil business. His nature was too unsuspicious and indulgent for a post in which it was hardly possible to be too distrustful or too severe. He believed whatever was told him; he signed whatever was set before him. The commissaries, encouraged by his lenity, robbed and embezzled shamelessly on every side, nominally for the public service, but really for themselves, every thing on which they could lay their hands, even on the property of the priests and prelates.

Early in the spring of 1691, the anarchy of this state of things came to an end by the return of Tyrconnel to Ireland, and of the Duke of Berwick to France. Tyrconnel brought gold and clothing for the army; and announced the early arrival of provisions and military stores. The patent of the earldom of Lucan was also sent from James by him, in recompense of the services of the gallant Sarsfield. But the command-in-chief of his army in Ireland was again bestowed on a French officer

named St. Ruth. The second in command was also a Frenchman, named D'Usson. A numerous staff of officers to drill and discipline the Irish soldiers was on board a fleet, which brought a plentiful supply of corn and flour; and which arrived shortly afterwards.

St. Ruth had seen service. The Irish regiments in the French service had formed part of the army under his command in Savoy, and had behaved extremely well. He was famous as the most merciless persecutor of the protestants of his own country. Disappointed at the condition of the forces he was sent to command, he nevertheless set himself to the task of disciplining them with rigorous activity. A few days after the arrival of St. Ruth, he was informed the army of William was ready to move. On the seventh of June, Ballymore was surrendered to it. On the nineteenth, under the command of De Ginckle, a most distinguished general raised in the Dutch service, it sat down before Athlone, the most important military position in the island, and next day the half of the town on the south bank of the Shannon fell into its hands. There was discord in the Irish councils. Tyrconnel, to the disgust of the natives, was in the town, and exercising his authority over the French commander, so as to excite the indignation of a powerful party in the army. On the other hand, he sent his emissaries to all the camp fires to make a party among the common soldiers against the French general.

The only thing in which Tyrconnel and Saint Ruth agreed was in dreading and disliking Sarsfield. "Not only," says Lord Macaulay, "was he popular with the great body of his countrymen; he was also surrounded by a knot of retainers whose devotion to him resembled the devotion of the Ishmaelite murderers to the Old Man of the Mountain. It was known that one of these fanatics, a colonel, had used language which, in the mouth of an officer so high in rank, might well cause uneasiness. 'The king,' this man had said, 'is nothing to me. I obey Sarsfield. Let Sarsfield tell me to kill any man in the whole army; and I will do it.' Sarsfield was indeed too honourable a man to abuse his immense power over the minds of his worshippers. But the viceroy and the commander-in-chief might not unnaturally be disturbed by the thought that Sarsfield's honour was their only guarantee against mutiny and assassination. The consequence was, that at the crisis of the fate of James' cause in Ireland, the services of the first of Irish soldiers were not used, or were used with jealous caution; and that if he ventured a suggestion, it was received with a sneer or a frown."

While these disputes were going on in the Jacobite camp, and on the evening of thirtieth June, when Saint Ruth was in his tent writing to his master complaints against Tyrconnel, when the second in command was enjoying himself at table, when part of the garrison was idling, part dozing, fifteen hundred English grenadiers, each wearing in his hat a green bough, entered suddenly the deep and strong stream, and in a few minutes were on the firm land on the Connaught side of the Shannon. "Taken!" said Saint Ruth in dismay, "It cannot be. A town taken, and I close by with an army to relieve it!" Cruelly mortified, he struck his tent under cover of the night, and retreated in the direction of Galway. A scarcity of forage, the near presence of an hostile

army superior in numbers, the approach of the autumnal rains, and the danger of the pestilence which usually accompanies them, had led the English general to call a council of war that very morning, and to propose that the besiegers should either at once force their way across the river or retreat. To effect a passage over the shattered remains of the bridge seemed impossible. It was resolved to do it by the deep ford, and to do it that afternoon at six o'clock on a signal from the steeple of the church;—the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, the Duke of Wurtemberg, Tolmash, and other gallant officers, to whom no part in the enterprise had been assigned, insisting on leading the brave grenadiers as private volunteers.

Great were the criminations and recriminations in the Catholic camp after so great a disaster. It did not matter how keen a Jacobite any follower of James might be, how high his rank or character, how great the sacrifices he had made to loyalty, if he were not also an adherent of the church of Rome, the Irish Jacobites would have none of him. Even if a Catholic and not also a soldier, if he were not of Irish birth, his presence would not be tolerated amongst them. If both Jacobite and Romanist, and soldier to boot, if he disapproved of the repeal of the Act of Settlement, or of the Act of Attainder, he must not be one of them. Among those who had adhered with unswerving fidelity to James was a Scottish officer named Thomas Maxwell. Although a Romanist, he was not a bigot, and he had not concealed his dislike of the transactions of the Parliament of 1689. His nomination as one of the Council of War by Tyrconnel, had mainly led to the rebellion already noted of the previous autumn by which he was turned out and escaped to France. It was even recommended by one of the intriguers who sailed in the same ship that he should be thrown into the sea. He returned with Tyrconnel, and was entrusted, contrary to the wish of a powerful party, by Saint Ruth, with the charge of the works on that part of the Connaught shore where the ford lay. He was taken prisoner when his forces had fled to a man. Nevertheless the enemies of the lord-lieutenant charged his obstinacy with the fatal result by having overruled Saint Ruth in the matter of this Scotchman. The friends of Tyrconnel blamed the French general on the other hand for refusing to take precautions suggested by Maxwell and Tyrconnel, which would have made a surprise impossible. Tyrconnel, however, had to give way and retire to Limerick; and Saint Ruth remained in undisputed possession of the supreme command.

Still harmony was not restored. Saint Ruth was bent on trying the chances of a battle. Most of the Irish officers, with Sarsfield at their head, were of a different mind. They advised that the greater part of the infantry should be employed in garrisoning the walls of Limerick and of Galway; and that the horse, with the remainder of the foot soldiers, should get into the rear of the enemy and cut off his supplies. If he should sit down before Galway, that they should then make a push for Dublin, which was altogether defenceless. It seems most likely that if his judgment had not been biassed by his passions, Saint Ruth would have adopted this course. But he was smarting from the pain of a humiliating defeat for which he was not entirely blameless. His enemies would make the most of this to his prejudice with his master.

To avoid the displeasure of Louis something must be done, and that was to fight and to conquer, or to perish. The spot chosen by Saint Ruth for this great trial showed great judgment. His army was drawn up on the slope of a hill, which was almost surrounded with red bog. In front, near the edge of the morass, were fences out of which a breast-work was constructed. The old castle of Aghrim stood in the rear. In the few days of preparation the French commander evinced every quality of a great officer. He sought by familiarity and kindness to win the affections of the soldiery he had formerly despised. He used religious stimulants of the most powerful kind to brace their resolve to fight like martyrs and heroes. It is admitted on every side that he succeeded, and that the Irish forces were never known to fight with more resolution than at the battle which bears the name of this old castle. On the twelfth of July, however, after being ten hours under arms, six of them marching in a deep fog, the English army attacked through the swamp; were again and again driven back; and again and again returned to the struggle. The night was closing in, and still the advantage was on the side of the Irish. "The day is ours," said Saint Ruth, and he waved his hat in the air, "We will drive them before us to the gates of Dublin." But fortune was already on the turn. At a place where two horsemen could scarcely ride abreast, the English and French Protestant cavalry under Mackay and Ruvigny at last succeeded in passing the bog. On seeing this Saint Ruth was hastening to the rescue, when a cannon ball took off his head. It was thought it would be dangerous to let this event become known. Till the fight was over neither army was aware he was no more. In the crisis of the battle there was none to give directions. Sarsfield was in command of the reserve, but he had been strictly enjoined by Saint Ruth not to stir without orders, and no orders came. But for the coming on of a moonless night, made darker by a misty rain, scarcely a man would have escaped; for the conquerors were in a savage mood. A report had spread that English prisoners taken in the early part of the fight, and who had been admitted to quarter, were afterwards butchered. But the obscurity enabled Sarsfield, with a few squadrons which remained unbroken, to cover the retreat. The number of the Irish that fell was not less than seven thousand, of whom four thousand were counted on the field of battle.

The death of Saint Ruth restored the supreme authority to Tyrconnel, who made preparations for repairing the fortifications of Limerick, and for storing supplies against a siege; for which the means of defence—had not the fall of Athlone and the slaughter of Aghrim broken the spirit of the army—were by no means contemptible. Excepting Sarsfield, and a brave Scotch officer named Wauchop, the chiefs of the Irish force loudly declared that it was time to think of capitulating. Tyrconnel, although persuaded that all was lost, hoped the struggle might be prolonged until permission to treat should arrive from James at Saint Germain; and prevailed on his desponding countrymen to swear not to capitulate until that permission should arrive. A few days thereafter Tyrconnel himself was struck with apoplexy, under which he succumbed in three days. A commission from James, under the great seal of Ireland, when opened after this event, nearly led to

another rebellion, because of the three Lords Justices therein named to govern Ireland, in such a case as the death of the Viceroy, two were born in England. Fortunately the commission was accompanied by instructions which forbade these Lords Justices to interfere with the conduct of the war; and consequently it was practically a nullity, as war was now the only business to be attended to within that city. The government was therefore really in the hands of Sarsfield. Two thousand three hundred men, the garrison of Galway, which yielded by capitulation on this condition, were shortly afterwards added to its garrison under the French officer D'Usson. On the day Tyrconnel died, August fourteenth, the advanced guard of William's army came within sight of Limerick. Shortly afterwards several English vessels of war came up the Shannon and anchored about a mile below the city. The batteries, on which were planted guns and bombs very different from those which William had been forced to use on the preceding autumn, played day and night, and soon roofs were blazing and walls were crashing in every corner of the city, and whole streets were reduced to ashes.

Still the place held out; the garrison was, in numerical strength, little inferior to the besieging army; and it seemed not impossible that the defence might be prolonged till the equinoctial rains should a second time compel the English to retire. Ginckle determined on striking a bold stroke. No point in the whole circle of the fortifications was more important, and no point seemed to be more secure than the Thomond bridge, which joined the city to the camp of the Irish horse on the Clare bank of the Shannon. The Dutch general's plan was to separate the infantry within the ramparts from the cavalry without, and this plan he executed with great skill, vigour, and success. He laid a bridge of ten boats on the river, crossed it with a strong body of troops, drove before him in confusion fifteen hundred dragoons who made a faint show of resistance, and marching towards the quarters of the Irish horse, took possession of their camp almost without a blow being struck, along with great store of provisions, and the arms which were flung away by the flying foemen, whose beasts fortunately were grazing at a short distance, and nearly all escaped capture.

But this was not all. Returning in a few days at the head of a few regiments to the Clare bank of the Shannon, he attacked and carried the forts which protected the Thomond bridge, thus completely isolating the city on all sides. Unfortunately a French officer in command at the city gate opening on this bridge, afraid that the pursuers would enter the city with the fugitives from the storming of the forts, caused the drawbridge portion which was nearest to the city to be drawn up by which many lives were sacrificed. Many went headlong into the stream and perished there. Others cried for quarter, and held up their handkerchiefs in token of submission. But the conquerors were mad with rage; their cruelty could not be immediately restrained, and no prisoners were made till the heaps of corpses rose above the parapets. Of eight hundred men, which constituted the garrison, only about a hundred and twenty escaped into Limerick. This disaster seemed likely to produce a mutiny in the besieged city. Had the French officer not been mortally wounded, he would have been sacrificed to the

fury of the multitude, for having ordered the drawbridge to be drawn up. The French commander wrote to his master, that after this fight the spirit of the garrison was so broken that it was impossible to continue the struggle. Up to this time the voice of Sarsfield had been for stubborn resistance. But even Sarsfield lost heart now, and was not only willing but impatient to treat. The details and progress of the capitulation that followed have passed into the domain of European history; and have been commented upon in our Historical Introduction to this volume. For the favourable terms obtained, considering the circumstances and the temper of the times, some credit no doubt is due to the reputation for gallantry and firmness of the subject of this memoir, and to his opportune application; as well as to the circumstance that a formidable French fleet with soldiers, arms, and abundant stores was near, which arrived at Dingle Bay a day or two after the signing of the Treaties, viz., on the first of October 1691. But there cannot be a doubt that still more credit is due to King William himself; whose instructions, framed with a view to such an occasion, were sent for by Ginckle before drawing out his proposals, which were those substantially settled on. At a time when no protestant worship was allowed in France, nor, generally speaking, in any catholic country, and when even the episcopalian form of worship was virtually proscribed in Scotland although that of the majority of the British nation, the first article of the treaty of Limerick, granting to the Roman Catholics of Ireland the free exercise of their religion, on the sole condition of taking a simple oath of allegiance, "when thereunto required," seems exceptionally liberal. The treaty embraced all places in which resistance to the forces of William was then being made, and its conclusion put an end to the civil war in Ireland. Sarsfield was indirectly honoured in it, being recognised therein by his title of earl of Lucan, a title granted while in arms against the British nation, by an exile, and an abdicated king. His own honourable feeling was also manifested, in a clause providing for repayment to a certain Col. John Brown, of monies, which he, Sarsfield, had received for the public service of his party from this gentleman, which the owner had destined to pay protestants holding executions against him, and which Sarsfield had undertaken to satisfy in his relief. During the interval betwixt the adjustment of the articles and the arrival of the Lords Justices from Dublin to sign the treaty, a somewhat free and friendly intercourse took place between the Irish and English officers of the outposts of the two armies. Among the anecdotes widely circulated, of what passed at these meetings, one in particular "was reported," says Lord Macaulay, "in every part of Europe," and shows not only the estimate on the part of Sarsfield, of the parties referred to, but even more especially his jealousy for the reputation of his countrymen. "Has not this last campaign," said Sarsfield to some English officers, "raised your opinion of Irish soldiers?" "To tell you the truth," answered an Englishman, "we think of them much as we always did." "However meanly you may think of us," replied Sarsfield, "change kings with us, and we will willingly try our luck with you again." "Sarsfield was doubtless thinking," adds his lordship, "of the day on which he had seen the two sovereigns at the head of

two great armies,"—viz., at the battle of the Boyne—"William foremost in the charge, and James foremost in the flight." "However meanly you may think of us," has been, and still is, the proud and painful feeling of cultivated Irishmen when their country and countrymen are sneered at for an assumed inferiority which in their heart of hearts they know does not hold true. By the military treaty it was agreed that such Irish officers and soldiers as should declare that they wished to go to France should be conveyed thither; and should, in the mean time, remain under the command of their own generals. The English general undertook to furnish a considerable number of transports. French vessels were also permitted to pass and repass freely between Brittany and Munster. Some of the provisions of the civil treaty were in lenity beyond what any constitutional authority could venture to assure without the express consent of the legislature. Not only was an entire amnesty promised to all comprised within its provisions; not only were they allowed to retain their property, and to exercise any profession which they had exercised before the troubles; not only were they not to be punished for any treason, felony, and misdemeanour committed since the accession of James; but they were not even to be sued for damages on account of any act of spoliation or outrage which they might have committed during the three years of confusion. It was therefore properly added, that the confirmation of these stipulations should depend on the parliamentary ratification of the treaty; which the government undertook to use its utmost efforts to obtain.

Sarsfield having resolved to seek his fortune in the service of France, was naturally desirous to carry with him to the continent such a body of troops as would be an important addition to the army of Louis. On the other hand, the commander of William's forces was as naturally unwilling to see thousands of men sent to swell the forces of the enemy of his master. Mutual altercation, and an appeal to the Irish forces took place; but the clergy, being on the side of the Jacobite general, proved more than powerful on the day when a decision came to be taken. Whether the sermons preached by the Roman Catholic priests on that morning at the head of every regiment,—in which the sin of consorting with unbelievers and the peril to the soul of enlisting in the heretic army were indefatigably pressed—were, as English historians assert, immediately, and before the pronouncing of the benediction by the bishop, followed by a plentiful allowance of brandy or not, we cannot say, but the result was, that when the long procession had closed, out of fourteen thousand infantry under arms, only three thousand had filed off to indicate their wish to abide in Ireland, and eleven thousand returned with Sarsfield to the city. The proportions in the horsemen, who were encamped some miles from the town, were nearly the same.

It is remarked here by Lord Macaulay, that the regiments consisting of natives of Ulster filed off—that is, decided to enter the British army—to a man; and that there existed between the Scots of Ulster of ante-Christian settlement—whom Lord Macaulay in mistake calls Celts—and the native Irish of the other three provinces an antipathy which was the inducing cause of this decision. His Lordship gives other instances

of this antipathy which will afterwards be referred to, an antipathy which overruled the community of religion and language, and which showed how, in critical epochs, the influence of race will overrule the accidents of time and beliefs. In the course of the embarkation, there occurred various embarrassments to Sarsfield and his officers. Lest that large portion of his men who had selected to accompany him to France, should change their minds, after the effects of the ecclesiastical and material stimulants, to which reference has been made, had passed away, he had them confined within the ramparts of that quarter of the city of Limerick which by agreement still remained in the possession of the Irish generals, and ordered the gates to be shut and strongly guarded. And if the entire of the army had remained in Limerick till the day of embarkation it would have been transported almost to a man, carrying with it such of the families of the officers and soldiers as happened to be present on the occasion. But many of the vessels in which the voyage was to be performed lay at Cork, and in proceeding thither many soldiers unable to bear the thought of separation, perhaps for life, from all that was familiar and all that was dear, stole away into the bogs. The Royal regiment, which had, on the day of the review, set a striking example of fidelity to the cause of James, dwindled from fourteen hundred down to five hundred men. In order to meet the natural unwillingness of his men to leave their families in a state of destitution, which he perceived was one chief cause of this desertion—as these had crowded to meet their husbands and fathers, covering all the roads to the place of embarkation—Sarsfield by a proclamation confirmed the article of the treaty, assuring his soldiers that they would be permitted to carry their wives and families to France. It is probable he had formed an erroneous estimate of the number who would demand a passage from Cork, and that he found himself, when it was too late to alter his arrangements, unable to keep his word. It is true that, after the soldiers had embarked, room was found for the families of many. But, at the last, there remained a great multitude clamorous to be taken on board, for whom no room could be found; and, as the ships began to move, a wail arose from the shore which excited compassion in hearts not otherwise inclined to sympathise with the disappointed emigrants, of women who clung to the gunwale of the last of the boats. Some of them, it is said, were even dragged into the sea as they clung, and had their hands cut off and perished in the waves.

The perseverance and folly of James after his return to France succeeded in persuading a new minister of Louis to organise a formidable descent upon England early in the spring of 1692. The camp which was formed on the coast of Normandy contained all the Irish regiments which were in the service of France, and they were placed under the command of their countryman, Sarsfield. With them were to be joined about ten thousand French troops. But after waiting some months, and being joined by James himself and several of his confidants, when the formidable French fleet which was to convey them had nearly reached their encampment, it encountered the English and Dutch squadrons, and was totally defeated at La Hogue. The expedition in consequence was entirely broken up. Sarsfield we meet with as engaged

in the terrible fight of Landen, fought on the nineteenth of July, 1693, betwixt the armies of France and of the allies, whence he was borne stretched on a pallet, desperately wounded, from which he never rose again. Some time after his departure from Ireland, he was married to a daughter of the earl of Clanricarde, by whom he left a son, who died unmarried in Flanders. His widow remarried with the duke of Berwick. He was of stately height, overtopping all his companions by a head.

His elder brother was married to a natural daughter of James II., and left a daughter his sole heiress, through whom the Sarsfield property in Lucan has descended to the Vesey family.

With this memoir the distinctive and more important political biographies of the transition period properly terminate; but there are still a few names that merit notice in a work of the character of the present one, from the connection of those who bore them with the historical transactions of the period; although, from lack of fitting materials, our notices must needs be slight. Indeed, the authentic personal traditions of the time are but scanty, and it is only as they pass before us in the field or siege, that many persons, eminent in their day, can be seen.

COLONEL RICHARD GRACE, killed A. D. 1691, was descended of a race we had occasion to notice in our memoir of Raymond Le Gros.* He was a younger son of Robert Grace, baron of Courtstown in the county of Kilkenny. He had been a distinguished soldier in the great rebellion, in which, both in England and Ireland, he had fought with honour for the kings of the Stuart race. During the commonwealth he served with distinction in Spain; and, after the Restoration, was chamberlain to the Duke of York. When he left that service of the household to proceed to Ireland, to serve there in a military capacity, it may be inferred he was far advanced in life. The amount of confidence reposed in him, however, may be inferred from the fact, of his being entrusted with the government of Athlone, the most important strategic post, according to military authorities of that day, in central Ireland. Eight days after the battle of the Boyne, King William despatched a force consisting of ten regiments of foot and five of horse, under James Douglas, a Scotch officer, who had distinguished himself in fight, to reduce Athlone. The garrison was composed of three regiments of foot, with nine troops of dragoons and two of light cavalry. There was, however, a larger body encamped at a small distance. Notwithstanding the proclamation issued by William, and the stern example made by him of hanging a soldier, who, after the victory of Boyne, had slain three defenceless natives asking for quarter, the troops of Douglas, intoxicated by their successes, and not held enough in discipline by their commander, were guilty of gross outrages on the peasantry of the district who, on the march, had, on the faith of the royal proclamation, flocked round the tent of their commander, and had re-

* Vol. i. p. 213.

ceived from him promises of such protection as he could afford. The robbery and murder thus committed excited the hate and execration of the district, and more than neutralized the feeling of despondency, produced on the minds of their countrymen by the results of that fight. It was perhaps owing to this circumstance, that the summons of Douglas to surrender Athlone was received by Colonel Grace with a species of defiance not quite reconcilable to the usage of civilized war. "These are my terms," replied the aged veteran, firing his pistol at the messenger.

The siege was protracted until sickness, more than the enemy, had carried off four hundred men, without the assailants having made any sensible impression on the defences; when, forage having failed for the horse, and Sarsfield, after the retreat of William's army from Limerick, finding himself free, had approached with fifteen thousand men to raise it, a speedy retreat became necessary. For this result we may claim due honour to Colonel Grace, whose firmness, and the skilfulness of his dispositions, maintained the town for another year to the Jacobite cause. Of him we have it not in our power to record further than that he remained at his post of command until the commencement of the second siege of Athlone, on 19th June, 1691. On the second day of the siege he was slain, in defending a breach in a bastion he had caused to be erected during the winter, with a view of defending that portion of the town called "the English side," which had been abandoned on the former attack. He was buried in the town he so ably defended.

TEAGUE O'REGAN, a general of native descent,—the O'Regans were a sept of Leinster, (see notice of Maurice O'Regan the historian, and ambassador of Macmurragh to Earl Strongbow, in our previous volume)—had distinguished himself on the continent, and was so esteemed by the viceroy of James, as to be entrusted with the defence of the fort of Charlemont, which our readers will recollect was a place of early importance, built by Lord Mountjoy, in the wars of Tyrone, and commanding the entrance into that part of Ulster. Under its shelter there had grown up a town of great importance at the time before us. Strong by nature, it had been made nearly impregnable by art. A strong garrison held it. Two French regiments were sent by Marshal Schomberg to reduce it in the autumn of 1689; but they could only invest it, and convert the siege into a blockade, for which its position afforded great facilities. Accordingly, when supplies were sent from Dublin under an escort of several hundred men, Schomberg gave instructions to allow the whole party to enter after a show of resistance, but to take care that none were permitted to return. The supplies they brought being small, the situation of the garrison soon became worse than before. Various sallies were made with the view of the escort returning whence they came, but they were always driven back with loss. So obstinately was the place held, that when at last honourable terms of surrender were obtained, the nearly famished garrison were observed to be eating raw hides when they marched out on 16th May 1690; and, like the Turks at Kars, were generously supplied with food by the entering com-

mander. After the surrender of Charlemont fort, O'Regan was sent by James as governor of Sligo, and to take the chief command in the immediately surrounding counties. By the Jacobite party Sligo was considered a post important for maintaining the communications betwixt Connaught and Ulster. It had changed hands several times during the war of the Revolution in Ireland. Soon after O'Regan entered on the command, an army of observation under Lieut.-colonel Ramsay approached its vicinity, and was attacked by him with great energy; but, on a strong reinforcement arriving, his soldiers fled, and he himself narrowly escaped being taken in the flight. A strong and masterly line of posts was then established against him around, under the command of Colonel Mitchelbourne, whose headquarters were at Ballyshannon, by which all relief by land was shut out, and the place became, to use the expression of Harris, "invested at a distance." By his exertions indeed the fortifications of the town were so greatly strengthened during the succeeding winter that the only mode of reducing them was by starving, as at Charlemont the year previous; and although the inhabitants were reduced to the greatest distress from the interruption of all supplies; and although this was perfectly well known to the besieging general, yet owing to the iron temper of O'Regan, who, it was said, "could fast as well as fight," weeks on weeks elapsed in unrelenting and vigilant league on the one side, and unrelaxed obstinacy on the other, before negotiations were opened with a view to surrender. On this occasion the craft of Sir Teague proved more than a match for the vigilant sagacity of Mitchelbourne. By deftly allowing the latter to believe him open to the offer of a bribe, to be paid indirectly to some of his relations, and which was not easily forthcoming, Sir Teague succeeded in protracting negotiations, and so to improve some misunderstanding betwixt Mitchelbourne and the investing militia regiments under his command, as to lay in a plentiful stock of provisions in corn and cattle, when the negotiations were ended by him somewhat abruptly. It was considered by the government of William in Ireland to be of the utmost importance to obtain possession of Sligo, and so to prevent the possibility of the town affording winter quarters to the Jacobites. This was the more imperatively necessary, as the arrival of relief by sea from France was daily expected by both parties, which, if allowed to be landed, would make its reduction that year next to impossible.

A force of five thousand men was therefore organized under Lord Granard. A part of this force, consisting of a regiment of dragoons under Sir Albert Coningham posted at Coloony, and intended to unite themselves next day with a large body of infantry under an Irish chieftain named Baldearg O'Chonell, were surprised during a fog at daybreak by a party of five hundred chosen men from the garrison, and dispersed with great loss of men and all their baggage, and their commander, after being received as a prisoner, was slain. Meantime Colonel Mitchelbourne had attacked the outworks and compelled the garrison to retire from the town to a strong fort, called O'Regan's fort, which commanded the town and river. This fort was of sod-work, situate north-east of the town upon a high hill guarded by bastions with platforms at either end, and the whole inclosed by a deep and

wide fosse from which the hill fell abruptly. It contained a deep drawwell which supplied the garrison with water; and large stores of food and ammunition were laid up for an anticipated siege. More important still, it commanded the only pass from the north of Connaught into Donegal. While this fort therefore remained in the possession of the Jacobites, the town, river, and pass were wholly in their power; and with the means hitherto at the command of the besiegers, to reduce it by force was impossible. Lord Granard, however, was prepared for this—having with considerable difficulty, arising from the want of horses of sufficient strength, brought from Athlone a heavy park of artillery over the Corlin mountains—when he ordered a battery to be raised and a fire to be opened upon the fort. The garrison not having the patience to wait the effects of its fire, which they would have found, as was the case with Tottleben's earth forts at Sebastopol, comparatively harmless, became intimidated, and constrained their commander to beat a parley, which terminated in their surrender on terms on the 15th September. The garrison were permitted to march to Limerick with their arms and baggage, and all the little garrisons around were included in the convention.

Of Sir Teague O'Regan nothing farther is known. He was no doubt included in the capitulation of Limerick which took place some weeks afterwards, and accompanied the Irish army to France, there to engage in a series of fights, such as that of Marsaglia in Piedmont in 1693, of which Macaulay remarks, "This battle is memorable as the first of a long series of battles in which the Irish troops retrieved the honour lost by misfortunes and misconduct in domestic war. Some of the exiles of Limerick," he adds, "showed, on that day, under the standard of France, a valour which distinguished them among many thousands of brave men."

BALDEARS O'DONELL. In our memoir of Hugh Roe O'Donell,* the last chief of Tyrconnel, who lived in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, it was stated that Sir Hugh O'Donell, his father, had four sons; and that of these Hugh Roe was the eldest and Rory O'Donell was the second. It was farther stated of the singularly gifted and energetic noble Hugh Roe, that after the failure of the Spanish expedition, which settled in Kinsale, he retired to Spain in January, 1600, with its commander, where he died on the 10th of September following. In the life of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone,† it was further stated of this second son, Rory O'Donell, who took an active part in the wars in which Hugh Roe was engaged, that when the latter, finding no further efforts were likely to be made by Spain in Ireland, made his submission to Elizabeth's government and was received into allegiance by James, he was joined in this act by Rory now chief of the Donells, and that on the occasion he not only received back all the lands of the family forfeited by treason, but was created by that monarch earl of Tyrconnel. It was further mentioned, that both earls soon afterwards began to suspect the government of plotting against them, and, in

* Vol. i. p. 324.

† Vol. i. p. 511.

revenge, or in self-defence, plotted against the government; that their schemes failed; that they fled to the continent; and that their titles and large estates were of new forfeited in absence. Tyrone went to Rome; Rory, late earl of Tyrconnel, took refuge at the court of Spain. The exiled chieftain was welcomed at Madrid as a good Catholic flying from heretical persecutors. His illustrious descent and princely dignity secured him the respect of the Castilian grandees. His honours were inherited by a succession of banished men who lived and died far from the land where the memory of their family was fondly cherished by a rude peasantry and was kept fresh by the songs of minstrels and the tales of begging friars. At length, in the eighty-third year of the exile of this ancient dynasty, it was known over all Europe that the Irish were again in arms for their independence. Baldearg O'Donell—who called himself the O'Donell—the lineal representative of this unfortunate Rory, had been bred in Spain and was in the service of the Spanish government. He requested the permission of that government to proceed to Ireland. But the house of Austria was then in league with England, and the permission was refused. The O'Donell made his escape; and, by a circuitous route in the course of which he visited Turkey, arrived at Kinsale shortly after the battle of the Boyne and a few days after James had sailed thence for France. The effect produced on the native population by the arrival of this solitary wanderer was marvellous. Since Ulster had been colonized afresh by the English great multitudes of the Irish inhabitants of that province had migrated southward and were now leading a vagrant life in Connaught and Munster. These men, accustomed from their infancy to hear of the good old times when the chiefs of the O'Donells governed the mountains of Donegal in defiance of the lords of the pale, flocked to the standard of the exiled stranger. He was soon at the head of seven or eight thousand partizans, or, to use the name peculiar to Ulster, *Creaghts*; a name derived from the appellation *Cruithne*, given by the early Irish annalists to the strangers who had conquered Ireland from the north where they had settled shortly after the Christian era; a name which Irish antiquarians have sought to identify with that of the Picts both in Scotland and Ireland; one which, with greater probability, we find to apply in its *first* usage to the unconverted Scots and Picts (alike) in both countries; and which continued to be applied to *both* even after their conversion to Christianity. Between these *Creaghts* and the original Irish of the southern provinces there was little sympathy, or, to speak more accurately, there was a marked aversion; arising not only from difference of race but from the accustomed resentment of the conquered against their conquerors even after so many centuries had elapsed. These followers adhered to O'Donell with a loyalty very different from the languid sentiment which the feeble James had been able to inspire. Priests and even bishops swelled the train of the adventurer. Baldearg was so much elated by his reception that he sent agents to France, who assured the ministers of Louis, that, if furnished with arms and ammunition, he would bring into the field thirty thousand *Creaghts* from Ulster; and that the *Creaghts* from Ulster would be found far superior in every military quality to the Irish natives of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught.

During the siege of Limerick by William, and while his army was smarting under the blow inflicted by Sarsfield in the unexpected destruction of its artillery, the besiegers were astonished and amused by the pompous entry of Baldearg into it at the head of his followers; while the hopes of its garrison were raised by his appearance to a strange pitch. Numerous prophecies were recollected or invented. An O'Donnell with a *red mark* was to be the deliverer of his country; and "Baldearg" meant a *red mark*. An O'Donnell was to gain a great battle over the English near Limerick; and at Limerick the O'Donnell and the English were brought face to face. And the bloody repulse of the attempt to carry the city by assault which shortly followed seemed to confirm this latter prophecy.

But Baldearg was not duped by the superstitious veneration of which he was the object. During the winter of 1690-1 he saw enough of the exhausted state of the country, the wretched squabbles of the Jacobite leaders, and the unsoldierly qualities of the people, especially of their feeling towards himself and his following to induce him to question, as well the hopefulness of their successful resistance to the military power of England,—of which as a soldier he was a not incompetent judge,—as the prospect of advantage either to himself or to his people from such success. His notion evidently was that the House of O'Donnell was as truly and indefeasibly royal as the House of Stewart; and not a few of his clansmen were of the same mind. He held himself therefore at perfect liberty to act with or against either party as might be most conducive to his own recognition as such. The then Lord-lieutenant of James was actually in possession of the title which might have been his. In the event of success also, he foresaw that the influence of France would absorb every thing that was valuable in Ireland. While therefore there remained any doubt about the issue of the great fight of 1691, that of Aghrim fought on the eleventh of July,—Baldearg held aloof with his followers at a short distance. On learning the defeat and death of the French general commanding the forces of James he retreated to the mountains of Mayo, whence he sent an agent to negotiate for his adhesion to the cause of William. A treaty was made; Baldearg with a portion of his devoted adherents, over whom the spell which bound them to him was not altogether broken even by this change, joined General Ginckle and rendered on several occasions, while accompanying a division of the English army, useful service to the cause of William and Mary. It is charged against him that at the commencement of this negotiation he demanded the restoration of the earldom formerly granted to his ancestor; and that failing in this, he accepted an annual pension of five hundred pounds. We see nothing greatly wrong or undignified in this. By leaving the service of Spain without permission he had lost his means of subsistence; and in bringing a considerable accession of strength to one of the contending parties it was his duty to make for himself and for his adherents the best arrangement in his power.

After the conclusion of the civil war in Ireland we find no further mention of his name. The antipathy between his Creaghts and the original or Irish race already referred to, which showed itself in the refusal of the regiments of the former blood to volunteer for France after

the fatal capitulation of Limerick, was, Lord Macaulay supposes, aided by his example and influence. It has been stated that he again returned to Spain; where we find even within the last few years a distinguished general and statesman, the first minister of the Spanish crown, bearing his ancient name.

Perhaps no more singular episode than this sudden appearance and fervent reception, after nearly a century had passed, of the descendant of their exiled chieftain had ever happened in the history of the race of Donell. Its only parallel is the tenacity of the attachment, as recorded in Anderson's "Scottish Nation," of the Scots of Morayshire to the descendants of the ancient line of Macbeth, and the enthusiastic reception given by them once and again to those who were, or were supposed to be, of his blood—even after several generations of the line of Duncan had reigned on the Scottish throne.

The ethnological distinction between the Irish speaking inhabitants of Ulster and those of the other provinces of Ireland here brought out, has scarcely received any notice whatever at the hands of the historians of Ireland. Even Lord Macaulay, who points to the fact of the antipathy between the men of different provinces, as made evident from the curious memorial which the agent of Baldearg O'Donnell delivered to Avaux the ambassador of Louis in Ireland, appears to have had no conception that it had its basis in a difference of race. We recommend our readers who doubt of this, to read over the life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell the great chief of the Donells.* They will find that he made war on the chieftains of Connaught and Munster with as great avidity as on the English themselves, even when these were in hostility to England; and that his allies were the Irish speaking Scotch of Arran and North Argyle. The Irish speaking Creaghts of Ulster at other times are found in the north-west of Scotland fighting under the banners of the opponents of the Scottish kings. But no such alliances between the Southern Irish and the Creaghts of Ulster are to be met with.

HENRY LUTTRELL, a colonel in the army on the occasion of the breaking out of the Revolution of 1688, a Roman Catholic, a leading adherent of James, and the second son of a family long settled in the county of Carlow, had, with his elder brother Simon, also a colonel, long served in France, whence he brought back to his native Ireland a sharpened intellect and polished manners, a flattering tongue, some skill in war, and much more skill in intrigue. By direction of Tyrconnel, in his letters accompanying the writs, the members of the house of commons of the parliament of James of 1689 were named to the returning officers for the guidance of the few Roman Catholic electors who alone dared then to vote; and in virtue of this nomination Henry Luttrell was returned as member for his native county of Carlow. With the exception of his brother Simon, Sir Richard Nagle Plowden, and, in name only, the gallant Sarsfield (who did not serve), he may be considered as almost the only one who sat in that parliament who was qualified to take a lead from his knowledge of affairs; and,

* Vol. I. p. 324.

consequently, for the unjust, unconstitutional, and cruel legislation of that parliament he was, from the influence he exercised thereupon, largely responsible. He was also keenly sensitive when unfavourable criticism was passed upon any of the measures to which he had so greatly contributed.

After the defeat at the Boyne the Luttrells accompanied the army of James in its flight to Limerick, and remained there during its first and fruitless siege by William. On the departure of the lord-lieutenant from Galway to France in September 1690 after the raising of the siege, having delegated, before leaving, his civil authority to one Council and his military authority to another, in neither of which Commissions were the names of the Luttrells to be found, these trained intriguers took no pains to conceal their dissatisfaction. Their mortification rose into bitter indignation when it became known that one Thomas Maxwell, a Scotchman of the noble family of Herries,—a family which had sacrificed and risked once and again life and fortune for loyalty and Romanism,—and who was himself a gallant and true man, was included in one of the Commissions from both of which they were shut out. Maxwell's mortal offence, in their eyes, was that he had not conceded the dislike which he felt for the rapparee parliament which had repented the Act of Settlement, and which had passed the Act of Attainder. On this popular plea, and also the not less popular one that men who were not Irish had been entrusted with a share in the administration, the discontent soon broke out into actual rebellion. The legality of the commissions was called in question. A great meeting was held. A great many officers of the army, some peers, some lawyers, and some Roman Catholic bishops, sent a deputation to the Duke of Berwick, the commander-in-chief of the army, to inform him he had assumed a power to which he had no right, but that nevertheless they would make no change if he would only consent to govern by the advice of a council which should be wholly Irish; and to these terms this young prince, son of the king whom these men pretended to serve, very reluctantly consented to submit and to become a puppet in incompetent hands.

Reflecting afterwards on the possible consequences of their violence, the insurgents deemed it prudent to send a deputation to France for the purpose of vindicating their proceedings. Of this deputation the Roman Catholic bishop of Cork and the two Luttrells were members. In the ship which conveyed them from Limerick to Brest they found a fellow-passenger whose presence was by no means agreeable to them, their enemy Maxwell, whom the Duke of Berwick had sent to watch their motions and to traverse their designs. It is on record by various writers of their party, that Henry coolly proposed to frustrate these instructions by tossing Maxwell into the sea, and but for the bishop and his brother Simon he would have accomplished the murder. The pleadings and counter pleadings before James at Saint Germain by Tyrconnel and Maxwell on the one part, and by the Luttrells on the other, are fully detailed in the various memoirs of the party of this period. The decision of James was characteristic as arrived at after long hesitation and frequent vacillations. He gave all the quarrellers fair words, and sent all the parties back to fight it out in Ireland, while the Duke de Berwick was recalled to France.

The result may be anticipated. Betwixt the new commander, General Saint Ruth, and Tyrconnel, the lord-lieutenant, now returned to Ireland, there arose, through the intrigues of Henry Luttrell, a vehement jealousy. At the siege of Athlone many officers who had signed an instrument to that effect refused obedience to the lord-lieutenant while in the field, and but for the quickness of the English capture would have turned Tyrconnel out of the camp. The death of this functionary a few days afterwards at Limerick nearly led to a second mutiny when it appeared that, in the commission under the great seal of James then opened, among the names of the lords justices appointed in the event of Tyrconnel's death, not only were the names of the Luttrells again not to be found, but that the parties there named for the office, although Irishmen, were of Saxon parentage. A few days before this took place Henry Luttrell himself had been put under arrest. Always fond of dark and crooked policies, he had opened a secret negotiation with the English for the surrender of the town, and one of his letters had been intercepted.

On the capitulation, and on the day when, according to its terms, those who resolved to accompany the faithful to France were required to announce their determination, Henry Luttrell filed off as choosing to remain in Ireland. For his desertion, and perhaps for other services, he received a grant of the forfeited estate of his elder brother Simon, who firmly adhered to the cause of James, and with it a pension of five hundred pounds a-year from the crown; but incurred the undying hate of the Roman Catholic population. Twenty-four years afterwards Henry Luttrell was murdered while going through Dublin in his sedan chair. The commons house of Ireland declared there was cause to suspect he fell a victim to the hatred of the Papists. Eighty years after his death his grave, near Luttrell's town, was violated by a succeeding generation of avengers, and his skull was broken to pieces with a pickaxe. Such is the vindictive spirit of an otherwise noble nation. Such the false code of revenge for supposed desertion when instigated by fanaticism. The assassination of Archbishop Sharp by the Scotch Covenanters has its parallel in the murder of Henry Luttrell. But the deadly hate of which the latter was the object descended to his son and his grandson;* that of which the former was the, perhaps accidental, victim died with himself.

* "There is," Junius wrote eighty years after the capitulation of Limerick, "a certain family in this country on which nature seems to have entailed a hereditary baseness of disposition. As far as their history has been known, the son has regularly improved on the vices of his father, and has taken care to transmit them pure and undiminished into the bosom of his successors." Elsewhere he says of Luttrell the member for Middlesex, he of the famous Wilkes' contests, the grandson of Henry, "He has degraded even the name of Luttrell." He exclaims, in allusion to the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland and Mrs. Horton, who was born a Luttrell: "Let parliament look to it. A Luttrell shall never succeed to the crown of England." "It is certain that very few Englishmen," says Lord Macaulay in referring to these observations of the great satirist, "can have sympathised with Junius' abhorrence of the Luttrells, or can even have understood it." "Why then," asks his lordship, "did he use expressions which to the great majority of his readers must have been unintelligible? My answer," replies Lord Macaulay, "is that Philip Francis was born and passed the first ten years of his life within a walk of Luttrell's town."

ECCLESIASTICAL SERIES.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

AT the accession of James I., the state of the church in Ireland was one of ruin and dilapidation; neither were its endowments sufficient to give efficacy to an establishment, circumstanced otherwise as it then was, in the midst of barbarism and civil disorder of every kind, and from every cause: nor were its ministers sufficiently qualified to diffuse the light so much wanting, in the surrounding moral and spiritual obscurity of the country. The church of Rome, at the same time, held a station and asserted an influence not much more advanced. But a series of workings and events were from this date about to set in, which was largely to alter and modify the condition of both. The chiefs were ignorant of letters, and indifferent about religion: they only thought of recovering, extending, or securing their dominions, and preserving their iron jurisdiction over the people, on whom they lorded it with absolute control. This power was only to be maintained by preserving the friendly outwork of that perfect ignorance, which, in its various degrees, is the fruitful mother of civil degradation. The church of Rome was, through some of its faithful servants, striving for a still denied and contested influence; but the progress which it had made had been hitherto insufficient to enable it to direct its force, with effect, against the rival church of England. It had yet enough to struggle against, in the jealous opposition of the chiefs who had sagacity to perceive, that it might enlighten and must emancipate from their grasp those whom they so firmly controlled. So lax, accordingly, was the actual resistance to the supremacy asserted by the English church, that the laity of the Romish communion in Dublin were regular in their attendance at the parish church; and this attendance, though enforced by a law, which, under other circumstances, might be justly called tyrannical and harsh, was not the object of complaint. Though the law was severe, there had been no severity in the general spirit of its administration: it had been generally the mind of Queen Elizabeth's government to be strong in the assertion of power, but mild in its application; and the principle was preserved in the case of the Romish church in Ireland.

The English church had its own disadvantages to cope with. Insufficient both in its endowments and organization, its parochial clergy were not sufficiently provided in means or attainments, to bear up against the pressure of irreligion and ignorance, by which they were surrounded. It was not easy at that period to find persons of sufficient spirit, information and ability, to execute so obscure and laborious yet unpromising a task as that of an Irish country pastor, among a community as lawless as the absence of law can make human beings.

and as untaught as the herds they tended or stole. For the reader will recollect that the ancient civilization of Ireland had been swept away by many centuries of internal war. In such a state of its means, and of the obstacles with which it had to cope, it cannot be surprising that an efficient ministry could not be provided, or that they were observed by John Davie to be "such poor ragged ignorant creatures, (for we saw many of them in the camp,) that we could not esteem any of them worthy of the meanest of these livings, albeit many of them are not worth 40 shillings per annum."

With such a state of ecclesiastical affairs, the beginning and cause of worse, James's first archbishop and bishops had to struggle; the following long, but not too long extract, contains the testimony of Archbishop Jones—"I humbly pray my true excuse may be considered of, which is, that I cannot get curates to supply the service of these churches; the rectories are inappropriate, and the farmers cannot be drawn to yield any competent means to a minister, for serving the cure; besides, if we could get means, we cannot possibly get ministers; for the natives of this kingdom being generally addicted to popery, do train up their children to superstition and idolatry, so soon as they come of age to send them beyond the seas, from whence they return either priests, Jesuits, or seminaries, enemies to the religion established, and pernicious members to the state. Such English ministers and preachers as come hither out of England, we do but take them upon credit, and many times they prove of a dissolute life, which doth much hurt. I do humbly desire a small supply of ministers, and I will have an especial care of their placing in the best manner I can. Some livings are fallen void, since the beginning of this visitation, for which I know not how to provide incumbents for the present."

HEBER MACMAHON.

DIED A. D. 1660.

HEBER MACMAHON was the Romish bishop of Clogher: we have not found any authentic materials for even the most cursory sketch of his history; but he was a man of talent, virtue, and wisdom. Although his character and even his name have sunk into the obscurity of his stormy period, only known in the record of those deeds of prominent evil or good which such periods bring forth; yet if truth, honesty, and wisdom, are entitled to superior praise when found among the fanatic, the false, and the deluded, few of his day are more deserving of a place among the illustrious than MacMahon.

It was sometime in the year 1649, when the original party of the Irish rebellion had been worn by its dissensions and disasters, but still was sustained in a protracted existence by the general confusion of the kingdom, and the absence of the powers of constitutional control. The cross waves and currents of the civil wars in England had come into collision with the Irish rebellion, and a confused war of parties and party leaders was kept up, in which every party looked to its own objects. In this medley of force and fraud, all the varied objects of

every party were gradually beginning to be lost in the predominance of that, most uncontrolled by any principle, most reckless in conduct, and ruinous in design, headed by Owen O'Neale and other leaders of the same class, who were endeavouring to hold out in the possession of their lawless robber force, until the weakness of all the rest should place the kingdom at their mercy.

Of these, it was the obvious policy to sell their arms to highest bidders, to make individually the best bargains for present advantage, to keep the strife alive, and, whatever way matters might fall out, to be on terms with the uppermost. The consequence was, that while a bloody and fearful retribution was preparing for this hapless and infatuated nation, the two main parties were in a manner doomed to look on in a nearly defenceless condition, and to endeavour to make such terms, as their means afforded, with the lawless hordes whom the appetite for plunder and the love of license attached to their leaders.

In this state of things, the nuncio of the papal see—the impetuous, vain, obstinate, and weak Rinuncinini, laboured to maintain a sinking cause. Incapable of perceiving the actual tendency of events, and dead to the warnings of present circumstances, he resented the defection of many, and the caution of others of the papal ecclesiastics, who saw more distinctly the crushed condition of the country, and the failure of all their resources. The supreme council of Kilkenny had been disarmed of its assumed authority, so soon as it manifested a disposition to peace, and lay under the excommunications and interdicts of the nuncio. Among the more moderate and informed of every party, there was a just sense of the necessity of a speedy termination to such a state of things, and a conviction of the alternative which was daily assuming a more certain and formidable aspect, in the increasing strength and resources of the parliamentary power.

The Romish prelates in Ireland met at Clonmacnoise, to deliberate on the course most expedient in such a juncture. They were, however, variously inclined, and met with many differences both of view and purpose. Sensible, for the most part, of the necessity of the peace, they were not equally so, as to the manner and means to be pursued: with some, the influence of the nuncio prevailed; some could not acquiesce in the compromise essential to agreement; but with the body, the intrigues, misrepresentations, and flighty pretensions of the marquess of Antrim prevailed.

In such an assembly it was that the ascendant ability of Heber MacMahon turned the scale. To his clear and sagacious observation, everything appeared in its real form, unclouded by the illusions of party feeling and party artifice. He saw the iron hand of the armed commonwealth freed from the restraints which it had shattered along with the monarchy, and already uplifted to subdue and crush all other pretensions to revolt: he saw the people who had been betrayed into a wild and mad resistance, broken and prostrated—deserted, betrayed, and scattered into irretrievable helplessness and suffering: he felt the ruin and dilapidation which covered and rendered desolate the entire aspect of the kingdom in every direction. Perhaps, too, looking back on the history of his country, he saw in that ruinous scene of things a repetition of that cycle of perpetual folly and wickedness, followed

by vengeance and the tyranny of distrust, which had dwarfed the prosperity of the kingdom; nor are such suppositions merely conjectural, as he was in habits of intimacy with the wisest statesman and truest patriot of his age and country, James, first duke of Ormonde.

Of MacMahon's conduct on this occasion, Carte has given the following account. After detailing the crimes and intrigues of the marquess of Antrim, he proceeds to say, "at this time the bishop of Clogher baffled all his measures; and as by his conversation of late with his excellency, we had formed the highest opinion, as well of his talents for government, as of his zeal for the good of his country, he represented him in such a light to the assembly, that he either instilled into them the same opinion, or silenced and deterred them from asserting the contrary. The lord-lieutenant indeed treated this bishop with very great respect, on account of the power which he had with the Ulster Irish, and conversed with him on the affairs of the kingdom very frequently, with great freedom and familiarity. He was a man of better sense than most of his brethren, and saw the absolute necessity of the whole nation uniting as one man for their defence; for which reason he laboured so hard with this congregation of the clergy, that he got them at last to enter into a superficial union, for burying all that was past in oblivion, to declare that no security for life, fortune, or religion, could be expected from Cromwell, to express their detestation of all animosities between the old Irish, English, or Scots royalists, and their resolution to punish all the clergy who should be found to encourage them."*

Of the bishops who joined in a declaration to this effect, the greater part were rather influenced by the superior reason, than thorough converts to the views of MacMahon; and on separating, many of them neglected to enforce or follow up their declaration, while some proceeded directly in the contrary spirit. Yet such an instrument was in itself well adapted to produce serviceable impressions, and not the less highly indicates the character of the source from which it virtually came. Such in truth was the only value of the act: the time of repentance was past, and no virtue or wisdom could save the people from the infliction which was to come.

Not long after, according to agreement with the province of Ulster, the marquess of Ormonde gave a commission to MacMahon,† to command in that province. The nature of this agreement was, that, in case of the death of Owen O'Neale, the nobility and gentry of Ulster should have the nomination of one to command in his stead. This event having taken place, they chose MacMahon; and their appointment was confirmed by the marquess, on the ground of the "care, judgment, valour, and experience in martial affairs, as also the leading and good affections of you to do his majesty service, have nominated and appointed, and hereby do nominate and appoint you, the said Bishop Ever MacMahon, to be general of all his majesty's said forces of horse and foot of the province of Ulster, native of this kingdom," &c.

In virtue of this commission, the bishop proceeded to the discharge of his new, but, perhaps, more appropriate functions, with vigour and

* Carte, i. 105.

† Ormonde's Letter, dated May, 1660.

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skill, against the parliamentary troops, which he contrived to annoy in every quarter of the province, by skirmishing parties of all dimensions. After sometime, however, he was attacked by Coote: the conflict was severe, and at first, for a while, victory appeared to incline to the Irish: in the end, superior discipline obtained some advantage for the parliamentary troops, when their cavalry decided the day. The bishop rode with a small party of horse from the field—the next day he was met by major King from Enniskillen, and attacked—he defended himself with heroic bravery, and it was not till after he was disabled by numerous wounds that he was taken prisoner. He was soon afterwards hanged by the order of Sir Charles Coote.

JAMES MARGETSON, PRIMATE.

CONSECRATED A. D. 1660.—DIED A. D. 1670.

MARGETSON was born in 1600, in Yorkshire, and graduated in Cambridge, from whence he was promoted to the living of Watley in Yorkshire. That his conduct in this parish was in every respect worthy, is proved by the fact that he had the good fortune to attract the notice and approbation of Wentworth, than whom none was more likely to form a just estimate either of the man or the christian teacher. Afterwards, in 1633, when Wentworth came over as lord-deputy, he prevailed on Margetson to resign his Yorkshire preferment, and attend him into Ireland as chaplain. In two years after, he presented him with the rectory and vicarage of Annagh, in the diocese of Kilmore. From this, in the next four years, his promotion was rapid, as he was successively advanced to the deanery of Waterford, of Derry, and finally, in 1639, of Christ Church in Dublin; and, at the same time, pro vice-chancellor of the university, and prolocutor of the lower house of convocation.*

In the rebellion of 1641, his charity and zeal were amply manifested by his liberal benevolence to the sufferers. All that could be done in that dreadful period, by those who were in any way exempted from the general calamity, was the alleviation of the privations and afflictions from which none escaped but those who were protected by arms and fortified walls.

In 1647, he joined in the declaration made in answer to a message from the parliamentary commissions, and substantially proposing the substitution of the Directory for the Book of Common Prayer. From the tyranny of this party, now completely masters of the city, he found it necessary to make his escape; and, like many others, he sought a refuge in England, but found none. After much fatigue and repeated alarms, he was taken prisoner; and having been first shut up in Manchester gaol, he was hurried, according to the turns of party, from prison to prison. After some time, he was released, in exchange for some military officers, and proceeded to London, where he had the best chance of passing unnoticed in the crowd. In seeking safety, Marget-

* Dalton's Bishops.

son by no means counted on any compromise of his duty, should it in any way present itself. The reputation of his integrity and charitable deeds had gone before him; and many, whose benevolence or regard for the loyal cause was greater than their courage, were glad to find one whom they could intrust with the means of relieving the distressed and persecuted loyalists. He did not shrink from the great dangers, and still greater fatigues and hardships, attendant on that ministry of mercy and loyalty; but made repeated and most hazardous journeys through the kingdom, bearing needful relief to numerous parties, both of the clergy and laity. Among those who were thus indebted to his courageous charity was Chappel, bishop of Cork and Ross, who, like himself, had been driven from Ireland. In such a tour, and at such a time, when every part of the country lay involved in some impending terror, it must be easy to apprehend that many strange and singular adventures may have occurred, which might have supplied materials for a diary more instructive and curious than could otherwise easily be put together. The worthy Dean had indeed something else to think of; but among the incidents of his pilgrimage, one is mentioned which bears upon a question which has been the subject of considerable controversy. It is mentioned by his biographer that "he happened on a gentleman sick and on his death-bed, to whom he administered spiritual comfort, together with the holy offices of the church on such occasions. By that dying person he was told, that he had been sometimes one near on attendance on that late sacred martyr, King Charles the First, in his solitude; that to him had been by the King delivered, and committed to his charge and care to be preserved, those papers, which he said he knew to have been written by the king's own hand, and which were after published with the title of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ."* The Bishop has not named this person, so that it is not easy to conjecture whether or not the anecdote can be considered as additional testimony on this ancient and curious controversy, of which the reader may well happen to be forgetful. After the Restoration, a person of the name of Gauden, who had been in some way employed in conveying the sheets to the press, claimed the authorship, and was believed by the King, the Duke of York, and Clarendon. But it was not until forty years after the event, when all parties who could have been considered as authority were dead, that the question was in any way made public. It has been frequently since revived; and, considered simply with reference to the external evidence on either side, offers vast, and we believe, insurmountable difficulty. But we have little doubt in saying that the balance is clearly against Dr Gauden, as all his witnesses evidently derive their authority from himself, or from those who, like him, had some immediate personal interest in the preferment which he claimed on the merit of the book. It is remarkable that Gauden cuts the ground from under his own feet, as the act to which he lays claim involves at the outset a most shameful and infamous fraud: his advocate must set out by claiming for him a character unworthy of credit, in order to prove a gross improbability on his testimony. Having had no previous intimacy with the fastidious and haughty monarch, who

* Cited by Mr Dalton, *Life of Margetson*.

in confinement stood on terms approaching defiance with his foes, he came to propose to him to risk his reputation, sacrifice his pride, and violate all sense and principle of honour, by the gratuitous baseness of taking false credit for a book, to the composition of which he is allowed to have been himself fully competent. Then, following the well-known course of literary impostures, he takes the time favourable to his purpose; and when it has become unlikely that he can be authoritatively contradicted, he reveals his pretended service, with cautious stipulations of profound and inviolable secrecy, of which the manifest purpose was to prevent the lying secret from reaching the ears of a few venerable persons, who would quickly have exposed the miserable scandal. And having done so, he pressed, with a most ferocious disregard of all decency, for a bishopric, which he obtained. The Earl of Clarendon, the King, and the Duke of York, could have no direct knowledge of the truth. The royal brothers, both alike indifferent to truth, were no friends to the real reputation of their father, and not displeased to see transferred from his memory, a book the substance of which was but reproach to their whole conduct and characters. Clarendon had always professed to believe the book to be the production of the King; and when he received the guilty revelation of the scheming and mitre-hunting Gauden, it was under the seal of the most inviolable secrecy—a secrecy which, we may observe, was in no way objectionable to any party then concerned. Against a testimony little removed from infamous, we should consider that of Levett, the king's affectionate and intelligent page, who never left him during the time assigned to the composition of this work, to be far more than equivalent. "I myself very often saw the king write that which is printed in that book, and did daily read the manuscript of his own hand, in many sheets of paper; and seldom that I read it but tears came from me: and I do truly believe that there is not a page in that book but what I have read, under the King's own hand, before it was printed." To this is added, from the same authority, the evidence of several persons—the printer, the corrector of the press, and the bookseller, who speak to the handwriting, as ascertained from other documents. These, with the assertions of Bishops Inson and Earle, we should consider as decisive in the scale of testimony. As for the host of indirect testimonies, which we cannot here notice on either side, we surmount the difficulties by considering them all as amounting to no calculable value. We know too well the various resources of such frauds, not to know the impossibility, after a little time of silence, of tracing the various trains of contrived accident and seemingly unthought-of confirmation which may be laid by one who is allowed to wait his time, and work in darkness for an end unforethought of but by himself. But if, instead of this digression, we were engaged in the full discussion of this *vexata questio*, we must confess that the internal probability has impressed us, some years ago, in an actual perusal of the *ἱστορία βασιλική*, with a force that rejects all doubt. The whole texture of the book is the most peculiarly characteristic emanation, bearing the very living stamp of the author's mind—a mind utterly beyond the reach of Gauden's coarse and low-toned spirit to conceive, and breathing the whole sentiment and affections suited to the character

and actual position of the royal sufferer, whose powers of composition are otherwise known to have been such, as renders unaccountable and absurd, the notion that he should have sullied the dignity of which he was so tenacious, so far as to be the accomplice of a superfluous imposture. We can here only add, what should not be omitted, that we must believe there could have been no contest upon such a question, but from the strong anxiety of a party, in everything to lower the character of Charles I.

When the Restoration, after an interval of ten years, once more revived the drooping and prostrate condition of the church in this kingdom, Margetson was appointed to the metropolitan see of Dublin, and was one of the eleven bishops consecrated by primate Bramhal, on the 27th January 1660, as mentioned in the life of that prelate. In 1662, he had occasion to enforce the principle of pulpit-jurisdiction, which has been warmly canvassed in our own times, for which reason we must here decline entering into the controversy, which would lead us far into the discussion of principles more applicable to the church of Ireland in its present state, than to the age of bishop Margetson. We may but observe, that in our own times the reasons for enforcing that degree of episcopal authority which is affirmed in the 28th and 29th of our canons, has been rendered apparent enough by cases in which infidelity has contrived to find its way into the pulpit; while the limitation of that jurisdiction which we think equally deducible from those canons, seems not to be altogether superfluous when the political character of the times must always expose us to the risk of bishops who may feel more inclined to repress than to promote the spiritual advance of the church.

During the short interval of Margetson's tenure of the see of Dublin, his liberality was shown in ample contributions to the repair of the two cathedrals. But on Bramhal's death in 1663, he was by the advice of that able and sagacious prelate, translated to Armagh; and shortly afterwards he was appointed vice-chancellor of the university.

It is unnecessary here to pursue a career only marked by the same course of public events which we have already had to repeat. Margetson died in 1678, with the praise of all good men; as one who had discharged the important duties of his high office, with that rare combination of strictness and charity, which won for him from his clergy that respect tempered by love, which belongs to the parental relation. In him, severity when needful came so softened by affectionate regret, that it was felt by the person on whom it fell, to come from the office and not from the man, and to bear the sanctity of just authority without any alloy of anger. He was not less mild and paternal in the rule of the church, than firm and uncompromising in her defence, and in the maintenance of her interests and lawful rights, never failing either in the council or in the parliament to advocate and maintain them under all the varied assaults of that age of trial and emergency.

He was interred in Christ church.

JAMES USHER, PRIMATE OF IRELAND.

BORN A. D. 1580.—DIED A. D. 1656.

THE family of Primate Usher is traced from a person who came over to Ireland with King John. His name was Nevil, but (after the fashion of the time), he received the name of Usher, from the office he held under the king. This appellation was transmitted through a long line of Irish descendants. Of these, in the 17th century, two rose to the highest dignity in the Irish church. The first, Henry, may be noticed for the honour of having been instrumental in the founding of Trinity college. Arnold Usher, a brother of this prelate, and one of the six clerks in the Irish chancery, married a daughter of Mr. James Stanishurst, a master in chancery, recorder of Dublin, and speaker in three parliaments, father to the learned person noticed in a previous memoir, and by this marriage was father to the most illustrious scholar, prelate, and church historian of his age.

From these parents, James Usher was born in Dublin, in 1580. In his early infancy he had the good fortune to be brought up by two aunts, who being blind from their youth, were domesticated in his father's house. Shut out by their infirmity from the excitements and vanities of the world, they had also escaped its corruptions, and found their refuge and consolation in the sequestered ways of religion: and their blindness was enlightened by the purer inward light which is derived from divine truth. From such teachers, the infancy of Usher was from the earliest dawn of childish thought, nurtured in holy knowledge and love: and habits as well as tastes were imparted, which now may appear to have been the providential, as they surely were the appropriate, training for a high and responsible calling in times of great trial. The soil was good ground in every respect: young Usher was as apt to learn as he was afterwards to teach: he showed a quiet, submissive and studious disposition, a retentive memory and quick apprehension, with a peculiar aptitude to receive religious impressions. Nor can we have any doubt in tracing to these peculiar and most interesting circumstances, much of the affecting and impressive piety which, at a remote period of his afterlife, sustained him in so many and such great trials and adversities.

Such a childhood and such a life, indeed, offer the truest illustrations of the wisdom of the inspired precept, "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth," &c.; for, omitting the trite truths of the power and permanence of youthful habits, and the obvious advantage of pre-occupying the heart with the impressions which are best, and least found in the ways of life, there is a natural return of the affections to the conversation of early years, which increases, the more man finds disappointment in the attractions of life. And it is a happy coincidence when this bright spot in the retrospect is a hallowed spot. It is one way of converting the natural affections into alliance with that spirit, against which our earthly nature is too much at war; and it is a blessed thing, if in a world all the hopes and desires of which

are strongly repugnant to every holy desire or good counsel, the memory of those parents and friends and seasons, to which every heart of human mould must from time to time turn most fondly, should come laden with still higher and holier thoughts, and carry up the heart to that seat on high, where the teachers of holiness have gone to their reward.

Such was the happy lot of that illustrious prelate of whose earthly pilgrimage we are now to trace the trying and difficult path. And if his infancy was thus happy, his subsequent education was at least attended with some curious and interesting circumstances. On his tenth year, he was sent to a school kept by two very remarkable men.

Mr Fullarton and Mr Hamilton were two Scotchmen of considerable talent and learning, sent over by the king of Scotland, to cultivate an interest in favour of his claim to the crown. And as the jealousy of Elizabeth on that point was so well known, it was both safe and prudent to adopt some specious pursuit to cover their true design. They set up a school: and considering the dearth of education in Ireland at the time, there was perhaps no course more favourable to that purpose, than one which must have rendered them at once objects of interest to all who were likely to be in any way serviceable, by influence or information. They quickly established the species of intercourse and correspondence, which was considered desirable for their employer's cause. When he came to the throne upon Elizabeth's death, he knighted Fullarton, and raised Hamilton to the peerage by the title of viscount Claudebois.

To the school thus opened, James Usher was sent. And there, for the term of five years, he distinguished himself by his rapid proficiency in latin and rhetoric, the chief school acquirements of the age. He of course attracted the favourable attention of his masters, whose care of his instruction he often afterwards mentioned with gratitude.

It is stated on his own authority, that Usher while at school, had a great love of poetry; and, considering the imitative tendency of youth, this would be a natural result of the first acquaintance with the latin poets. We have already noticed the curious and grotesque imitations of his cousin Richard Stanihurst. English poetry then offered few models, and though these were no less than Chaucer, Spenser and Shakspeare; yet considering the state of literature in Ireland, and the "great scarcity of good books and learned men" then complained of there, with the usual course of school discipline, it is not likely that Usher had formed any conceptions of style more tasteful than those of his cousin. He says, that he laid poetry aside, as likely to interfere with his more useful and solid pursuits, and to those who are acquainted with his writings, it will not appear to have been his calling.

The afterpursuits, in which he has acquired permanent renown, were according to his own account of himself, determined by the chance perusal of a book written by Sleidan. Of the state of learning in that period of our history, it would be difficult to speak, as we would wish, within the moderate compass afforded by the task we have in hand; but happily, the expansive literature of the age in which we live, requires little digression into collateral topics. It was one of the characteristics of the learned histories and treatises of an early age,

that they were replete with far-sought and multifarious erudition: it was a maxim, that a book should contain everything in any way connected with its subject; such was indeed the essential condition of a contracted range of knowledge and a scarcity of books. To write a book commensurate with the demands of that period, was the work of a life spent in research and diligent study; and perhaps required far more than the average of intellectual power now employed in similar undertakings. Such powers are for the most part of a nature to impose a determinate direction on the faculties; the force of genius will impel on, or create its way, because it cannot fail to have some decided tendency. In the life of Usher, the marks of such a tendency are distinct enough; but there is a deep interest in the contemplation of the spirit of the several times, in which the great master-builders of the fabric of human knowledge have severally grown up to the fulfilment of their tasks. We shall hereafter have occasion to enter on a more complete and extended view of the academic discipline of Usher's period: a few remarks may here sufficiently illustrate his entrance on the laborious and useful pursuits of a long life, spent in researches of the utmost importance to the ancient history of these isles.

For some time previous to that in which we are now engaged, a considerable revolution in literature had been slowly in progress. The recent cultivation of the literature of the ancients was beginning to improve the taste, as also to give more just notions of the use of human reason than seem to have been entertained in the middle ages, when words became invested with the dignity of things, and the forms of logic were confounded with the ends of reason. In that obscure transition of the human mind, the end of intellect had been lost in a thousand nugatory refinements upon the means. But though the world was then rapidly emerging from this chaos into daylight; yet, it was rather to be perceived in the beginnings of new things than in the disappearance of the old. Of polite literature, it would be a digression to speak; the fathers of English poetry stood apart from the obscurity of their times, and the great dramatic writers of the Elizabethan age had not as yet received any place in the shelves of general literature. The impulse of modern letters was to be received independently of all pre-existing progress, and to emanate more strictly from the standards of antiquity, than from the irregular though splendid models of the previous periods. A single glance into the best writers of the early part of the 17th century will not fail to illustrate the rudeness of men's notions of style in prose or verse: the higher efforts of intellectual power as yet rejected the undefined powers of the English language, and the works of learned men were composed in the Latin. From the pure and perfect models which had been embalmed to perpetuity in a dead language, more permanent and systematic forms of literature were to arise, in the very period at which we are arrived: Virgil and Tully sat like the ruddy and golden clouds on the edge of dawn, while the earth lay yet in a glimmering obscurity. In the university of Dublin, by far the most honourable and illustrious incident in the history of the age, this state of things may be considered as fairly represented: as it is now on the advance of human knowledge, so it then possessed the best knowledge proper to the date of its founda-

tion; though this indeed was little more than the ancient languages of Greece and Rome, with the logic and rhetoric of the schools. The only knowledge besides these which could be said to offer any scope to a student like Usher, were theology and history. But of these, it is to be observed that neither of them had been yet exhumed from the imperfect, scattered, abstruse and ponderous mass of voluminous or impracticable reservoirs, in which they lay buried. They had not been dug from the mine of antiquity, and reduced into academical order: to effect this, and imbody materials for the student, was the work of Usher, Stillingfleet, and a host of laborious and gifted contemporaries, and successors, from their time down to that of our illustrious countrymen, Magee and Graves.

Again, the mathematical sciences, which, expanded as they now are to the utmost powers and capacities of human reason; and embracing in their grasp all realities below revelation, had little existence beyond their forms and principles; and these but cumbrously and inadequately developed. They must have attracted, but could not satisfy an intellect that tended to results; as manifesting the clearest and most satisfactory exemplifications and exercises of reasoning, they could not fail to become a temporary discipline or entertainment; but they terminated in comparatively slight results and common uses—they did not lead as now, to the temple of divine power and wisdom, and open to the wonder and curiosity, the illimitable heights and depths of the creation. The far-searching and subtle resources of transcendental science were profoundly concealed; the superb structure of reason, observation, and mechanical skill, which makes astronomy the triumph of human intelligence, was but in its dilatory foundations; the wondrous results of electro-magnetism, and of physical optics, with a host of brilliant and useful applications, of which the very names are additions to language, and which make the realities of modern science more wonderful than the fictions of old magic—had no existence then. They are the results of the intellectual labour and genius of after-times, and the light and glory of our modern universities.*

From this summary sketch, it is easy to pass to the consideration of the natural direction which the genius of Usher would be likely to receive from the state of knowledge in his time. Naturally addicted to the pursuit of truth, and rather constituted for research than invention, he followed that broad track on which the best and most practical intellect of his day was sure to be impelled. It is stated, in the dedication of his work on the British Churches, that he was first determined to the study of history by his admiration of a passage in Cicero, "*Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit est semper esse puer,*" and having Sleidan, as already mentioned, at the same time put into his hands, he determined to devote his study to antiquities. We can ourselves well recollect the impression made on an intelligent youthful assembly of students in Dublin University, by a judicious citation of Cicero's remark.*

* The Historical Society, a spontaneous shoot of the university, more clearly marking, than anything we can here say, the real working of that great and solid institution. It was the exuberant overflow of its instructed intelligence, and such

The first stone of the university of Dublin was laid in 1591: in two years after it was ready for the reception of students. On the admission of students, in 1593, James Usher was one of three who matriculated, and his name stands first on that roll which may be regarded as the chronology of Ireland's progress in learning. Loftus, in a memoir of whom we have already given some account of the foundation, was appointed first provost. Hamilton, one of Usher's masters, was also appointed a fellow, to the great advantage of his pupil. When he entered college, Usher had reached his thirteenth year: he took his degree of Bachelor in 1596. The interval was creditably marked by its fruits. Before he had more than completed his sixteenth year, he had already drawn up the plan and chief materials of his "Annals of the Old and New Testament." Thus, from the very foundation of the university, may be said to have emanated a great work, which laid the solid foundation of chronology. The Bible he was wont to call the Book of books; and considered it as containing the true rule of life,—a sentiment which, though unquestionably involved in the profession of a Christian faith, as being virtually inculcated in the Bible itself, yet either then or now, practically recognised by few. Few, indeed, there are, who, like James Usher, take upon them the example of the Son of God in the wilderness, who met every wile of Satan with an answer from the word of Scripture.

But Usher lived in a day when the follower of Christ was to be assailed, not only by those trials which address themselves to the ordinary frailties of the human heart. His church was in a state of controversy, and invested by no slight array of the hosts of spiritual darkness. It was especially necessary that a scholar, whose knowledge and zeal were so eminent, should be ready to give an answer for his faith. This truth was the more feelingly pressed on the mind of Usher by the state of religious profession in his own family. His maternal relations were members of the Church of Rome, and his uncle, Richard Stanihurst, was a man of distinguished talent. As there are proofs extant of the anxiety of the family, and especially of Stanihurst, to prevail on their young relative to conform to their creed, it may with certainty be inferred, that numerous efforts for the purpose must have been made, and that conversations of a controversial nature must frequently have taken place. Such a position—and in Ireland most protestants have more or less experienced it in their circle of friends, if not among their kindred and connexions—would naturally impart to the zealous temper some direction towards such

as, if justly considered, to exhibit to the reflecting spirit the true essential tendencies of the course of instruction adopted by the university. On this ill-understood question we should be happy to make some remarks; but on consideration we abstain. There is too much to be replied to, and too much to be explained. One remark we must make: they who have fully availed themselves of the prescribed course of academical discipline, are never found wanting in whatever knowledge their position requires. The occasion to which we have above referred, was one of the annual addresses from the chair. It was delivered by Mr Sidney Taylor, since an eminent member of the English press and bar; but whose advance in his profession is far below the just expectation which his high endowments had raised among those who knew him best.

investigations as might best supply the means of defence. In the case of Usher, this motive was quickened by incidents: his uncle was not only in the habit of holding disputations with him, but there is evidence that he even studied and made extensive notes for these: among his writings occurs the title, "*Brevis premonitio pro futura concertatione cum Jacobo Ussero.*" But these facts are the worthier of our notice here, because it was from this very controversy with his uncle, that his mind and studies received their immediate colour. He was yet engaged in his under-graduate course, when his uncle, still anxious to serve him according to his own views, gave him to read, "*Stapleton's Fortress of the Faith,*" the object of which is stated to have been the proof of the catholic antiquity of the Church of Rome—a fortunate incident, as in this controversy, it is the only question which is likely to lead to a decided issue. Points of doctrine will, until mankind changes, ever afford latitude for clouds of evasive rhetoric, the subtle fallacies of language, easy misunderstandings of isolated texts of scripture, and the wilful sophistry that appeals to ignorance. The antiquity of the church of Rome, considered with reference to its doctrines, pretensions, and constitution, &c., is a point of historical fact; excluding ignorance, prejudice, and metaphysics, and referring the question to the ever competent tribunal of testimony; and in the instance before us such was the result. Usher, on the perusal of this work, quickly resolved to refer to the only direct testimony on the point, and diligently engaged in the study of the Fathers—a study which we earnestly wish that the more zealous students of every Christian profession would cultivate; and the more, because these voluminous and recondite writings are liable to a perversion from the dishonest controversialist, from which they would be thus in a manner protected. Relying on the common ignorance, such persons have occasionally thought that it did no dishonour to their profession to support it by the most fraudulent and disingenuous quotations, in which these ancient writers have been made to support the very contradictory to their actual opinions.

Long before he had thus arrayed himself from the armory of antiquity, but strong in the surer panoply described by St Paul, and well-versed in the resources of academic disputation, James Usher, though yet but in his 19th year, was ready to meet the most formidable adversary. At this time, the learned Jesuit, Henry Fitz-Symonds, was, according to the barbarous policy of the day, confined in the castle of Dublin: he complained that, "being a prisoner, he was like a bear tied to a stake, and wanted some to bait him:" the words being repeated, were generally understood to convey a challenge. Usher had at the time attained a high collegiate reputation; his learning and controversial skill, his faculty of language, and the peculiar direction of his studies were known, and every eye was turned upon him, as a fitting champion for the church. The parties met; Usher waited on the Jesuit, and they agreed upon the selection of three topics from the controversies of Bellarmine, and the first topic chosen was concerning the antichrist. On the result there are several statements; we shall, therefore, only place before the reader the most authentic means from which a probable opinion may be with much confidence arrived at—

Usher's letter to the Jesuit. It is as follows:—"I was not purposed (Mr Fitz-Symonds) to write unto you before you had first written to me, concerning some chief points of your religion, (*as at our last meeting promised,*) but seeing you have deferred the same, (for reasons best known to yourself,) I thought it not amiss to inquire further of your mind, concerning the *continuance of the conference begun* betwixt us. And to this I am the rather moved, because I am credibly informed of certain reports which I could hardly be persuaded should proceed from him, who in my presence pretended so great a love and affection unto me. If I am a boy, (as it hath pleased you very contemptuously to name me,) I give thanks to the Lord that my carriage towards you hath been such as could minister unto you no occasion to despise my youth. Your spear belike is in your own conceit a weaver's beam, and your abilities such that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the Hosts of Israel, and therefore (like the Philistine) you condemn me as being a boy; yet this I would fain have you know, that I neither came then, nor now do come unto you, in any confidence of learning that is in me, (in which, nevertheless, I thank God I am what I am,) but I come in the name of the Lord of Hosts, (whose companies you have reproached,) being certainly persuaded that, even out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, he is able to show forth his own praise; for the further manifestation whereof, I do again earnestly request you, that (setting aside all vain comparisons of persons), we may go plainly forward, in examining the matters in controversy between us; otherwise, I hope you will not be displeased if, as for your part you have begun, so I also for my own part may be bold, for the clearing of myself, and the truth which I profess, freely to make known whatever hath already passed concerning this matter. Thus entreating you, in a few lines, to make known unto me your purpose in this behalf, and, praying the Lord, that both this, and all other enterprises we take in hand, may be so ordered, as may most make for the advancement of his own glory, and the kingdom of his Son, Jesus Christ.

"Tuus ad aras usque,

JAMES USHER."

The inference from this letter is decisive and peremptory. Considering the respective characters of the parties, there can be no doubt of the fact that Fitz-Symonds, of whose mission truth formed no part, dealt disingenuously, to ward aside the imputation of having slunk from the contest. In the preface to his "*Britonomachia*," he endeavours to transfer this disgrace to his youthful adversary; but his insinuations are inconsistent with the authentic statement contained in the document above cited. The statement of the missionary is yet valuable for the graphic glimpse it affords us of the person and manner of Usher at the period:—"There came to me once a youth, of about eighteen years of age, of a ripe wit, when scarce as you would think gone through his course of philosophy, or got out of his childhood, yet ready to dispute on the most abstruse points of divinity;" but when he tells his reader, with reference to the same incident, "he did not again deem me worthy of his presence," we must at once discern the

anxious purpose of misrepresentation. He afterwards saw and acknowledged the weight of Usher's character as a scholar, in a compliment of no slight value from a Jesuit of his day, having in one of his works called him "*A catholicorum doctissimus*."

In 1599, a public act was held in college, for the entertainment of the earl of Essex, who came over in April that year as lord-lieutenant. Such exhibitions, in the palmy days of scholastic art, when the jejune pedantry of the categories stood yet high among the accomplishments of the scholar, were objects of fashionable interest; the tilt of wordy weapons between two distinguished doctors was a display as attractive to the cumbrous gaiety of that pedantic age, as the rival strains of Pasta and Grisi are now to ears polite. As the pomps of feudal chivalry, these formidable solemnities of the schools have left their forms behind, like antique carving on the structure of our time-built institutions: but then, these acts were far from idle form. No commencing undergraduate then stood conscious of absurdity, under the smile of the proctor, vainly trying to decypher his paper of syllogisms, the wholesale ware of some garret in Botany Bay, and retailed by the jobber of caps and gowns. Then the youthful disputant stood up ponderously mailed in the whole armour of Ramus and Scotus. Here Usher was at home, a champion at all weapons ever forged from the mine of Aristotle to perplex the reason of the world for half-a-dozen centuries: and in the character of Respondent, won approbation from the polished and graceful courtier of Elizabeth.

Such distinctions must have awakened high hopes of future eminence among his friends. His father, himself an eminent legal functionary, naturally saw in the distinguished university reputation of his son, the promise of forensic fame, and high judicial preferment. But young Usher's tastes led to a different end. The love of real knowledge, once thoroughly attained, is sure to repel the dry and barren labour of a purely artificial system, which, notwithstanding its vast practical utility, is but remotely connected with knowledge, and leads to no permanent truth. The maxims of law, resulting from expediency, contemplate but narrowly and obscurely those primary principles in human nature, from which the expediency is itself the consequence; and in our first acquaintance with the rules of practice, the reason is frequently shocked by numerous instances, which indicate the feebleness and darkness of the connexion. Even the rules of evidence, by their purpose necessarily connected with the truth of things, are cramped in legal practice, so as to exhibit an imperfect, and sometimes erroneous view of the laws of probability. To an intellect fitted by its breadth and depth to explore more spacious realms of research, the subtlety, compactness, and precision of such a science, could not be a compensation for such wants: Usher must, from the nature of his acquirements, be supposed to have looked with infinite distaste on a field of exertion, in which the powers which could investigate the depths of time and event, might be exhausted on the validity of a doubtful title or a paltry question of personal right. He did not, however, question the wishes of his father, who fortunately died before any decision could severely test his filial obedience.

The death of his father left him free, and possessed of a respectable

fortune, with which most men would have been not unreasonably content to relinquish the hopes with the toils of professional life; and few indeed would have taken the high unselfish course of Usher. Having set apart a moderate portion for his own wants, and to supply him with the books necessary for the course of study to which he felt himself pledged, the remainder he disposed of for the maintenance of his sisters and brother.

In 1600, he took the degree of Master of Arts, and was elected proctor and catechetical lecturer of the university. The distinguished manner in which he discharged the duty of an office for which he was in every way so peculiarly fitted, added to his reputation, and confirmed the election of his course and calling. Another step to his advancement offered at the same time. The reader is already aware of the ill-provided condition of the church in Ireland at that dark period. A want of preachers made it necessary to select three young men from among the students of Trinity College, to preach in the cathedral of Christ Church, before the lord-lieutenant. Richardson, Walsh, and Usher were chosen. To Usher was allotted the afternoon sermon, the subject of which rendered it then an object of the most attractive interest, as it was controversial, and intended to satisfy the members of the Romish communion on the errors of their church; and in this he was so successful that many were brought over to the church. In his catechetical lectures he also made it his business to explain the main articles of the protestant churches, as distinguished from those of the church of Rome. In the previous year, the people of this communion had, under a fine of twelve pence, been compelled to attend divine service in the churches, by virtue of a clause in the act of uniformity. The enactment was at this time enforced, in consequence of the alarms caused by Tyrone's rebellion, and the rumour, not quite unfounded, of a massacre which was designed to follow the victory, if gained by Don Juan. The defeat of this unfortunate leader in 1601, tended greatly both to quiet the apprehensions of the protestants, and to impart a more willing and cheerful feeling of acquiescence among the papists. To render the measure effective, the Dublin clergy were directed to arrange their Sunday duties so as to have a sermon adapted to the purpose of their instruction, at each church, on the afternoon of every Sunday.

Usher was among the most active in this service; having, in the interval, been admitted into holy orders by his uncle the primate. This was, in some measure, in opposition to his own inclination, as he was unwilling to enter prematurely on the sacred calling, before he had attained the lawful age; but the necessity of the time, and his ripeness of attainment, made it plainly desirable; and he yielded to the urgency of his friends. A special dispensation was therefore obtained for the purpose. He seems, however, to have confined his ministration to the pulpit, justly sensible that the part which had been allotted to him in the Christian church was wider and more permanent than the essentially confined range of duties which are allotted to the parish clergyman. Not, indeed, we feel it necessary to add, that these latter have less vital and essential importance: the defence of the faith—the integrity of Christian doctrine—the constituted authority and dis-

cipline of the church—are but the outward system of that great interest of souls, of which the faithful cure is the vital and essential use and practical end. But there is yet a great distinction: though the ablest development of genius and scholarship that ever yet appeared in the form of a book, cannot, in intrinsic worth, be weighed against the salvation of a soul, yet it is a false estimate, and founded on a vulgar fallacy, that would weigh these results in the scale of opposition. It is enough that the book is wanting, and fills a necessary place in the whole system of the ecclesiastical edifice. The humblest and commonest talents are, by the blessing of God, when rightly directed by proper preparation, and the co-operation of grace, fully competent to perform all that human effort can do in the cure of souls. The encounter with the infidel, the heretic, and the schismatic, demand rare and singular powers and attainments, only the result of long and secluded study and intellectual training. Such faculties, and such capabilities, when they occur, are not to be inappropriately expended on the work that wants not labourers; but to be sedulously devoted to the purpose for which, it is to be presumed, from the known economy of God, they are designed. God is to be served with the best powers of the mind, applied in their most effective mode of exertion. Nor, unless on the presumed opinion that men like Usher are the mere result of chance, can it be presumed that they act in conformity with any view of the divine will, when they resign their peculiar gifts, and take those parts in which they are, indeed, often inferior to ordinary men.

We have already noticed, with the requisite fulness, the political condition of the times, and it is a topic to which we would not willingly return. To an intellect like that of Usher, it must have conveyed clearer indications of its tendencies, than to understandings of ordinary gauge. Men most conversant with affairs seldom have sufficiently the power of just generalization, to look beyond immediate consequences; they are sunk in the complication of detail; and small things, from their nearness, obstruct the mental vision. But the historical intellect soon learns to look on large processes moving in the distance of time, and like the far-sighted vision of astronomy, as compared with common observation, to separate the true motions from the apparent. It is to an impression originating in such habits of mind, that we are inclined to attribute the curious facts connected with Usher's sermon in 1601, in which he applied a prophecy of Ezekiel's to the politics of Ireland. His text was Ezekiel iv. 6:—"*Thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days. I have appointed thee each day for a year,*" which he applied to his own country in that remarkable expression, "From this year I reckon forty years, and then those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." Usher claimed no inspiration, yet the coincidence would appear, from its exact fulfilment, to be something more than accidental. None can presume to say whether there was, or was not, some unconscious interposition of Divine power. The fact remains uncontradicted, and no human judgment can alter it. We can at the same time have no doubt of the true source of the impression from which Usher was naturally led to apply the prophecy; an application which we must confess raises our wonder not

the less, from its farsightedness, for it strongly shows the force with which Usher's intellect was impressed by the actual indications from which, while they were beyond ordinary sight, he derived the impression. Nor, making this allowance, does the actual error in the least abate our respect for his critical character; for if the reader will consider the phenomena in that case present to Usher's observation—a church largely intertangled with, and affecting the visible church of Christ, and a nation peculiarly the scene of a great conflict, arising from that connexion, and then looking on the prophecies, as tracing by anticipation the whole history of the Christian church—it is no wonder that so vast a working as he saw, and so dreadful a crisis as he anticipated, should seem to be foreshadowed in a prophecy so aptly coincident. The force of Usher's impression, and perhaps, also, the clearness of his observation, is enforced by further testimony from Bernard's life:—"What a continued expectation he had of a judgment upon his native country I can witness, that from the year 1629, when I had the happiness first to be known to him, and the nearer the time every year, the more confident, to my often wonder and admiration, there being nothing visibly tending to the fear of it." Even in the widest grasp of human powers, we can find illustrations of the narrowness of our discernment. To see more fully the common want of political foresight in the actual conduct of political affairs, "with how little wisdom the world is governed," a better example cannot indeed be found than in the whole policy of that age. The government was assuredly equally injudicious in its mercies and severities to the church of Rome in Ireland.

It was in the year 1603, that the English army in Ireland, desirous to establish some appropriate memorial of their success over the domestic and foreign foes of Ireland in the battle of Kinsale, subscribed with that intent £1800, and appropriated it to the library of Trinity College, Dublin. For the outlay of this munificent subscription to the true interests of the country, Usher, with two fellows of the university, were commissioned to visit London; and thus was opened, in fact, a new era in his life. London then, as since, the real centre of human attainment, must have opened a wide field of interest, of which inadequate conceptions can now be formed, when literature is universally diffused, and the ends of the civilized world are virtually nearer than the limits of the British isles were then. Then books were few, knowledge rare, and genius moved "separate as a star," through the surrounding intellectual vacuity and darkness. While Usher and his colleagues were in London, it chanced that Sir Thomas Bodley* was there in the same pursuit: and it is stated, that he contributed to their object by valuable advice, such as his local information and habitual acquaintance with that avocation might be supposed to afford. "It is a pleasing reflection," observes bishop

* Sir Thomas Bodley was a native of Exeter: he received his education at Geneva, and in Oxford. He was much employed by queen Elizabeth, on embassies chiefly. He is worthy of memory for having re-built the library of Oxford University, and bequeathed his fortune to maintain it: he died in 1612, in the 68th year of his age.

Mant,* "to the members of the two universities in aftertimes, as it was to the delegates of each at the time, that the Bodleian library of Oxford, and the library of the university of Dublin, designed as they were, each in its respective place, to be the instruments of disseminating sound religion and useful learning over the church and empire, began together with an interchange of mutual kind offices."

On his return, Usher was promoted to the chancellorship of St Patrick's by his early friend Loftus, then archbishop of Dublin. He thus acquired the means of enlarging his own collection of books, with the valuable experience derived from his recent employment. The cure of Finglas was attached to his office in the cathedral, and he applied himself to the diligent discharge of its duty, by preaching in the parish church every Sunday. His natural and characteristic liberality was in this also shown, in a provision for the future discharge of the same duties, by endowing the vicarage of Finglas.

In 1607, Camden came to Dublin to collect materials for the description of Dublin, afterwards published in the last edition of his *Britannia*: in the conclusion of this description, his obligations to Usher are acknowledged, where he attributes his information chiefly to "the diligence and labour of James Usher, chancellor of St Patrick's, who in various learning and judgment, far exceeds his years."

In the same year, having taken his degree of bachelor of divinity, he was then at the age of twenty-six appointed professor of divinity to the university, an office which he filled with credit and extensive usefulness for the next thirteen years. His lectures were directed by the consideration of the spiritual and doctrinal necessities of the age, and with still more especial relation to Ireland. The work of a lecturer in divinity was then, in some respects, such as to task most severely the memory and theological scholarship as well as the controversial abilities of the lecturer. There were then none of those well-digested compendiums containing the history and exposition of every question and controversy from the beginning, which now adorn the country curate's shelf, and make knowledge easy: the materials of instruction were to be gathered from the vast chaos of antiquity, which may be aptly dignified with the character of *rudis indigestaque moles*. The age was then but recently beginning to emerge from the unprofitable logomachy of school divinity—the *vox et prætereæ nihil* of the brethren of St Dominic and St Francis—of Scotists and Thomists, and all the motley and metaphysical fraternities within the comprehensive unity of the see of Rome. The theology of the middle ages had rejected alike the authority of Scripture, and of the scriptural expositors of the early churches:—the facts which might have been unmanageable, the authorities, which could hardly be subtilised away by the eloquence of Aquinas, or darkened by the logical distinctions of our countryman Scotus, had been by common consent laid aside, and consequently forgotten. It was the pride and policy of the schools to maintain their theological tenets on the basis of first principles, and by the powers of reason, with a subtilty competent to maintain any con-

* Hist. of the Church of Ireland.

tradition. But the Reformation had brought back the war of tongues from the verge of the seventeenth century, to the documents and authority of the early church. A broad glow of morning light was opening fast upon the swamps and labyrinths of the human intellect: and other weapons were become necessary to meet and encounter the palpable and formidable realities which were obtruding themselves upon Europe; these were no longer to be obscured by the mere phantasmagoria of human ignorance, or turned aside by the jarring perversions of Greek philosophy. Yet how far the reformers were to be directly encountered at their own weapons, was yet questionable in the judgment of a policy which has seldom been far diverted from prudence by any dogmatical predilection. In this nice emergency the order of Jesuits arose, with a new organization, to meet the dangers of the time. This illustrious order, though early and without intermission exposed to the hatred of the Benedictines and Dominicans, soon added as largely to the power and extent of the papal domains, as their rivals by their ignorance and other demerits had lost; and though fiercely attacked by the resentment of these rivals, were soon found so effective in their resistance, so subtle and dexterous in their use of means, that it was observed, that even when defeated in the controversy, they contrived to keep possession of the field. Of this order, cardinal Bellarmine, yet living while Usher held his professorship, was then the most conspicuous for ability and learning. There however seems to have belonged to this great man a vein of hardy moral frankness, more consistent with his strong and clear understanding, than with the interests of that great power of which he was the most illustrious champion. It had been among the ruling principles of that great power, not to allow too close an inspection into its fundamental authorities and credentials: and when forced from the hold of politic reserve, it was possessed of unnumbered outlets for evasion in the consecrated obscurity of its retreats: and what the manoeuvring of a well-matured system of controversial strategy could not effect, other resources of a more tangible kind were ready to secure. In a controversy, thus conducted as it had till then been, rather by policy or force than by the weapons of reason, and more by evasion than by direct defence, the difficulty was to bring the adversary upon fair ground. The confidence of Bellarmine, founded as it was, on the consciousness of strong reason, and great native fairness of temper, afforded an advantage not to be recalled. He published an extensive and voluminous treatise on the several controversies which had then arisen between the church of Rome and its adversaries the Protestant churches. In these volumes, this illustrious Frenchman threw aside the flimsy but safe resources which had so long been the bulwarks and battlements of human error, and ventured to collect and state the arguments of the protestant divines fairly, and without any important abatement of their force. These he answered with eloquence and skill; such as, indeed, to render his work no unfair representation of the facts and intrinsic value of the cause of which he was the ablest and most respectable supporter. This achievement was, however, far more effective in drawing upon him the force of the adversary, than winning the approbation of his friends. The pontiffs shrunk aghast from a

work in which with more practical wisdom than the great Jesuit, they saw the real effects to be so far from the intention: and he was then and after censured by more politic doctors of his church.

It was by means of this inadvertent honesty of the great leading controversialist of his own day, and Romish authority since, that Usher was enabled to perform the master-stroke of bringing an adversary into court. The infelicitous boldness of the cardinal offered many of the most important questions, fixed beyond the subtle tergiversations and evasive shifts of polemical dexterity. To what extent Usher actually availed himself of this advantage, so judiciously seized, we cannot discover. It is certain that he went very far in labouring on a favourite topic, of which it will now be generally admitted, that it occupied the time of more profitable questions. The fallacy of the effort to identify Antichrist with the Pope has exercised the ingenuity and learning of later divines, but may now be considered at rest: we should be sorry to disturb its repose; but having long ago read much controversy upon the subject, we must venture so far in behalf of our professor, as to say, that the mistake was one not well to be avoided, as its detection has in fact been the result of further discoveries of subsequent commentators, by which the characteristics assigned to one prophetic person have been since divided between two. Though the fulfilment of the prophecies has been clearly shown to be accurate to a degree which has proved prophecy to be a rigidly faithful anticipation of history,* yet in no instance has anything to be called precision or even near resemblance been attained in the interpretations of unfulfilled prophecy. Of the failure of human interpretations the Jewish history offers one sad and notorious example, though the prophecies of Daniel were least liable to misapprehension.

It was during the period of his professorship, that he is mentioned to have written a "digest of the canons of the universal church," a work which has never been published, though still extant in MS. As we can conceive the scope and execution of such a work, there could be none more laborious in the performance, or more universally salutary in its uses.

In 1609, Usher again visited England in the quest of books: his general reception, the gratifying intercourse with persons of learning and genius, the various opportunities of extending his acquaintance with authors and men; and last, in all probability, the obvious circumstance, that there lay the great high road to fame and preferment, which though secondary objects to men like Usher, cannot be overlooked altogether without some obliquity in the understanding: all these so far interested and attracted him, that his visits to England were afterwards periodically repeated. On these occasions he seems to have evidently made the most of his time; a month at each of the universities, and a month in London, was but enough to satisfy the moral and intellectual craving which had accumulated in the mental seclusion of three years, and to maintain the kindness and respect

* The reader is referred to Mr Keith's two works on the Prophecies, in which this point is proved with a clearness, precision, and fulness, which leaves nothing wanting of certainty.

due to such a distinguished visitor. On these occasions, it may be superfluous to add, that in each place every collection of books was freely opened to his curiosity; and wherever there was learning or talent, he was eagerly sought and enthusiastically received. Just before the visit here particularly referred to, he had composed a dissertation inquiring into the origin and foundation of certain estates, supposed to be derived from the church in early times. These were the *termon* or *Tearmuin*, privileged lands, which though held by laymen, were exempted from taxation, and subject only to certain dues to bishops or ecclesiastical corporations, from or under whom they were originally supposed to be held. Concerning the precise origin of this tenure, there is yet much ground for dispute. Nor after perusing many statements, should we venture to decide whether the lands in question were possessed in virtue of an original right reserved in the patrons, or an usurpation founded on the abuse of an ecclesiastical office originally administrative simply, or on the encroachments of power under the pretext of protection. The question at that time became important, by reason of the poverty of the sees and endowments of the Irish church, and the anxiety of the king to secure the foundations of the settlement of Ulster—the only real prospect of Irish improvement—by giving extended influence and efficacy to the church. Usher took that view of a difficult subject, which was most favourable to these important views: and to those who weigh the command of authorities, with which he treated the subject, and consider the high integrity and sound judgment of Usher, it will appear that he was as sincere in his inference, as his object was in itself important and beneficent: to him the extension of the church appeared, as it was, an inestimable interest: on this point his zeal is known. But we think that every essential step of his inquiry is encumbered with doubtful questions: and we are by no means inclined to coincide in the sweeping application, by which the ancient estates of ecclesiastical foundations were to be resumed, in favour of king James's churches and sees. Whatever be the true history of the *Tearmuin*, the disputants, ancient and recent, overlook a great principle, which is the foundation of all rights,—prescription: which after a certain lapse of time fixes the right without regard to the manner of its acquisition. This principle, however, may operate in contrary directions, at periods remote from each other: and considering this, the writers who would resist Usher's conclusion, with a view to present right, have perhaps overlooked the principle which makes the discussion nugatory. The property was to be resumed, on the ground that it was still *de jure* ecclesiastical: and the argument could only be met by maintaining some species of usurpation. On this latter supposition, there would be undoubtedly, in the days of James I., a prescription in favour of the persons who were immemorially in possession: but the resumption would in a few generations, by a parity of reasoning, take the place of the original wrong; and the actual right in being, become as fixed as that before it. And hence it is, that we see no reason for now going at large into an argument in which the antiquary alone can have any concern. Nevertheless, as the reader may be curious to learn some particulars of the facts of

this question, we shall, without undertaking to do more than our authorities, mention a few of the leading points.

In ancient times we learn from Giraldus and other antiquarian writers, that the endowments of the ancient abbeys and churches fell under the care or protection of their powerful lay neighbours. In times when rights were uncertain and feebly guarded, and when arbitrary proceedings and usurpations constituted rather the rule than the exception, protection, naturally subject to abuse, stole into encroachment, and encroachment into usurpation: the ecclesiastical lands became gradually the possession of the laymen, by whom they were protected and administered, subject to a certain proportion, we believe a third, for the maintenance of the ecclesiastical corporation: and prescription, the mother of right, confirmed this species of estate. The lay proprietor thus constituted, did not, however, suffer any lapse of the privileges attendant upon the original tenure, and the property thus held retained the ecclesiastical privilege of being exempted from taxation. It was thus, according to some antiquarians, called *termon* or *privileged*; in Usher's words, "tearmuin is used in the Irish tongue for a sanctuary." He seems to think the word may have been "borrowed by the Irish, as many other words are, from the Latin, *terminus*, by reason that such privileged places were commonly designed by special marks and bounds: *Terminus sancti loci habeat signa circa se*." So far this ancient state of things is tolerably free from any essential difficulty; but from this so many nice differences exist between antiquarian writers, that we should exhaust pages in endeavouring to cast the balance between them, without after all arriving at any certainty. The holders of the estates above described were called Corban and Eirenach, which latter were inferior in dignity. The Corban, it seems agreed, were sometimes lay and sometimes clerical; but the times and other circumstances are liable to question. We believe the rationale to be this; that in the primitive signification, the words implied certain ecclesiastical offices and dignities connected with the estates, and by an easy and natural transition passing with them into a lay character. The Eirenach were, by the admission of most antiquarians, the archdeacons whose office it was to administer the estates of the church. Concerning the Corbes there is more difficulty: but it is clear, that they were at times lay and at times ecclesiastical; and also that they were persons who held some right in the estates of bishoprics and abbeys. Usher is accused of confounding them with Chorepiscopi, who were monks raised to the episcopal order, without the ecclesiastical power, province, or temporal dignity and estate. The Corban, as well as we can understand writers who have themselves no very clear understanding on the subject, come so nearly to the same thing, that the dispute as to their difference, may well be called *de lana caprina*: according to those learned writers who would make this weighty distinction, they were *successors* to ecclesiastical dignities, and it is further admitted that they were possessed of the estates of the dignitaries in subsequent times, when it is testified by Colgan, that they were mostly laymen. Now considering these premises, we think that the writers who would convict Usher of having

confused these ancient offices, have proceeded on very slight and not absolutely authoritative grounds. It must, however, be admitted, that these offices were not absolutely in their whole extent identical at any time, from the impossibility of the thing. And it must be allowed, that the Corbans were mostly laymen in the time of Colgan, who deposes to the fact. But in reasoning back to their earlier history, we should in the absence of more minute information, incline to agree with Usher's notion, granting it to be insufficiently guarded. The importance of the point then was that it evidently tended to establish the ecclesiastical character of estates vested in the Corban. But we are led beyond our purpose.

As we have said, the difficulties experienced by the king in the ecclesiastical settlement of Ireland, were increased by the conflicting claims of different parties, lay and ecclesiastical: while the clergy put in their claim to considerable portions of his grants. The lay lords possessed, and would, if they were suffered, have held with a firm gripe the lands of the church: according to the king's complaint, "he found the estate of the bishoprics in Ulster much entangled, and altogether unprofitable to the bishops; partly by the challenge which the late temporal Irish lords made to the church's patrimony within their countries, thereby to discourage all men of worth and learning, through want of maintenance, to undertake the care of those places, and to continue the people in ignorance and barbarism, the more easily to lead them into their own measures; and partly by the claims of patentees, who, under colour of abbey and escheated lands, passed by patent many of the church lands, not excepting even the site of cathedral churches, and the place of residence of bishops, deans, and canons, to the great prejudice and decay of religion, and the frustrating his religious intent for the good government and reformation of those parts."*

The condition of the livings, and of the churches, was equally deplorable. To remedy this state of the Irish church, the king ordered a general restitution of these possessions, and that such lands as could be ascertained to have been ecclesiastical, should be restored. At the same time, he ordered that composition should be offered those who held abbey lands, or sites belonging to cathedrals, or other episcopal property. Or in such cases, where a fair equivalent should be refused, that the patents should be vacated by a regular process: in this, proceeding on the not unwarranted assumption of the illegality of the patent. To provide for the inferior clergy, the bishops were engaged to give up their impropriations and their tithes, in consideration of a full equivalent from the crown lands.†

Usher's discourse, which, with great force of reason, and a copious pile of authentic proof, appeared satisfactorily to clear the fact on which the entire arrangement was reposed as its principle of decision, could not fail to be acceptable to the king, who alone is responsible for the application. It was presented by Bancroft, and received with approbation. And such was its importance deemed, that it was translated

* Carte, I. 17.

† Carte, Leland, Mant.

into Latin by the celebrated antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman, in whose glossary it was published.

In 1611, when he had attained his 30th year, he was offered the situation of provost in the university. In the infancy of this noble institution, neither the emolument nor dignity of an office which has since, in dignity at least, risen to a level approaching that of the episcopal chair, could be considered as offering a fair compensation for the sacrifice of learned pursuits, of which the extent, interest, and importance, were enough to exact all the time which could be so appropriated; and Usher was independent of the consideration of emolument, so that his refusal may be considered nearly as a consequence. The reader may justly consider the claims of literature at any time, or under any circumstances, insufficient to excuse the refusal of so important a duty; and as an excuse, little reconcilable with the sacred calling, we might refer to the remarks already made in this memoir. But we notice such an objection here to recall the fact, that in Usher's time religion and literature were nearly commensurate; the taste of the age was theology—a fact on which, were we engaged in the history of England or Scotland, we should feel compelled to take a wide range, for the purpose of tracing its vast effects as a political element. Here we need only say, that the structure of our ecclesiastical foundations was still incomplete; and the obscurity of a rude age was filled by a vast mass of floating controversies which embroiled church and state, and finally rushed together like conflicting torrents in the abyss of the civil wars: but the reader will more appropriately recollect the palpable fact of that struggle between adverse churches, on which the fate of his own country then depended: these, and many such considerations, on which we forbear to enter, will convey some sense of the strong leading influences which overruled the course of one who has many claims to be placed high among the most eminent controversial writers of his time. That as a controversialist, such a position may be assigned to Usher, will be admitted on the authority of Milton, who mentions him with bishop Andrews, as the ablest of his opponents in the controversy on Episcopacy.

Of this portion of the eventful life of Usher, we find scanty notices of any personal interest. The growing reputation of the polemic and scholar is indelibly traced by monuments of toil and genius, and this is doubtless as it should be: such men live in their studies, and survive in their works.

In 1613 he took his degree of D.D., on which occasion he preached his two sermons on Dan. ix. 24, and Rev. xx. 4. These were probably discourses on the topics which they obviously suggest—topics in every way accordant with Usher's views and qualifications, leading as they do into the depths of church history, and largely abounding with the materials for the controversies then most agitated. Of this a reasonable conjecture may be formed from the subject of a great work which he commenced, and in part published in the same year, being his first treatise on the state and succession of the christian churches: a work of great reach and compass, in which, commencing from the termination of the first six centuries, an interval on which

Jewel had perhaps left nothing material unsaid, he showed that a visible church of Christ has always existed, independent of the church of Rome, and untainted with its errors: and that the British islands did not derive their christianity from that church. In the course of his argument, he gives a full and satisfactory account of the Waldenses;—his exposition of the prophecies, as bearing on the history of the christian church, is not in some respects such as to harmonize with the views of modern expositors. This, assuming him to be in this respect erroneous, demands no deduction from our estimate of Usher: the ablest minds have gone astray in the mysterious depths of revelations, which, in a few brief verses, comprehend the events of unborn ages: the dissent of the most powerful and gifted intellects which have enlightened the church, proves how little human faculties can cope with a subject which might have been more plainly delivered, if it were designed to be more surely read. We cannot venture to speak of the quantum of truth or error in the doctrines of the able writers on such a subject as the Millenarian controversy, and this is not the place to express our own views on any topic of controversy. But we ought to observe, that as vast lapses of time are in the Almighty mind compressed into minute points; so on the contrary, in the bounded comprehension of human thought, a little time with its events are expanded into a compass and an importance inordinately large; and thus it seems to have happened that the human mind has in every age been disposed so to narrow the prophetic periods as to conclude the wide drama of time, with the events of the existing age. Of this, there could not indeed be a better illustration than the delusions of the world in every age on the subject of the Millennium, which has always been a dazzling but retreating vision to human enthusiasm. In Usher's expositions on the subject there was undoubtedly none of this alloy; but there was a strong controversial zeal, which found in such views an important accession to his argument. It was, undoubtedly, an adjunct of no slight efficacy against the church of Rome, to find the dawn of the Millennium with its concurrent events in the eleventh century. In a few years more, this argument might have served a different end. The Millennium has ever been a snare to the passions and imagination: unable to rise to the conception of spiritual objects, men too often make an effort to bring down the promises of divine revelation to the level of their senses; and the passions seldom fail to steal in and give their own carnal colouring to the picture. To the truth of this representation, many a dark page in church history bears witness. Usher lived to see an awful example, how such vain and sinful adulterations of divine truth might become an awful ingredient in the caldron of human crime and wrath, when the fifth-monarchy men, in the frenzy of no holy fanaticism, rushed knee-deep in blood and blasphemy to realize their dream of the saints' reign on earth.

Usher's work was presented by Abbot to the king, to whom it was dedicated. The king had himself, some years before, written a book to prove the Pope to be Antichrist, and was highly pleased with the presentation. The main line of argument is one which the labour of after-time has not deprived of its value, either by successful rivalry or opposition. The proof, that there have existed in every age, churches,

founded on the doctrine and testimony of scripture, independent of and opposed in vain by the Roman see, remains beyond the reach of controversy. Many able modern writers have taken up this important subject, and it is one which cannot be too often brought forward by such writers as maintain the side of protestantism. But little can be said that Usher has left unsaid. The work was only pursued to the fourteenth century: in a letter, written some years after, he mentions his intention to complete it, on the appearance of his uncle Stanihurst's work in answer to the first part, then sent to be printed in Paris. This intention was never carried into effect, it is said owing to the loss of his papers in the confusion of the rebellion.

In this year Usher married the daughter of his old friend Chaloner. This marriage had been earnestly desired by Chaloner, who is said to have expressed the wish in his last will. Both parties were inclined conformably to a desire which was founded on his anxiety for the happiness of his daughter, and his deep impression of the worth and sterling value of his friend. The marriage was celebrated, and we believe added essentially to the happiness of both.

The next affair in which Usher appears to have taken a part, which strongly indicates the rising ascendancy of his character, demands notice also by reason of its importance in the history of the Irish church. From the first introduction of the reformation into Ireland, there had formally at least been a strict agreement of doctrine and discipline between the protestant churches in the two countries. The English articles and canons, as well as the liturgy, had been received and agreed to in this island, and there was a generally understood, if not formal, acknowledgment of subordination to the superior authority of the English church. Many circumstances arising out of the state and changes of theological opinions; and the peculiar constituency of the Irish clergy at this time led to a considerable revolution in this respect. Of these causes, a slight sketch will be here enough.

Soon after the reformation, a vast change came over the character of theological studies, which cannot be better illustrated than by the fact that, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, upwards of fifty elaborate works were written, to explain and apply the scriptures and writings of the earlier fathers of the church. But under any combination of circumstances, human nature, still the same, must be productive of the same fruits. The same disposition to frame systems, to give a preponderant weight to unessential points, and on these to run into divisions and sects, which first enfeebled and obscured, and afterwards continued through a long train of ages to overrun with briars the dilapidated walls of the church, still continued in its revival to manifest its fatal efficiency in various ways. The protestant church was unhappily not more free from divisions than that from the communion of which it had departed: but the light and the liberty which were after ten centuries restored, had the effect of making these divisions more perceptible. From this many consequences had arisen, of which we can here notice but a few which are involved in this period of our church history. We need not travel back to trace the progress of dissent in England, after the clergy, who, during queen Mary's

reign, had fled for refuge from the rack and faggot into the shelter of foreign protestant churches, at her death came back laden with the tenets of those churches: from that period religious dissent in England grew broader in its lines of separation, and more decisive in its consequences, till times beyond those in which we are engaged. In Ireland the difficulty of finding qualified ministers for the poor and barbarous livings of the country, excluded much nicety of selection on the part of the government, and numerous ministers were imported, of whose practical qualifications in every respect it is impossible to speak justly, save in terms of profound reverence and courtesy: christian in life, spirit, and teaching, they were nevertheless variously distinguishable by their dissent on some points of doctrine and ecclesiastical polity on which the articles of agreement in all christian churches must needs be distinct and explicit within certain limits. Though entitled thus to all our respect as christian brethren, a question mainly political in its nature arises (with reference to the period), how far an apparent schism in the bosom of the protestant church, at such a time and in such circumstances, must have been detrimental to Ireland. Among the prominent facts which may be specified, as of immediate importance to this memoir, was the general disposition of the Irish clergy to the doctrinal tenets of Geneva. This tendency probably gave activity to their desire of independence of the English church, which, considering the distinct polity of the two kingdoms, their common government, and the consequences essentially resulting from these two conditions, was natural. To secure this independence, a strong temper had therefore been some time increasing, and in 1614, when a parliament and convocation were held in Dublin, the Irish clergy gave their consent to one hundred and four articles drawn up by Usher, whom superior learning and authority had recommended as the fittest person for so nice and difficult a task.

Of these articles, it is neither the business of these memoirs, nor our inclination, to say anything in detail—we must keep aloof from the labyrinth of pure polemics. Our business is with history. The history of these articles may, and must, here be told in a few words. They were founded on the well-known articles, drawn up by Whitgift in the year 1594, in concert with deputies from the university of Cambridge, then the centre and stronghold of English dissent. They are known by the title of the "Nine Articles of Lambeth," and as may be inferred from their source, were favourable to the views then uppermost in the Irish church. In England, it should be observed, that they never became law, having been rejected by the queen, advised by Andrews, Overall, and other eminent divines, and withdrawn by Whitgift, who proposed them as private articles of agreement between the universities, to reconcile the differences of which, is said to have been the ostensible pretext of their composition. They were again proposed by Reynolds, the puritan divine, at the conference before the king at Hampton court, among other less important (though still vital) conditions of agreement between the church and the puritan clergy, who had not then in England adopted the principle of presbyterian government, although it was on this celebrated occasion sufficiently involved,

so as (perhaps) to be the principal means to secure the rejection of the whole.

The Lambeth articles were ingrafted by Usher into the draught of articles adopted by the Irish convocation, and by the king's consent these were confirmed as the articles of the Irish church. We cannot further stop to detail the character and scope of these articles.* They were in the highest degree Calvinistic. In proof of this it may be enough for us to state, without any comment, a portion of the article "of God's eternal decree and predestination," as follows:—"By the same eternal counsel, God hath predestinated some unto life, and reprobated some unto death; of both which there is a certain number, known only to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished."

Other peculiarities of these articles we shall again have occasion to notice, when after no long interval they once more were brought into discussion. They were now received and confirmed in this convocation, and for a time continued to be received and signed as the articles of the Irish church. They had the effect in Ireland of setting at rest all present differences between the two main bodies of the protestant clergy. In England, however, this act appears to have been very much looked upon as the result of a conspiracy to strengthen the party of the English Calvinists, by obtaining a strong party in Ireland.

Such was probably the spirit in which the agency of Usher on that occasion was censured in the English court. The king's sense on the subject was actuated by opposing considerations. He had professed his assent and favour towards the doctrines of Calvinism, while he hated the puritans, whose views of church government he considered as inconsistent with the rights of kings—the point on which alone he cherished any sincere zeal. It was conveyed in whispers to the royal ear, that Usher was a puritan, and it was understood that the king entertained towards him a distrust unfavourable to his hopes of preferment. But Usher stood far too high at this time, in the esteem of all who were in any way influential in either country, for the whispering of private rivalry to be long suffered to remain unchecked by contradiction. Such prejudices as may have been thus raised, had but time to become observable, when, in 1619, the lord-deputy (St John) and council took up the matter with creditable zeal, and urged him to go over to England, with a letter which they wrote to the privy council, to vindicate his character. In this letter they mentioned the reports and calumnies which were supposed to have influenced the king, and testify to the truth, in the following high and strong representation:—"We are so far from suspecting him in that kind, that we may boldly recommend him to your lordships, as a man orthodox and worthy to govern in the church, when occasion shall be presented, and his majesty may be pleased to advance him; he being a man who has given himself over to his profession, an excellent and painful preacher, a modest man, abounding in goodness, and his life and doctrine so agreeable, [con-

* To those who wish for general information, enough may be found in Mant's History of the Irish Church; in which, by judicious selection, a fair outline is given of a subject otherwise beyond the compass of common readers.

formable with each other,] as those who agree not with him, are yet constrained to love and admire him."

With this favourable testimony, Usher passed over to England, and had a long conference with the king, who was highly satisfied with his opinions and delighted with his learning, judgment, and masterly command of thought and language. Happily, during Usher's sojourn in London, the bishoprick of Meath fell vacant, and the king nominated him at once to that see, and boasted that "Usher was a bishop of his own making; and that, although indeed the knave puritan was a bad man, the knave's puritan was an honest man."

The appointment gave universal satisfaction; for by this time Usher stood high with the learned of Europe. By the learned he was respected for his talent and erudition, while his worth obtained friends, even among those to whom his profession and known doctrines were ungrateful. "Even some papists have largely testified their gladness of it," wrote the lord-deputy, in a letter of congratulation on the occasion. He preached soon after in St Margaret's church, before the English house of commons, who ordered the sermon to be printed. It was a discourse on transubstantiation, from 1 Cor. x. 17. The occasion was such as to set in a very strong aspect the general respect for Usher's controversial ability. The commons had, it seems, conceived the idea that some of the Romish communion had obtained seats, and it was considered that the most satisfactory test would be afforded by the sacrament, for which the house appointed Sunday, 18th Feb., 1620. The prebendaries of Westminster claimed their privilege, but the house, with its characteristic tenacity, insisted on its own choice. King James was at the time engaged in a matrimonial negotiation for prince Henry with the Spanish Infanta, and shrunk from a proceeding which set in a glaring public light the national creed, which, it was feared, might offend the bigotry of that superstitious court; but having been appealed to on the occasion, he signified his preference of Usher. On the Tuesday previous to this anxious occasion, "being Shrove-Tuesday, Usher dined with the king, and had much conversation on the subject." Of this his own account remains:—"He [the king] said I had an unruly flock to look unto the next Sunday. He asked me how I thought it could stand with true divinity, that so many hundred should be tied, on so short a warning, to receive the communion on a day: all could not be in charity after so late contentions in the house. Many must come without preparation, and eat their own condemnation: that himself required his whole household to receive the communion, but not on the same day, unless at Easter, when the whole Lent was a time of preparation. He bade me tell them I hoped they were all prepared, but wished they might be better; to exhort them to unity and concord; to love God first, and then their prince and their country; to look to the urgent necessities of the times, and the miserable state of Christendom, with *bis dat, qui cito dat*." This practical concluding application of the royal divinity, so ludicrously characteristic of the speaker, must probably have exacted some power of countenance in his hearers.

On returning to Ireland, Usher was consecrated by primate Hampton, 1621, at Drogheda, where consecrations by the primate had

commonly been solemnized, on account of the jealousy of the archbishops of Dublin, while the point of precedence remained yet undecided between the sees of Armagh and Dublin. Usher entered on the duties of his see with the alacrity and prudence which had till then marked his character. The conduct he pursued to the members of the church of Rome was gentle but firm: their conversion had ever been one of the principal objects of his life, to which his researches and preaching had been mainly directed. He now endeavoured to win them by gentleness and persuasion. It was his wish to preach to them: they objected to coming to church, but consented to attend and hear him anywhere out of church. Usher borrowed the sessions' house, and his sermon was so impressive and effectual, that the people were forbidden by the priests to attend any more.

On the proceedings of the missionaries of this church in Ireland, at the period at which we are now arrived, we have already had occasion to offer some notices: some little further detail will now be necessary to explain justly the conduct of our bishop in a proceeding which drew upon him some very unmerited obloquy. At this time it so happened, that numerous friars had begun to flock into the kingdom, and the see of Rome had begun to assume a determined and earnest line of policy, with reference to the extension of its pale, and Ireland came in for an ample share of the mighty mother's regard. This fact may itself be generally explained to the reader, by an event of distinguished importance in the history of the Roman see—the institution of the congregation of the Propaganda, fertile in consequence, and itself the consequence of a vast infusion of fresh life, which took place in the year following Usher's promotion. On this point, a letter written in 1633, from the bishop of Kilmore to the bishop of London, gives an authoritative view of the essential particulars. The writer mentions, "That in that crown [of Ireland] the Pope had a far greater kingdom than his majesty had; that the said kingdom of the Pope was governed by the new congregation, *de propaganda fide*, established not long since at Rome; that the Pope had there a clergy depending on him, double in number to the English, the heads of which were bound by a corporal oath to maintain his power and greatness, against all persons whatsoever; that for the moulding of the people to the Pope's obedience, there was a rabble of irregular regulars, most of them the younger sons of noble houses, which made them the more insolent and uncontrollable; that the Pope had erected an university in Dublin, to confront his majesty's college there, and breed up the youth of the kingdom to his devotion, one Harris being dean thereof, who had dispersed a scandalous pamphlet against the lord-primate's sermon preached at Wanstead, (one of the best pieces that ever came from him,) anno 1629; that since the dissolving of their new friaries in the city of Dublin, they had erected them in the country, and had brought the people to such a sottish negligence, that they cared not to learn the commandments as God spake them and left them, but flocked in multitudes to the hearing of such superstitious doctrines as some of their own priests were ashamed of; that a synodical meeting of their clergy had been held lately at Drogheda, in the province of Ulster, in which it was decreed, that it was not lawful to take the oath of al-

legiance, and therefore, that in such a conjuncture of affairs, to think that the bridle of the army might be taken away, must be the thought, not of a brain-sick, but of a brainless man, which whosoever did endeavour, not only would oppose his majesty's service, but expose his own neck to the skeans of those Irish cut-throats."* This is but one of many such authentic documents, from which it appears that a change of tone and spirit began to elevate in Ireland the head of a power and party so often subdued in vain. Fears began to be excited among those who had lived long enough to recall the miseries and terrors of old times: the authority of Usher was insulted, by a repetition of scenes which had often signalized the approach of troublesome times, and the reader may recollect the long-cherished anticipation to which every year had added new strength in his mind. He saw in everything that occurred the pregnant signs of the war to come: and whatever was his error in theory, his conjectures were at least coincident with events, and the inference is not unworthy of attentive consideration. A true anticipation, though it should be the chance result of human error, is still as certain a clue to appearances, as if it had been derived from the infallibility of demonstration. Usher, if at first right by error, must have looked with an enlightened eye on passing events; for in the sequence of human affairs, the causes are easier to deduce from the consequence, than the consequences from the cause: a cause may undergo a thousand modifications, any one of which may change the event, but the event necessarily fixes the series of which it is the result. It is thus easy to apprehend how, in adopting a consequence truly, Usher became possessed of a principle of interpretation, which, however obtained, must have opened his eyes to the future. Had he been inclined to sleep on his post, as an overseer of the church, the authorities of the papal power in Ireland were to be accused of no relaxation, and there was no mixture of fear or conciliation in the course of conduct which confronted him even in his own diocese. They had not only forbidden attendance on the protestant churches, but went so far as in some places to seize on them for their own use. They also had erected or repaired ecclesiastical edifices at Multifernan, Kilconnel, Buttevant, &c., &c., as also in the cities of Waterford and Kilkenny, with the express intention of restoring the "ancient religion" in its imagined splendour of old times. These significant indications had, in Usher's time, not diminished under the increasing relaxation of civil vigilance. The relaxation was doubtless in itself salutary, and the result of a great natural process of society, by which severe and harsh laws fall into disuse as the necessity for them decreases—a provision for the advances of civilization. But in Ireland such processes have been ever unhappily neutralized by actions about as wise as an attempt to promote the growth of a plant by mechanical force; and no sooner were the fears and animosities of troubled times beginning to lose their force, than they were doomed to be re-excited into a festering vitality, by the renewal of the ancient indications of the periodical eruptions of national folly and fury; and the inefficiency of the Irish executive government supplied no counterbalance to this deeply and widely gather-

* *Life of Laud*, by Heylin.

ing evil. A mist of perpetual infatuation hung suspended over Dublin castle—artful misrepresentations, fallacious appeals, and the abuse of general principles, the missapplication of which has ever constituted a large portion of the wisdom of public men—false equity, false clemency, and false public spirit, with wrong notions both of human nature and the social state, united with private interest, timidity, and indolence, to preserve the still and dignified repose of the administration, till the moment of danger was present. To the class of imbecile officials, of which an Irish government has been too often composed, tardy to meet danger, though often ready enough to be vindictive in the hour of triumph, Usher had no affinity: he was neither yielding from weakness that fears, or vanity that courts the popular sense. As he had been zealous to conciliate by love, and convince by reason, so he was ready to repress, by a just and salutary exercise of the law, when he considered that the necessity had arisen. That this was the real import of every indication of the times, was indeed a truth; but it is enough that it was the impression of his mind, and this consideration may satisfy the reader of the real character of that conduct which at this period of his career excited much clamour among his enemies, and surprised some of his friends; when he made a strong appeal to the lord Falkland, on being desired to preach before him on his arrival as lord-deputy, when he received the sword of state. On this occasion, Usher took for his text, "He beareth not the sword in vain," and so strongly urged the duty of enforcing the laws, that an outcry was excited. He was accused by foes and reproached by friends; but the fury of those against whom the weight of his counsel seemed levelled, was such as to create considerable alarm. Nothing less than a massacre of the papists was reported to be the subject of his advice. It was strongly urged upon him to prevent, by a "voluntary retraction," the complaints which were in preparation against him, and for a time to withdraw into his diocese. Such was the sum of the advice of the good primate Hampton, his old friend and patron. Usher was a man of more firm mettle, or if not, at least more truly awake to the real emergencies of the time. He addressed a letter to lord Grandison, in which he firmly maintained his own conduct, and vindicated himself from the perversions of his sense. He pointed out and insisted on the fact, that he had guarded against such misconstructions, and deprecated persecution. Indeed, considering the actual attitude of defiance which had at that moment been taken by the Romish friars, the mere notion of persecution having been thought of by any party sincerely, is extremely absurd. Usher's representations were not only just and wise, but moderate; but no moderation can silence the clamour that is never sincere, or be enough for those who prefer inaction, or who can see no danger less than a tempest or conflagration. Nevertheless, Usher's vindictory letter had the effect of silencing many who had no desire to provoke inquiry, and all who were open to reason; and as there were many who entered fully in the same views, the effect was that of a triumph. The primate in his letter seems to have delicately impressed upon Usher his opinion on the inclination which appeared in his conduct, to pass his time in the city rather than in his diocese; and it will be generally allowed, that for the most part, the proper place for

a bishop is among his clergy, where his duties lie. But we have already, in this memoir, expressed at sufficient length the grounds upon which men such as Usher must ever be looked on in some measure as exceptions. In that early stage of literature, when the structure of our theological foundations demanded so much of that ability and skill which were yet more difficult to attain, men like him must have felt the call to fill the place of master-builders. It may, we grant, be said, that there is no necessity why they should be bishops, and in our own time we should be inclined to allow something for the point; for the demands of christian theology are very much diminished. It seems, indeed, hard, that the most able writers should at any time be excluded from the highest stations. This is, however, but specious; such persons may find their reward and their vocation elsewhere.

The position of the protestant church in Ireland was then peculiar; and we know not whether we must give credit to Usher's sagacity, or suppose his mind and temper cast providentially for the exigency of the times; but his conduct with regard to the presbyterian clergy was not only indulgent, but marked by a liberality which, though called for by the state of the Irish church, might in other times have exposed him to the charge of being somewhat latitudinarian. He allowed several who yet continued to be presbyterians, to retain their cures, though they rejected the liturgy; and allowed presbyters to join him in the ordination of such as adhered to that communion. In answer to the objection which seems to be suggested by this departure from the fundamental principle of the existence of a church, (the strict maintenance of its own constitution,) it must be said, that without this he should have had many benefices utterly unprovided with a clergyman. And it must be allowed, that when such an alternative is unhappily imposed, the essential interests of christianity should be considered beyond all comparison above the minor, though still important question of churches. Not to be ourselves open to the same charge, we should distinctly say that this allowance is evidently limited by the assumption which the immediate case admits of—that both churches agree in those articles of doctrine which are essential to the christian faith.

Less equivocal were the exertions he made to reform and recruit the ministry of his diocese, by the care he took as to their qualifications for the sacred calling, and the assiduous exertions he made to ensure the improvement of those who were in preparation for holy orders. He omitted no proper means to ascertain the moral and spiritual character of those who came to his ordinations, acting with conscientious strictness in the spirit of the apostolic precept, "*Lay hands suddenly upon no man.*" The judicious advice which he gave to the theological students, we may for brevity here offer, as given by Dr Parr.

"1st, Read and study the scriptures carefully, wherein is the best learning, and only infallible truth. They can furnish you with the best materials for your sermons—the only rules for faith and practice—the most powerful motives to persuade and convince the conscience—and the strongest arguments to confute all errors, heresies, and schisms. Therefore, be sure let all your sermons be congruous to

them; and it is expedient that you understand them as well in the originals as in the translations.

"2d, Take not hastily up other men's opinions without due trial, nor vent your own conceits; but compare them first with the analogy of faith and rules of holiness recorded in the scriptures, which are the proper tests of all opinions and doctrines.

"3d, Meddle with controversies and doubtful points as little as may be in your popular preaching, lest you puzzle your hearers, or engage them in wrangling disputations, and so hinder their conversion, which is the main end of preaching.

"4th, Insist more on those points which tend to effect sound belief, sincere love to God, repentance for sin, and that may persuade to holiness of life. Press these things home to the consciences of your hearers, as of absolute necessity, leaving no gap for evasions, but bind them as closely as may be to their duty. And as you ought to preach sound and orthodox doctrine, so ought you to deliver God's message as near as may be in God's words; that is, in such as are plain and intelligible, that the meanest of your auditors may understand. To which end it is necessary to back all the precepts and doctrines with apt proofs from holy scriptures; avoiding all exotic phrases, scholastic terms, unnecessary quotations from authors, and forced rhetorical figures, since it is not difficult to make easy things appear hard; but to render hard things easy, is the hardest part of a good orator as well as preacher.

"5th, Get your heart sincerely affected with the things you persuade others to embrace, that so you may preach experimentally, and your hearers may perceive that you are in good earnest, and press nothing upon them but what may tend to their advantage, and which yourself would enter your salvation on.

"6th, Study and consider well the subjects you intend to preach on, before you come into the pulpit, and then words will readily offer themselves. Yet think what you are about to say before you speak, avoiding all uncouth fantastical words or phrases, or nauseous or ridiculous expressions, which will quickly bring your preaching into contempt, and make your sermons and person the subjects of sport and ridicule.

"7th, Dissemble not the truths of God in any case, nor comply with the lusts of men, nor give any countenance to sin by word or deed.

"8th, But above all, you must never forget to order your own conversation as becomes the gospel, that so you may teach by example as well as precept, and that you may appear a good divine everywhere, as well as in the pulpit; for a minister's life and conversation is more heeded than his doctrine.

"9th, Yet, after all this, take heed that you be not puffed up with spiritual pride of your own virtues, nor with a vain conceit of your parts and abilities; nor yet be transported with the praise of men, nor be dejected or discouraged by the scoffs or frowns of the wicked or profane."

"He would also," says Dr Parr, "exhort those who were already engaged in this holy function, and advise them how they might well

discharge their duty in the church of God, answerably to their calling to this effect:—You are engaged in an excellent employment in the church, and intrusted with weighty matters, as stewards of our Great Master, Christ, the Great Bishop. Under him, and by his commission, you are to endeavour to reconcile men to God, to convert sinners, and build them up in the holy faith of the gospel, and that they may be saved, and that repentance and remission of sins may be preached in his name. This is of the highest importance, and requires faithfulness, diligence, prudence, and watchfulness. The souls of men are committed to our care and guidance, and the eyes of God, angels, and men, are upon us, and great is the account we must make to our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the supreme head of his church, and will at length reward or punish his servants in this ministry of his gospel, as he shall find them faithful or negligent. Therefore it behoves us to exercise our best talents, labouring in the Lord's vineyard with all diligence, that we may bring forth fruit, and that the fruit may remain.

"This is work we are separated for and ordained unto. We must not think to be idle or careless in this office, but must bend our minds and studies, and employ all our gifts and abilities in this service. We must preach the word of faith, that men may believe aright, and the doctrine and laws of godliness, that men may act as becomes Christians indeed. For without faith no man can please God; and without holiness no man can enter into the kingdom of heaven."

From his chaplain, Dr Bernard, we learn that it was his custom to preach in the church on the Sunday mornings, "after which," says the Doctor, "in the afternoon this was his order to me, that, besides the catechising the youth before public prayers, I should, after the first and second lessons, spend about half an hour in briefly and plainly opening the principles of religion in the public catechism, and after that I was to preach also. First, he directed me to go through the creed alone, giving but the sum of each article; then next time at thrice, and afterwards each time an article, as they might be more able to bear it; and so proportionably, the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the sacraments, the good fruit of which was apparent in the vulgar people upon their approach unto the communion, when, as by the then order, the names of the receivers were to be given in, so some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it."

By these extracts from the memorial of an eye-witness, it is evident that however assiduous he was in his important studies, Usher cannot be described as remiss in the duties of his sacred vocation. He visited his clergy—instructed them—reproved and controlled when it was necessary—directed and aided their efforts—and, when in the discharge of their duties they met with such resistance and incurred such reproach, as was a natural result from the state of the country, he stood up firmly in their behalf. He also gave much attention to the correction of abuses which had become established in the ecclesiastical courts. In this his sound prudence, however, restrained him, and prevented his going to the length to which Bedell was led by his zeal for right, and primitive simplicity of nature.

During his continuance in the diocese of Meath, many interesting

instances of the benevolent sagacity of Usher's character have been transmitted; we may here select a case, which is rather curious in itself, as a specimen of that derangement which not unfrequently clouds the retirement of studious persons of weak understanding and enthusiastic temper. A clergyman of the diocese, a man of very retired and studious habits, had fallen into the notion that the restoration of the Jews was to be effected by his instrumentality. This insane delusion was reported to Usher, who has given his own account of the circumstances, together with an account of his treatment of another case of the same nature:—"I sent for the party, and upon conference had with him, I put him in mind that his conceits were contrary to the judgment of the church of Christ, from the beginning of the gospel unto this day, and that of old they were condemned for heretical in the Nazarites. But finding that for the present he was not to be wrought upon by any reasoning, and that time was the only means to cure him of this sickness, I remembered what course I had heretofore held with another in this country, who was so far engaged in this opinion of the calling of the Jews, (though not of the revoking of Judaism,) that he was strongly persuaded he himself should be the man that should effect this great work, and to this purpose wrote an Hebrew epistle, (which I have still in my hands,) directed to the dispersed Jews. To reason the matter with him I found bootless. I advised him, therefore, that until the Jews did gather themselves together, and make choice of him for their captain, he should labour to benefit his countrymen at home, with that skill he had attained unto in the Hebrew tongue. I wished him, therefore, to give us an exact translation of the Old Testament out of the Hebrew verity, which he accordingly undertook and performed. The translation I have by me, but before he had finished that task, his conceit of the calling of the Jews, and his captainship over them, vanished clean away, and was never heard of after.

"In like manner I dealt with Mr Whitehall; that forasmuch as he himself acknowledged that the Mosaical rites were not to be practised until the general calling of the Jews, he might do well, I said, to let that matter rest till then, and in the mean time, keep his opinion to himself, and not bring needless trouble upon himself and others, by divulging it out of season. And whereas he had intended to write an historical discourse of the retaining of Judaism under Christianity, I counselled him rather to spend his pains in setting down the history of purgatory, or invocation of saints, or some of the other points in controversy betwixt the church of Rome and us." This advice so far prevailed with Mr Whitehall, that he "offered to bind himself to forbear meddling any way with his former opinions, either in public or in private, and to spend his time in any other employment that should be imposed upon him."

A little after his accession to the see of Meath, a work written by Malone, a Jesuit, had attracted very considerable attention. In this the protestants were challenged to try their church by the test of antiquity: a daring test assuredly, to be appealed to by a church splendidly conspicuous for the well-marked chronology of every portion of its own vast and powerful architecture. Usher took up the

challenge, and wrote a reply which exhibited the extent and precision of his ecclesiastical and theological reading: in this he successively passed in review all those tenets the growth of several centuries by which the church of Rome is distinguished from that of the Reformation.

Some time previous to this incident, he had produced a tract, to which we have had some occasion to refer in the first division of these memoirs, upon "the religion of the ancient Irish and Britons." It unanswerably established the independence of the primitive churches of the British isles: and has never been met unless by that class of reasonings which in raising a cloud of uncertain learning about minute details, contrive to shut out of sight the entire question. The effect of this sketch was a great accession to the high reputation of the bishop; and the king, who justly considered the importance of the subject, and desired to see a work of greater extent and scope, ordered that Usher should have a license from the Irish counsel, releasing him from attendance in his diocese, that he might be enabled to pursue in England the literary researches which such a work would require. Usher accordingly passed over to England, where he was engaged in the assiduous pursuit and acquisition of the most ancient and authentic materials, which give such inestimable value and such high authority to his great work on the antiquities of the British churches.

He was thus for some time engaged, and had returned from a visit into Ireland, which was signalized by the above-related adventure with Malone: when primate Hampton departed this life, Jan. 3, 1625. On this occasion the king raised Usher at once to the head of the Irish church. This occurred but six days before the death of king James, which took place March 27, 1625.

"The reign of king James," writes bishop Mant, has "exhibited the church of Ireland with features similar to those which marked it under the preceding reign, but exemplified in a greater variety of instances. In the province of Leinster from the archdiocese of Dublin, and from the suffragan united diocese of Ferns and Leighlin, the like complaints have been heard of an insufficiency of ministers, of an incompetency of clerical income, and of a want of material edifices for the celebration of divine worship; and the complaints have been echoed through the province of Ulster, from every diocese, with one solitary exception, which there is no reason to suppose occasioned by any peculiar advantages which it possessed over the others.

"In Ulster, indeed, the king testified his desire to improve the condition of the church, by grants of land to the clergy, but in many cases his good intentions were defeated by an inadequate execution—and although in some instances efforts were made for fixing the clergy in their proper residences, and for supplying them with buildings for their official ministrations, the existing evils do not appear to have been ever fairly grappled with by the governing powers, or to have called forth a great and simultaneous effort for their remedy, so that the members of the church were left in a condition of lamentable destitution, as to the means of assembling for public worship and instruction, or receiving the aid of pastoral guidance for themselves or their children; and the rural districts in particular are described as presenting a spectacle of almost total abandonment and desolation

"The same observations as to the absence of co-operating and combined exertions, under the auspices of the authorities of the kingdom, applies to the attempts made for the instruction of the people at large by the instrumentality of the Irish language. Many instances have fallen under our own notice, of the existence of Irish incumbents or curates, of Irish readers, and Irish clerks: but these provisions seem to have been the result of individual projects of improvement, rather than of a general and united effort of authority. At the same time they were met by united and vigorous exertions on the part of the popish emissaries."*

Among the numerous causes which we have from time to time had to trace or enumerate, as contributing to the protraction of the calamities and sufferings of this island, as well as to the tardiness of growth which has characterized our advance in the progress of civilization, there is none which demands a larger portion of the attention than that described in the preceding extract. But the reader must ere this be aware that it offers topics of reflection, and demands statements and reasonings which are in a great measure inconsistent with the tone of a popular history. In some measure it is true, our facts are so broad in their necessary connexion with the whole fortune of the country: and her history so essentially turns upon the collisions of opposing creeds and the policy of the Roman see, that some may read with a smile our frequent profession of impartiality. We are compelled to state our opinion, that the inadequacy of the machinery of the protestant church in Ireland, for the discharge of its humanizing functions, was the radical defect in the conduct of the legislature and administration. The violent actions and re-actions of insurrection and oppression—the frenzy of the deluded populace, or the sanctioned plunder of official knavery, were but nearer or remoter effects of one elemental force that raised the waters of confusion. If it must be admitted that the evils of an insecure tranquillity and a control inefficient without the aid of arms and military intervention, on one hand, or on the other, the anarchy of civil commotion must be the necessary alternatives resulting from a state of things, in which an alien jurisdiction was maintained by a democratic influence, wholly distinct from and inconsistent with the constitution of the national polity; and such an inference cannot be avoided: then it must be admitted, that the *political* agency of the church of Rome in Ireland was irreconcilable with the welfare of the country; and that a liberal extension and due support of the Reformed church—at that time the powerful engine of human advance in all respects, moral, intellectual, and social—was the only means of remedying the wretched condition of the country. If any of our enlightened readers may by a momentary forgetfulness of history, or by losing sight of the fact that we are speaking of a remote period, think that there is anything illiberal in the spirit of these inevitable reflections, let us remind them, that there was once a time when the supremacy of the Roman see was a real and undisguised empire over the councils of kings, and that this power had been attained and was exercised by the very instrumentality then so con-

* History of the Church of Ireland.

spicuous in the troubled vicissitudes of Irish affairs. On this point no educated person of any creed or party is deceived. And even if the devoted member of the Romish communion may demur as to the principle which would lay any stress on civil prosperity, or any merely secular consideration in a question which he may reason on purely spiritual grounds, yet he must be compelled to admit, that the extension of the church which would for ever have put an end to the internal striving of an external spirit—the force irreconcilable with the law of the system in which it worked, would in a secular sense have been a great and manifest advantage to Ireland.

Usher's appointment to the primacy was followed by a severe fit of illness, which retained him in England to experience the favour of king Charles, who ordered him four hundred pounds out of the Irish treasury.

But his delay in England led to an incident of much interest, which had a very material influence on his after-life, when the foundations of society, and the fortunes of individuals came to be turned up and scattered into confusion by the civil wars. Hereceived and accepted an invitation to the seat of lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Peterborough. Lord Mordaunt was a member of the church of Rome, but his lady was a protestant. As it commonly happens, the lady was perhaps more earnest in her spiritual convictions than her lord, and therefore more alive to an uneasy sense of the difference of faith between them. Usher's character was universally renowned as the great champion of his own church, and his visit was looked for with anxious hope by lady Mordaunt, as the likely means for the conversion of her lord. Such an effect might, perhaps, have been of more difficult attainment than her sanguine trust might have foreseen: the tenets of most men are little dependant on their foundation in reason or authority, and are as little to be shaken by mere argument: there is a conventional sense among the bulk of men, that every side of a question can be made good until the opposite side is heard, and large deductions are mostly made by the ignorant for sophistry and probable misrepresentation. An antagonist is therefore no unessential requisite for popular conviction, and such an advantage was not wanting on the occasion to Usher's success. Happily for the wishes of lady Mordaunt, there lived with the family a man of reputed learning, piety, and controversial skill, and a jesuit. It was soon arranged that this person should engage in a regular disputation with Usher. Each was for three days to maintain the defensive against such objections as his antagonist should think fit to bring, and in his turn assume the offensive and urge his own objections. For the first three days, Usher carried on his assault, with what vigour and learning may be estimated from his known writings. The jesuit seems to have been decidedly shaken by the force of his attack; for when it came to his own turn to be opponent—which it will be recollected is necessarily the easiest part—he sent the strange but yet characteristic excuse, that he had been deservedly punished by the forgetfulness of his arguments, for having presumed to engage in such a contest without the permission of the superior of his order. The result was such as should be expected: lord Mordaunt soon declared his adhesion to the reformed

church, and the archbishop obtained a fast and faithful friend, and a providential asylum in the hour of need.

In the next year, the English government, at war with France and Spain, was under strong apprehensions that efforts would be made, as on former occasions, to make Ireland the stage of contest, by the use of that influence which had ever been found effective for the purpose. To meet such a danger, means were adopted of a most questionable character, and resisted on the part of Usher and the Irish church, by a protest no less questionable. To make the papists ready to contribute to the maintenance of the additional forces which were thought requisite for security against the apprehended danger, it was proposed to grant several privileges which would amount to a toleration of their church. But whatever may be said for a liberal toleration on just grounds, it must be admitted, that the grounds assumed were neither just nor politic. If the papists were entitled to the questioned privileges, they should have them without compromise; if not, no political expediency could justify a compromise, such as was designed. We are clearly of opinion, that considering the peculiar political machinery of the papal power in that age, with its power and the real intent of all its workings, the toleration desired was inconsistent with sound policy: but we are as decided in opposition to any constraint or disability of a political nature, on the score of spiritual demerits. For this reason we cannot concur in approving the protest, entitled, "The judgment of divers of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, concerning Toleration of Religion," which Usher drew up on this occasion, and which was signed by himself and other prelates. Nevertheless the Irish government found itself forced to recall the offer, and lord Falkland applied to Usher to endeavour to persuade the protestant community to remedy the deficiency of means by a liberal contribution. Usher for this end addressed an assembly summoned for the purpose. The effect was not, however, considerable, though of the speech which he delivered on that occasion, it has been admitted, that it merited the success which it could not command.—Among the good deeds of the primate may be reckoned the discovery and promotion of a man like Bedell, whom he brought over, with much persuasion, this year, from his living in Suffolk, to place him at the head of the university.

Usher's promotion enabled him now to prosecute his favourite pursuit of ancient literature; for which purpose he employed a British merchant, resident at Aleppo, to procure for him oriental writings, and by this means he obtained several rare and curious additions to his library. Some of the manuscripts thus imported were of the highest importance to biblical literature. Among these was a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the first which had been brought into Europe, and a perfect copy of the Old Testament in the Syriac. Nor was Usher remiss in the liberal application of these treasures, which were open to the use of those who were engaged in sacred literature. They were placed at the disposal of bishop Walton, when he was engaged in the compilation of his Polyglott, and are now (many of them) in the Bodleian library.

The influx of foreign ecclesiastics was at this time increasing, and though yet not made publicly known by any express indication, the

rising which in a few years after was to take place, was distinctly contemplated by the Irish at home, and its preparations kept at least in view, in Spain and Italy, but more especially in the former. To whatever construction it may have been liable, the conduct of the Romish clergy was not considered as matter of doubt by Usher, or generally unnoticed by the more intelligent observers. In consequence of the representations of the primate, and those of the Irish bishops who joined with him in the protest already mentioned, a proclamation was sent over, in which the actual state of the circumstances is expressed very precisely.* A letter from lord Falkland to the primate states the circumstances attendant on this proclamation:—"A drunken soldier being first set up to read it, and then a drunken sergeant of the town, both being made, by too much drink, incapable of that task, (and perhaps purposely put to it,) made the same seem like a May-game." So confident were the friars and their partisans in the remissness of the government, that such verbal denunciations were only met with open expressions of contempt. They exercised their jurisdiction with unabated force, and "not only proceeded in building abbeys and monasteries, but had the confidence to erect a university in Dublin, in the face of the government, which, it seems, thought itself limited in this matter by instructions from England." At the same time, this daring resistance to the law on the part of the papal church was not less prominent than the union of inefficiency and neglect in the protestant establishment. The miserable dilapidation and disorderly abuse of the churches is almost beyond belief, yet amply proved and illustrated by the known condition of the cathedrals and principal churches in the metropolis. The utmost laxity prevailed in the disposal of the benefices, and in the ordination of the clergy. Of these we cannot here afford sufficient space for the particulars,† some of which may recur in some of the succeeding memoirs.

Among other incidents of the same period, connected with the archbishop, was the final decision of the old dispute for precedence between the sees of Dublin and Armagh. The settlement of this question, which had been at various times agitated, was now considered an essential preliminary to the meeting of convocation. The matter lay in suspense until 1634, when Strafford, who was not likely to suffer any question relative to the Irish church to rest, took it up before the meeting of parliament, and summoned Bulkeley and Usher before the council. There he investigated their claims for two days, with the most searching and rigorous minuteness, and a close inspection of every document or allegation. His decision, which terminated for ever this important question, was the following:—"That it appeared, from divers evidences, that from all antiquity the see of Armagh had been acknowledged the prime see of the whole kingdom, and the archbishop thereof reputed, not a provincial primate, like the other three metropolitans, but a national; that is, the sole primate of Ireland, properly so called. That in the reign of queen Elizabeth, the archbishop of Dublin did constantly subscribe after the archbishop of Armagh. That in the statute for free schools, in the 12th of Elizabeth, the archbishop of Armagh is nominated

* Cox. Mant.

† See Mant's Hist. pp. 448—464.

before the archbishop of Dublin, as he is in that of the 27th of Elizabeth, where all the archbishops and bishops were ranked in their order, as appeared by the parliamentary rolls. For which reasons he decreed, that the archbishop of Armagh, and his successors for ever, should have precedence, and be ranked before the archbishop of Dublin and his successors, as well in parliament and convocation house, as in all other meetings; and in all commissions where they should be mentioned; and in all places, as well within the diocese or province of Dublin, as elsewhere; until upon better proof on the part of the archbishop of Dublin, it should be adjudged otherwise."

Nearly forty years later, a similar controversy arose between the titular archbishops of the same sees, and being referred to Rome, was considered in a full meeting of the cardinals, and decided in favour of Armagh, as "the chief see and *metropolis* of the whole island."

In the year 1639, the primate published his celebrated treatise on the antiquities of the British churches, in which he introduces an account of the "pestilent heresy against the grace of God, introduced into the church by the Briton, Pelagius." This work was composed in Latin, printed in Dublin, "Ex officina Typographica Societatis Bibliopolarum," &c., and dedicated to king Charles. It treats on many points on which no certainty can be attained; but when its matter is doubtful, the obscurity is qualified by a modesty and sobriety of statement, which seldom, if ever, fails to reduce it to its real value. Throughout there is a clearness, justness of thought, and sagacity of perception, exercised on a wide range of curious and far-sought material, so as to inspire a confidence that the primate's investigations approach as near to truth as their nature and materials admit of. His work has accordingly been the basis of succeeding labours, on which we shall here decline any comment. Those writers who are to be regarded as his adversaries have seen ample reason to treat him with deference. Having had to consult some of these writers for the purpose of this history, we have been led to observe, that while with much speciousness, and not without some array of authorities, they have questioned some of his statements respecting the early history of the Irish church, they almost uniformly present a marked deficiency in those qualifications of scope and sagacity by which he was so admirably fitted for such inquiries. There is a working of uniform principles, and there is a broad analogy in the course of human occurrences, which offer the safest guidance in the dim distances of antiquity; but to catch these lights upon the wide and glimmering obscurity of time, needs an eye endowed with length of vision and capaciousness of light. There is one general fact of great importance, with relation to the numerous questions which present themselves in the perusal of those ecclesiastical writers who have gone over Usher's ground. His statements, and the inferences at which he arrives, whether in the special instance rigidly correct or not, are yet uniformly maintained by that antecedent probability which arises out of the nature of things, and the general history of the times. To this general rule we would especially refer all the questions which arise on the primitive christianity and first bishops of the Irish church.

We must now enter upon a different aspect of the primate's fortunes. Hitherto we have seen him advancing in a uniform course of

prosperity, and holding the position of dignity and public respect due to his learning, genius, and worth. We may now complete our notice of his history, so far as it belongs to Ireland, by the few scanty gleanings which we have been able to find of personal interest, relative to his residence and domestic habits in the see of Armagh. From his chaplain, Dr Bernard, we learn, that "the order observed in his family as to prayer, was four times a-day; in the morning at six, in the evening at eight, and before dinner and supper in the chapel, at each of which he was always present. On Friday, in the afternoon, constantly, an hour in the chapel was spent in going through the principles of religion in the catechism, for the instruction of the family; and every Sunday, in the evening, we had a repetition of his sermon in the chapel, which he had preached in the church in the forenoon. In the winter evenings, he constantly spent two hours in company of old manuscripts of the Bible, Greek and Latin, when about five or six of us assisted him, and the various readings of each were taken down by himself with his own hand." To this we may add, that he was "given to hospitality," and that his guests, both friends and strangers, were uniformly impressed with his frank and courteous demeanour, and the frank and ready communication of his overflowing knowledge. His table was such as became his means and dignity, but still marked by the plainness and simplicity of his character, and the sobriety becoming his office.

When in town, he was in the habit of preaching in St Owen's church every Sunday.

Though as a public man and a writer he may be considered as the great antagonist of the church of Rome, his private conduct to its adherents was uniformly characterized by his benignity of temper and his truly christian spirit. His opposition was untainted by a spot of party or sectarian feeling: his sole desire was the salvation of souls and the truth of the gospel. He left no honourable means untried to conciliate and convince them; by private kindness he won many to receive his instruction: and notwithstanding his known character as an opponent, he was loved and respected by those who were within the circle of his personal influence. The primate knew the distinction, so apt to be lost sight of, between charity to persons and compromise with public bodies.

In the beginning of the year 1640, he was called to England, and never returned to his native country. A long succession of stormy changes, which had for many years been preparing in both kingdoms, at last broke forth in a prolonged and awful confusion of the order of things. The events preceding the rebellion of 1641 have already been fully detailed: we must now follow the primate into England.

The events connected with the entire of this stormy period are among the most generally known portions of English history; and as our immediate subject cannot be considered as much involved in those events, we shall, through the remainder of this memoir, endeavour to confine our narration to the few incidents of his personal history.

On his arrival in England, the primate first travelled with his family to London, from which, after a few days' delay, he went to Oxford. Everywhere he found political and religious animosities

possessing men's minds, and having hoped for peace at the university in vain, he soon returned to London, in the resolution to discharge his own duty, by endeavouring to bring back the people to some sense of their duties, by the bold and free exercise of his tongue and pen.

The impeachment of the earl of Strafford followed soon. In Ireland, the earl had looked on Usher with a jealous eye, as one not well-affected to his policy. But he had judged with his wonted wisdom of the primate, and now showed his reliance upon his ability and judgment, by consulting him confidentially on the line and topics of defence which he was preparing. The primate was also consulted on the same occasion by king Charles, and urgently pressed his majesty to refuse his consent to the bill of attainder. On this occasion it is mentioned, that when the king sent for the primate, it was Sunday, and he was found preaching in Covent-Garden church. He came down from the pulpit to learn the emergency which could authorize so untimely a call, and when he received the royal message, he replied, "He was then employed upon God's business, which as soon as he had done, he would attend upon his majesty." Having strongly urged the king to refuse his consent, he, after it was weakly given, remonstrated with tears, "O Sire, what have you done? I fear that this act may prove a great trouble upon your conscience; and pray God that your majesty may never suffer for signing this bill."

When Strafford was doomed by an unjust sentence, he selected the primate as his spiritual counsellor, and considering all things, it is impossible to find a higher testimony to exalted worth and spiritual efficiency. The primate was assiduous in his attendance, and passed the last evening in fortifying the illustrious sufferer in faith and courage. Next morning he attended him to that portentous block, and kneeled in prayer with him on that scaffold which was to be then moistened with the first drops of much English blood. He then received the earl's courageous and affecting last words, and having witnessed his death, carried the account to Charles.

In this year Usher was occupied with bishop Hall in the celebrated controversy on Church Government, in which the opposition was sustained by Milton, then in his 31st year, together with five puritan divines, Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow; the finals and initials, of which names were combined into the word *Smectymnus*, in the title of the joint answer which they wrote to Hall's "humble remonstrance." The "answer by *Smectymnus*" was replied to by Usher, whose reply called out Milton's treatise "of Prelatical Episcopacy." This controversy was carried on in a succession of defences, confutations, and animadversions, which excited a keen and lively interest in a period of which they discussed some of the great actuating principles. The reader is fully informed on the political interest of this great controversy: there is not here any sufficient motive for entering upon the long narrations and various disquisitions into which it would lead us. But it was then the main ground on which was brought together soon after into a resistless combination, all the popular elements of wrath and ruin, which overwhelmed for a season the constitution and church of England. One of Milton's

biographers has given his voice in favour of Hall's wit, and Usher's argument, against the copious eloquence and angry abuse of Milton and his colleagues. "If the church," writes Dr Symmons, "indeed, at this time, could have been upheld by the abilities of its sons, it would have been supported by these admirable prelates; but numbers, exasperation, and enthusiasm, were against them:" he also remarks, "the tone of this debate was far from mild, and all the combatants, with the exception of Usher, seem to have been careless of manners, and not less intent on giving pain to their adversaries, than on the discovery or the establishment of truth."

Towards the close of the year, the Irish rebellion broke out, and the primate received accounts of the destruction of his property. He was in a measure prepared for calamities, which had for many years been present to his anticipations. A mind like his could not but be heavily afflicted for the ruin of his country, the crimes and perfidy of the people, the suffering of his friends, and most of all, the danger of the church which he had so long been labouring to build up. Yet there mingled with these regrets and sorrows, a sense of gratitude to the hand that had so seasonably removed him from scenes of horror and violence, which were so unsuited to his age and habits.

His library escaped by the firmness of Drogheda, which as the reader is aware, held out against the miscreant O'Neile, until relieved. But except this and whatever furniture he possessed in his house in that city, all his moveable property suffered destruction. The outrages which were perpetrated against the good Bedel, his dear friend whom he had himself brought into Ireland, was a heavy blow to his tenderest feelings: it showed him all that he had escaped more strongly than the report of a thousand atrocities; for Bedel was loved by the very people who were deluded by their infamous and brutal advisers into the commission of outrages against him, difficult to conceive true. Nor is there, amid all the heartless villanies of every description which are crowded together in the record of that time, a record so hapless for Ireland in its after effects, or so dishonouring to its perpetrators, as the mixture of cowardly violence and insult which brought that honoured head in sorrow to the grave. But of this hereafter.

Under these trials, the primate, whose life had been one season of prosperity and honour, now bore up with the meek and tempered dignity which became a christian prelate of the church. As his learning and literary labours had obtained for him a reputation as wide as the civilized world, his misfortunes soon attracted universal sympathy. He was invited by the university of Leyden, to fill one of its professorships, with an augmentation of the salary, in case of his acceding to the offer. Cardinal Richlieu sent him an invitation to France, with the offer of a pension and the free exercise of his religion. These offers were honourable to those who made them; but it was perhaps a higher honour to have declined them under the circumstances. Usher might have availed himself of a refuge, which being a testimony to distinguished worth, would have conferred high distinction; but he preferred his duty and his religion. In that age too, when loyalty was exalted by a prejudice into a virtue of a nobler order than can

now be well understood, and when it involved no lowering imputation to regard the person of the king, rather than the constitution of the monarchy, it may be no injustice to Usher to say, that his attachment to the king, and his reverence for the royal cause, weighed much in influencing his conduct. It is, indeed, quite apparent through the entire of his conduct, that his own comfort and safety were but a secondary consideration in his breast.

It was, nevertheless, apparent enough, that some means of support were necessary to one, whose want, a disgrace to England, had been supplied already by the sale of such effects as he had brought with him, or which had been saved from the wreck of his affairs. The king offered him the bishopric of Carlisle, which he gladly accepted: it conferred at least a sphere of usefulness, and the exercise of his sacred functions; though inadequate as to its temporalities, as the *armies of the north* were quartered upon it.

During the course of the calamitous struggles which succeeded, the conduct and character of the divine or the scholar were of little weight. The efforts of that felon parliament which overthrew the monarchy were with equal success directed against the church of England; but this is not the place to enter into details which have but an incidental connexion with our subject. In the course of events, the bishopric of Carlisle suffered the same seizure and sequestration as every other church possession: the lands were seized, and the palace dilapidated by parliamentary agents commissioned for the purpose. The parliament voted a compensation of £400 a year for the support of Usher; but only consistent in crime and madness, they forgot to carry this ostentatious liberality into effect.

Wearied with the increasing tumult of fear and party strife, which, daily increasing, left no scene unimbittered in London, the primate retired to Oxford in 1642. Here, in a house with which he was accommodated by the kindness of Prideaux, he enjoyed a grateful interval of calm. This habitation was close to the Bodleian library, and he was thus enabled to take up the thread of studies which affliction had broken, and to prepare several valuable papers for the press. During this residence he had also the unspeakable satisfaction of finding a useful field for his ministerial gifts. He preached every Sunday at some one of the churches, and his preaching was blessed with great and unequivocal proofs of good effect. He not only was thus the means of awakening many to a spiritual sense, but, in a great measure, of correcting by his example the vicious style of pulpit oratory, then becoming fashionable in England. His fervent and unaffected manner, the strong simplicity of his natural eloquence, supported by the fulness of his knowledge, and the apostolical sincerity of his faith and charity, had both the effect of winning souls, and by a striking contrast exposing the fustian exuberance of sparkling affectation and tinsel metaphor, which till then passed for eloquence.

In the summer of 1643, the parliament, pursuing the course which it had entered upon for the destruction of the monarchy, consistently proceeded to revise and new-model the church. During this period, Usher preached with great eloquence and effect against the proceedings of the parliament; and at last they became so incensed, that an order

for the seizure of his books, which had been deposited in Chelsea, was made and executed. This act of petty malignity was defeated by Dr. Featly, who had at the moment some influence, and secured the books for the primate by purchasing them as for himself. This worthy divine was soon after discovered to be a correspondent of Usher's, and expelled from their assembly for "adhering to the enemy." His livings were sequestered, his property seized, and he himself imprisoned and treated with a severity which soon put an end to his life.

His residence at Oxford was now employed in a work for the maintenance of episcopacy, and his studies were assisted by Dr. Hammond. He produced a treatise, in which he showed that the bishop of Ephesus exercised a jurisdiction similar to that of an archbishop in the English church.

It is among those circumstances, which in the highest degree should be remembered to the honour of the primate, that while in just and forcible terms he reprehended the foul crimes which were then in their progress, he no less firmly exposed the scandalous amusements of the court party. He delicately but forcibly, impressed the truth that while the crimes of their enemies appeared to them in all their true enormity, they forgot to look to their own sins, and overlooked the awful fact, that evil instruments were sometimes used to execute the judgments of God. And, indeed, the hypocrisy of those plundering and murderous fanatics might well be balanced in wickedness, by the profane and licentious cavalier, whose conduct, though less revolting to the feelings of humanity, or the laws of society, were at least as far from grace. Among the fanatics, it would be unjust to affirm that numbers were not sincere, humble, and pious Christians; crowds were the slaves of a misdirected enthusiasm, and followed their leaders in the simplicity of their faith: but the unhappy conjunction of religion with rebellion of the blackest dye, had the most demoralising influence for many years, not only on their opponents, but on the moral and spiritual state of England.

In the beginning of 1645, the siege of Oxford was expected; and as the primate was become an object of inveterate hate to the parliamentarians, it was generally thought advisable that he should betake himself to some more secure retreat. Accordingly he determined to take refuge in Cardiff Castle, which was then commanded by his son-in-law, Sir T. Tyrrel. He left Oxford with the prince of Wales, with whose escort he proceeded to Bristol, and from thence he safely reached his destination, where he was joyfully received by his daughter and son-in-law. Having taken care to bring a good collection of books with him, he was here enabled for a year to pursue his studious labours in happy and contented retirement, and composed a considerable part of his annals.

During this sojourn, his studies were for a time partially interrupted by a visit from the king, who, after he had left the unfortunate field of Naseby, fought on June 14, 1645, proceeded to Ragland castle, the princely seat of the marquess of Worcester, from which, after a few days of painful indecision, he retired to Cardiff. Here, in the sad conviction of ruin, expressed in his reply to the sanguine suggestions of the fiery Rupert, but still throwing his dependence on God and

the justice of his cause,* Charles found, in the conversation of the primate, a consolation suited to such a frame of mind. It is likely, that like the devoted monarch, to whose breast he then endeavoured to supply the balm and strength which, when human counsels fail, are to be derived from trust in divine wisdom, Usher indulged in hopes founded on the same reliance.

The primate deeply felt the present condition of the king's prospects, and bitterly lamented the overthrow of the church; and when the king left the castle, he expressed his feelings strongly to Dr Parr. But he was shortly after himself compelled to abandon a retreat which had in many respects been so grateful to his feelings. The king's diminishing resources required the concentration of the wrecks of his army; and the outlying garrisons were many of them in consequence drawn away from their posts. Among such cases was Cardiff: the place was abandoned, and the primate was for some time perplexed whither to turn for refuge. Oxford was the desire of his heart; but between him and Oxford there lay a country possessed by the rebels. He had received several kind and flattering invitations from France and Holland, and was balancing them in his mind, when he received an invitation from the dowager, lady Stradling, to her castle of St Donat.

The invitation was seasonable; but it was known that the Welsh had risen in large bodies, estimated to be not less than ten thousand, and occupied the country through which the primate was to pass. Still, among the various defiles of the mountainous districts which lay around, it might be perhaps possible to find some unfrequented way, so as to pass without any interruption from the insurgents: such a path was suggested, and the inhabitants about Cardiff collected together to escort the primate on his way. Unhappily, they did not go far before they fell upon a straggling party, who, having surrounded and seized them, first perhaps with the intention of plunder, but finding the quality of their prisoners, they carried them to the place where the main body lay: there the primate and his party were dragged from their horses, and his baggage and effects were opened, scattered, and rifled of whatever appeared to these lawless insurgents to have any value. The most valuable remains of property, in his possession, consisted of those books which had hitherto been saved to him through every trouble: the chests which contained them were on this occasion broken open, and the books, with numerous manuscripts of inestimable value, scattered through the crowd. It is hard to say to what extremity this outrage might have been carried,—a crowd gathers exasperation from its own actions; and when the work of cupidity was done, the primate and the party who accompanied him, consisting of lady Tyrrel and other ladies, offered incentives enough for all the brutal passions of a mob. But happily, the arrival of several of the officers put a stop to further indignities. These were all gentlemen of the country, and were shocked and indignant at the scene of brutal outrage which presented itself. They instantly threw themselves among the people, enforced order, and compelled the instant restitution of all the property that could be recovered; and having remounted the

* Clarendon.

party on their horses, they escorted them with great courtesy and respect to the mansion of Sir John Aubrey. Here they met with the most hospitable reception. On retiring to his chamber, the primate naturally hastened to examine the state of his most valuable manuscripts, and was mortified and grieved to find that many were missing. These he mentioned as the heaviest and most distressing of all the heavy losses he had till then sustained. "I never," writes Parr, "saw him so troubled in my life; and those that were with him before myself, said that he seemed not more sensibly concerned for all his losses in Ireland than for this; saying to his daughter, and those that endeavoured to comfort him, 'I know that it is God's hand, and I must endeavour to bear it patiently, though I have too much human frailty not to be extremely concerned; for I am touched in a very tender place, and He has thought fit to take from me all that I have been gathering together above these twenty years, and which I intended to publish for the advantage of learning and the good of the church.'" It demands but a slight effort of reflection to enter into the feelings thus expressed; and, unless in some afflicting disaster, which strikes the deepest affections of our nature, it would not be easy to devise so trying a calamity. Pain and disease are trials which all are born to sustain, and for which the wise and good are prepared; the loss of fortune can be borne with equanimity by ordinary minds, and in proportion to the sufferer's virtue and wisdom, takes little away, and for a short time; but he who labours to achieve great and perpetual additions to the wisdom of his kind, and the improvement and extension of human knowledge, has learned to identify his labours with great and permanent ends. The years thus spent are not reckoned in his thoughts as merely so much time wasted on the fleeting purposes of common life: they are measured by the durability and importance of their fruits; and when, by some accident, these fruits are lost, the heart is struck with the vastness and irrevocable nature of that loss; for the trifler who wastes life in weaving the sands of human folly, and the philosopher who builds for all future time, have alike but a few measured moments of eternity for all that is to be done on earth, and he who would effect much, soon learns to look with tremulous anxiety on the swift and uncertain succession of his years. We are aware that beyond these feelings of the studious mind, there expands a wider and more profound system of truth: but it is beyond our present scope; we speak but of a sentiment—the error, perhaps the disease, of the philosopher. A loss like that under which Usher's christian spirit bent but for a moment, was the annihilation of a large portion of that for which he had lived: the pile which twenty years had raised for remote posterity was suddenly struck down, and all earthly losses seemed light in comparison.

But this heavy blow, at least, was averted, from the decline of his honourable age. The most respectable inhabitants of the country crowded the next day to pay their respects, and on hearing of these losses, they promised their most active co-operation for the purpose of recovering the primate's manuscripts. A large party was soon assembled, by whom he was conducted to his destination at the castle of St Donat. The gentry of the country, and especially the clergy, were

not remiss in the performance of their promise: the manuscripts, so valuable to their owner, had fallen into the hands of persons to whom they were of no value, and were thus easily recovered. Notices were publicly read and posted at the churches, that any who possessed them should deliver them up to the clergy or to their landlords; and thus, before two months, they were nearly all recovered, and restored to their owner.

Sir Edward Stradling was himself a studious and learned antiquarian, and had been industrious in the collection of rare books and curious manuscripts. Here therefore the primate was enabled to pursue his studies with advantage, and discovered some new and valuable materials. His studies were, however, after a time, interrupted by a violent and dangerous hæmorrhage, which continued for eighteen weeks, so that for a time his life was despaired of. But in the suffering and danger of this illness, it is mentioned by his chaplain that he was still patient, "praising God, and resigning himself up to his will, and giving all those about him, or that came to visit him, excellent heavenly advice, to a holy life and due preparation for death." While thus calmly awaiting the death which he imagined to be near, he was visited by a gentleman related to the family of St Donat, who was a member of the rebel parliament. He addressed him thus:—"Sir, you see I am very weak, and cannot expect to have many hours; you are returning to the parliament, I am going to God; I charge you to tell them from me, that I know they are in the wrong, and have dealt very injuriously with the king."

The parliament was destined to proceed in its career of madness and guilt to far more fearful lengths: but the primate happily recovered. It quickly became apparent that England was likely soon to contain no refuge for learning, loyalty, or sanctity. The arena of civil war was clearing on every side, and it was suggested to Usher to seek refuge in some of those foreign universities from which he had often received pressing invitations. A vessel was soon found; but when all was ready for embarkation, a squadron of rebel ships, commanded by a parliamentary leader, came in sight, and approached so near as to render any further proceeding impossible, without the permission of the commander. Accordingly, Parr was sent to this person, and received a rude and contumelious answer, refusing to let the primate pass, and threatening that if he should fall into this ruffian's hands, he would carry him prisoner to the parliament.

Thus baffled in his purpose, the primate was for some time longer detained at St Donat's, but in considerable doubt as to his future proceedings. At last he received a very warm invitation from lady Peterborough, expressive of her continued gratitude for the great service she had formerly received from him, when his controversy with the Jesuit had been the means of converting her late lord—for she was now a widow. He accepted the kind invitation, and left St Donat's, where he had continued for nearly a year. It is mentioned, that on this occasion large sums of money were privately sent to him by several of the gentry in that part of the country, to meet the expenses of his journey. Nor were these acts of private, unostentatious, and disinterested bounty, superfluous: the primate was, at the time, absolutely

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destitute of all pecuniary resources. It is surely gratifying to read of deeds so honourable to human nature, and affording so admirable a testimony to the resplendent worth and sanctity of the character, which seems to have awakened and called forth such active and universal benevolence. Nor is the occasion less illustrative of the providential protection so often to be recognised amid the trials of good and holy men, whose care is ever cast on that power by which the righteous is never forsaken.

The primate set out with an anxious mind on his dangerous journey, and arrived without interruption in London, in the month of June, 1646, at the house of the countess of Peterborough. London was at this time completely in the power of the rebels, but with this main difference from the condition of remoter places, that here, whatever there was of learned or noble in the parliamentary party, exercised a restraining influence. The violence of rebellion is always, in some degree, sure to be tempered by those just and true principles which must be recognised to reconcile the better portion of a party to their own conduct, and as this rebellion was unusually strengthened by a mixture of such principles, it was largely tempered by the admixture of good and able men, who had been either carried away by political theory, or by their opposition to the abuses of the prerogative, and who still entertained the hope of first reforming, and then restoring, the disjointed powers of the constitution. In the metropolis, too, the frame of society still held together, though much and rudely shaken, and among the many institutions and corporate bodies, which were still indispensable to order, many persons were allowed to live in quiet at the price of a respectful silence. Here, therefore, the despotism of popular power was broken by forms and restraints, and a respect for opinion enforced more moderate and more humane proceedings towards those who took care to afford no specious handle for outrage. In such a place, the venerable years and high reputation of the primate were comparatively safe: yet such indignity as circumstances permitted was not withheld. The parliament had issued an order, that persons coming from any of the king's garrisons to town, should appear and give notice of their arrival to a committee, which sat for the purpose. To comply with this mandate, the primate sent his chaplain, Dr Parr, to acquaint the committee of his arrival and place of residence. The committee, however, refused to receive the intimation, and insisted on the personal appearance of the archbishop. On a summons he appeared in person, and underwent a strict and curious questioning as to his sojourn and occupation during his absence from London, and whether he had been using any influence with the king in favour of the papists. They then tendered an oath, which had been recently framed for suspected loyalists, but he demanded time to consider it, and withdrew. As he had several friends in the house, there was speedily an interposition of friendly influence, which protected him from further annoyance on this, or any other trouble from the same quarter. Immediately after, he removed with the countess to her residence at Reigate, in Surrey.

In the following year, leave was, with some difficulty, obtained for the primate to preach in London, and he was elected preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's Inn, who appointed him a handsome

and commodious suite of apartments, to which he removed the remains of his library. He there attended and preached every Sunday, for the following six years, to the Benchers, among whom, at the time, was Mr Hale, afterwards one of the most illustrious ornaments of the king's bench in England. The primate's condition now became one of comparative ease: though deprived of the extrinsic advantages of wealth, station, and authority,—though an exile from his country, and deprived of the presence of the connexions and friends of his life,—yet he was still cherished by the reverent respect of all that remained of wisdom and goodness in these disjointed times; and even in the helplessness of poverty and old age, like a venerable ruin, he was hedged round by the respect even of the enemies of his church. A letter which he at this time wrote to the learned Vossius, gives an affecting sketch of the sufferings of the last few years. Adverting to the Irish insurrection, he writes:—"Thereby, in addition to the public losses, and the most barbarous and savage massacre of protestants that ever was perpetrated, I am myself despoiled of all those external possessions which we commonly denominate goods. My library alone was snatched from the flames; but even that is not yet in my possession; for I again met with tumults and excesses in England, which drove me from Oxford into Wales, where I suffered under a distressing disease for full eighteen weeks, and was at length saved, as it were, from the very jaws of the tomb, by the great mercy of God. I am unwilling to say anything about my reception on my return to London; nor would I have recalled to memory those other sad occurrences, were it not with a view to show you how I have been withheld from literary pursuits, and communication with men of letters."

In September, 1648, the presbyterian party, who constituted a majority in the house of commons, were desirous to secure their apparent preponderance, by a treaty, with the king, then confined in Carisbrook castle. Although there seems to have been little intention of discussing, on terms of equality, the questions of difference there to be proposed, they ordered that a certain number of the clergy of the episcopal church should be admitted, for the purpose of informing his conscience on ecclesiastical affairs; and of those who were summoned on the occasion, primate Usher was one. At this time the king had been a prisoner since the beginning of the previous year, and his friends were much shocked at the change which grief, bodily fatigue, and severe mental exertion, had made in his appearance. Within a year he had become quite gray; but his spirit, unbroken by trial, had collected vigour and firm endurance; and it is mentioned by Hume, and other historians, that on this occasion he astonished the commissioners by the surprising skill, readiness, extent of knowledge, and command of all the resources of reason, through a controversy in which he was for two months compelled to maintain his own side singly against all the commissioners. Yet on that occasion, there was perhaps a deeper anxiety to bring matters to a conclusion among his antagonists, and their position was more affected by a sense of present emergency. The king must have become aware of the unsubstantial value of any conclusion to which he might come with them: they were but a section of his enemies; one of the two great parties leagued

in rebellion against the crown, but deeply opposed to each other; and the struggle between them and their antagonists was at this time approaching a crisis so imminent, that it was a matter of deep interest to bring the conference to a speedy termination. The presbyterians had set this conference on foot, for the purpose of strengthening themselves against the independents. The former possessed the majority in parliament; the latter possessed the army; and it was while Cromwell, the great leader of the independents, was pushing forward, and endeavouring to conclude the war in the north, that the presbyterian party obtained the vote by which this conference was appointed. It is now easy to see how little more than a little additional bloodshed could have resulted from any concession on the king's part. Had he tamely resigned all for which he had so long held out, on the grounds of conscience, the time was past when those who really directed the storm would have closed with any terms short of their own secret views of personal ambition. When the work of such men is to be done by force, it is easy to find just reasons to satisfy the crowd; and, indeed, it should be observed, that the demands of the presbyterians, on the score of religion, were far from commensurate with the latitude claimed by the preaching and canting soldiers of Cromwell, who, having overthrown episcopacy, would have called out for the overthrow of presbytery with equal fury. The king went far in concession, but not enough to content his opponents; but Usher is mentioned to have proposed the concessions of the king, and suggested a compromise on a different basis. His main proposal was, to retain the bishops, and render them subservient to the counsel of the clergy; but this was insufficient. It was thought generally by the opposite party, that the king would have yielded to the apparent emergency of his situation, and given up all to the commissioners, but for the presence and counsel of Usher; and the primate thus, and by a sermon preached during the conference before the king, drew upon himself much censure and violent enmity.

Having taken leave of the king, Usher proceeded on his return to London. At Southampton, he received an application from the inhabitants to preach, but was not allowed by the parliamentary magistrates to comply. Not long after, he was accidentally among the spectators of the king's last earthly pains. The incident is told with much affecting and graphic truth, by Parr. "The lady Peterborough's house, where my lord then lived, being just over against Charing-cross, divers of the countess's gentlemen and servants got upon the leads of the house, from whence they could see plainly what was acting before Whitehall. As soon as his majesty came upon the scaffold, some of the household came and told my lord primate of it, and asked if he would see the king once more before he was put to death. My lord was at first unwilling; but was at last persuaded to go up, as well out of his desire to see his majesty once again, as also curiosity, since he could scarce believe what they told him unless he saw it. When he came upon the leads, the king was in his speech: the lord primate stood still, and said nothing, but sighed; and lifting up his hands and eyes (full of tears) towards heaven, seemed to pray earnestly; but when his majesty had done speaking, and pulled off his cloak and

doublet, and stood stripped in his waistcoat, and that the villains in vizors began to put up his hair, the good bishop, no longer able to endure so dismal a sight, and being full of grief and horror for that most wicked fact now ready to be executed, grew pale, and began to faint; so that if he had not been observed by his own servant and some others that stood near him, who thereupon supported him, he had swooned away; so they presently carried him down, and laid him on his bed, where he used those powerful weapons which God has left his people in such afflictions, viz., prayers and tears; tears that so horrid a sin should be committed, and prayers that God would give his prince patience and constancy to undergo those cruel sufferings."

During this interval, the primate was mainly engaged in his great work on chronology, which, together with his duty as preacher to Lincoln's Inn, occupied his days, and in some measure diverted his mind from the calamities of the time. These labours were, it is true, in some measure made heavier by the increasing infirmities of his advanced age; among which the most distressing was, the rapid decay of his sight, so that he could only write in strong light, and was mostly compelled to follow the sunshine from room to room. He found solace also in the correspondence of many of the worthiest and most learned men of his day, and though firmly attached to his principles, was yet restrained by no uncharitable prejudice from free and kind intercourse with the good and wise of every communion. Among his friends was the celebrated Richard Baxter, who wrote the most popular and useful of his numerous writings at the suggestion of the primate, leaving indeed thus a valuable testimony to the critical sagacity of his adviser. With Hall, Hammond, and other eminent ecclesiastics, whose names are honourably associated in those days of tribulation; as also with Causabon, Vossius, and other celebrated scholars, he kept up a friendly intercourse to the last.

In the family of the countess of Peterborough, whose name is rendered venerable and illustrious by her pious and affectionate care of his last declining years, the primate was attentive to the spiritual welfare of the household, and took a uniform part in their devotions. He was earnest in impressing the necessity of spiritual meditation and private prayer, without which public worship is but a form; and his counsel was maintained and enforced by the consistent tenor of his conduct. As the perceptible progress of decline appeared to bring more near the mysterious barrier at which the cares and trappings of mortality are put off, his spirit was more exclusively and more strongly upheld by faith in the only refuge which can rationally avail against the terrors of that awful approach. When Cromwell found his own power established and firm against the warring crosswinds of creed and faction, he seems for a time to have entertained the idea of relaxing the persecution against the ministers of the church; and it was by many thought to be indicative of good, when in 1654 he invited the primate to visit him. This invitation may, however, with more likelihood be attributed to the increased intercourse with respectable men of every class, which followed his elevation. The primate hesitated; but in addition to the hope of good, he must have felt the contrary result which might follow on a refusal, which could not but carry with it

some portion of contempt. He therefore very reluctantly made up his mind to pay the expected visit.

He was received by Cromwell with the respect and courtesy due to his character, and was consulted on the best means for the general advancement of the protestant religion both at home and abroad. Such a conversation can easily be conceived to have passed with much cordiality, and even unanimity of sentiment; it is probable it was confined to the consideration of political means. But on a larger view, it is plain enough that there were suggestions enough to be avoided with some degree of tact and forbearance. The consideration of Cromwell was more substantially shown; the allowance which the parliament had made for the primate's subsistence, had been suspended for some time; but about this time it was renewed by the Protector's order. He also promised him a lease for twenty-one years, of a part of the lands in his diocese of Armagh: but the promise, when claimed by Sir T. Tyrrel, was afterwards refused, on the suspicion of his being infected with loyalty.

In 1655, Cromwell felt himself strong enough to cast aside even the stern and captious connivance which he had till then maintained towards the church of England clergy; and issued from his council a declaration in which they were excluded even from the private exercise of their ministry. The blow was as deeply felt, and as cruel as it was needless; for the ministry of these persecuted men was purely spiritual, and in no way involving any political agency, further than the general connexion then supposed to exist between episcopacy and the monarchical constitution of England—but this indeed was perhaps enough. The supposed influence of the primate pointed him out as the fittest person to plead the cause of the suffering clergy: he undertook the mission, and, in his first interviews with Cromwell, obtained a promise that the clergy should not be molested, if they would abstain from political interference. But when the primate again went to have the promise confirmed in writing, he found Cromwell in the hands of the surgeon, who was dressing a boil on his breast. He asked the primate to sit down, saying that he would speak to him when dressed. In the mean time, he pointed to the boil and said, "If this core were out I should be quickly well." "I doubt the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart which must be taken out, or else it will not be well," replied the primate. "Ah! so there is indeed," said the lord Protector with a sigh. After this characteristic colloquy, when the surgeon departed, and the primate proposed his errand, Cromwell cut him short with the statement that he had consulted with his council since their last interview; and they had advised against granting liberty of conscience to men whom he considered to be implacable enemies to his government—and the matter ended. The primate felt deeply wounded by the falsehood of the proceeding, and still more afflicted for the sake of the persecuted men who had committed their cause to him. He retired with a heavy heart, and shut himself up in his chamber. To the friends who came to inquire of his success, he said, "This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised. Well, he will have little cause to glory in his

wickedness, for he will not continue long. The king will return: though I shall not live to see it, you may."

Evelyn, in his diary, mentions some particulars of an interview with the primate a little after the last mentioned incident:—it is on many accounts worthy of being transcribed, "1655, Aug. 21. I went to Ryegate to visit Mrs Cary, at my lady Peterborough's, in an ancient monastery, well in repaire, but the parke much defaced; the house is nobly furnished. The chimney-piece in the greate chamber, carv'd in wood, was the property of Hen. VIII.; and was taken from an house of his in Blechinglee. At Ryegate was now y^e archbishop of Armagh, the learned James Usher, whom I went to visite. He received me exceeding kindly. In discourse with him he told me how greate the losse of time was to study much the Eastern languages; that excepting Hebrew, there was little fruite to be gathered of exceeding labour; that besides some mathematical bookes, the Arabic itselfe had little considerable; that the best text was y^e Hebrew Bible; that y^e Septuagint was finish'd in 70 daies, but full of errors, about which he was then writing; but St Hierom's was to be valued next the Hebrew; and that the 70 translated the Pentateuch only, the rest was finished by others; that the Italians understood but little Greeke, and Kircher was a mountebank; that Mr Selden's best book was his 'Titles of Honour;' that the church would be destroyed by sectaries, who would in all likelihood bring in poperie. In conclusion, he recommended me to the study of philologie above all human studies; and so with his blessing I tooke my leave of this excellent person, and returned to Wooton."

But the hour of rest was fast approaching: the measure of afflictions and the cup of trial had long been full; the career illustrious for good deeds, and labours of love, was closing in its fulness, and a large bequest of immortal works, monuments more durable than the results of conquest, completed to guide and enlighten future times. And seldom does a good man leave this scene of trial under circumstances which can be dwelt on with more full complacency.

For the last two years of his life, he was obliged by the loss of his teeth to desist from preaching, though he still continued to make occasional efforts in the pulpit, at the entreaty of his admirers and friends: and his preaching was eagerly followed to the last. One of his latest efforts was, a funeral sermon for his friend the learned Selden, who was buried in the temple.

After the afflicting result of his last mentioned communication with Cromwell, he went to Ryegate, and entered on his usual studies, having been for some time engaged in the endeavour to complete his Annals. And here he spent the remaining few weeks of his life, between the commencement of the year, and the 20th of March in the year 1656. In this interval he was visited by Dr Parr, who preached before him, and records a few of the remarks made to him after his discourse, by the primate. "I thank you for your sermon. I am going out of this world, and I now desire according to your text, *to seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God*; and to be with him in heaven, of which we can

have no doubt, if we can evidence to ourselves our conversion, true faith and charity, and live in the exercise of those christian graces and virtues, with perseverance; mortifying daily our inbred corruptions, and renouncing all ungodliness and worldly lusts, &c."

On the 20th of March there appeared no cause for any present apprehension in the primate's health; he rose as usual, and passed the morning among his books and engaged in his wonted task. He laid aside his labour to visit a sick lady, to whom he offered the encouragements and consolations of the gospel, with more than even his wonted flow of spiritual and heavenly-minded energy. And the day passed away as usual; but at night his rest was broken by some pain, which instead of passing off as was at first hoped, grew more violent towards morning, and resisted every means employed to quiet it. He bore it with the patience of a christian; but it subdued his remaining strength, and he soon felt an increase of exhaustion, from which he knew that he could not expect to rally. On the first interval of ease, he called for the chaplain of the family to assist his last devotions, and after some time spent in earnest prayer, he solemnly addressed the family who surrounded his bed, with those impressive truths which belonged to the occasion. He concluded by thanking his kind friend and benefactress for all her care and friendship which had smoothed his path of trials and adversities so long. He then expressed a wish to be left alone, to collect his mind for the change which he felt approaching; and in this state met the end of his earthly pilgrimage, and entered upon the rest of his Lord.

The countess of Peterborough intended that the remains of her venerable friend should have a place in her family vault at Ryegate. Cromwell, whose judgment and good taste were seldom astray, in any thing nearly concerning the honour and dignity of his government, sent to countermand the preparation, and ordered that there should be a public funeral. For this a distant day was fixed, and the proceeding and ceremony appointed. On this no detail is required. On the 17th of April, twenty-seven days from his death, he was brought from Ryegate to St George's church in Southwark, where, according to order, the procession was joined by his friends; from thence he was borne to Somerset house, in the Strand, where at one o'clock, "those of the ministry and others," met and accompanied the corpse to Westminster abbey, when it was interred in the chapel. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr Bernard, of Gray's inn, formerly his chaplain, and afterwards one of his biographers. His text was in 1 Samuel xxv. 1. *And Samuel died; and all Israel were gathered together, and lamented him, and buried him.* Great crowds attended, and much respect was strongly displayed by the people.

At the close of a memoir, in which we have been led to transgress the limits of our measured space, it must be unnecessary to dwell further on the character of one whose mind is so amply delineated in all his deeds. He was in person above the middle height, with a countenance grave, dignified, and intelligent, but mild, combining in its expression the humanity of the scholar with the benevolence of the christian. Nor was the engaging promise of his appearance belied in his frank and kind conversation, which overflowed ever with the

wisdom of his intellect and the charity of his heart. Of that superiority of knowledge, which placed him, *facile princeps*, at the head of the eminent scholars of his day, his works remain to speak.

The history of his library, which was nearly the entire of his property, is not without its interest. It was his known intention to bequeath it to the university of Dublin, the nurse of his genius. But there were some strong reasons against the execution of his design, and obstacles arose which had nearly deprived the kingdom altogether of this venerable monument. The primate, considering the large family of lady Tyrrel, to whom he had given no fortune, bequeathed the books to her. A handsome price was offered for them by the king of Denmark, and cardinal Mazarin was no less liberal. Cromwell prohibited a sale so unfortunate for the honour of England, and it was not long after purchased by the Irish army to be presented to the university: here again Cromwell interposed, and the volumes were, by his order, stored in some rooms of Dublin castle. After the restoration, they were presented by the king to the university; and yet form a valuable portion of its library.

WILLIAM BEDELL.

ORN A.D. 1570.—DIED A.D. 1642.

AMIDST all the afflictions of the church, from the earliest ages to the present day, she has still had faithful witnesses to preserve, uphold, and disseminate the doctrines of Christ; and however different their sphere, contrasted their position, or distant their time, they still bear the same lineaments, are impelled or restrained by the same motives, and, however differing in natural character, they still prove that they belong to the same family, and are members of the one Head. William Bedell, the subject of our present memoir, is one of those "burning and shining lights," who for a lengthened season continued to do his Master's work here upon earth, and then joined that "noble army of martyrs," who have sealed and confirmed by their deaths all that their lives laboured to establish. The crown of martyrdom was not won to him by the fagot or the sword; but he watched and waited for it, and ultimately attained it, through a protracted period of danger and suffering, during which, it may be truly said, he "died daily;" yet death seemed still withheld, that he might, by his influence and example, strengthen and sustain the suffering band by which he was surrounded. He was born at Black-Notley, in Essex, 1570, and was descended from an ancient and respectable family. He received a classical education, and was sent to Emmanuel college, Cambridge, where he was highly respected for his learning, piety, and matured powers of mind, so that his opinion was often resorted to by his seniors in their disputes and controversies. He early became impressed with the truths of the Christian religion, and before he took upon himself the duties of a minister, he practically performed them, going about with some young college friends, in the neighbourhood of the university, where there were no Christian teachers, instructing and awakening the people "who were living without God in the world," and placing before them, in strong

colours, their awful position, and the glad tidings which he came to publish amongst them, of which they were nearly as ignorant as the more distant heathen.

After leaving the university, he removed to the town of Bury St Edmunds, in Suffolk, where he first regularly engaged in the ministry. "Not long after his settlement there," says one of his biographers, "an incident occurred which showed that he neither courted preferment nor feared unmerited displeasure. At a meeting of the clergy of the diocese of Norwich, the bishop made some proposition to which Mr Bedell could not conscientiously assent. The rest of the clergy entertained the like objections, but were unwilling to express their sentiments. Thinking, therefore, that the matters in question were too important to be silently adopted, he ventured to address the bishop, and stated his opinions with so much force of argument, and, at the same time, calmness of temper, that some of the obnoxious measures were withdrawn. When the meeting was over, the clergy gathered round him, and applauded the steps which he had taken; but he only assured them in reply, that he desired not the praises of men." He continued at Bury for many years, and was a zealous and active minister, endeavouring rather to awaken the conscience than excite the feelings, and remarkable as a preacher for the clearness and simplicity of his style, and the truth and force of his applications. He was at length appointed chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, the ambassador of James at the court of Venice, having been selected as the fittest person for a situation made responsible by the critical period of the interdict. His friend and fellow-student, Mr Waddesworth, who occupied the same chambers with him in college, and had also a benefice under the bishop of Norwich, was, about the same period, unfortunately sent into Spain, and was subsequently appointed to teach the Infanta English, in the expectation of her becoming the future queen of Charles I. From this period the two friends diverged into totally different paths; Waddesworth adopting the creed of the country into which he had been transplanted, and ending his life in a monastery, while Bedell rapidly progressed in Christian knowledge, zeal, and humility, and gladly laid down his life in defence of the faith he professed. An interesting correspondence took place between the two friends on this subject, to which we cordially refer our curious readers, were it only to show the spirit of Christian love and charity with which it was conducted upon both sides.

On the occasion of Bedell's appointment, Sir Henry, writing to the earl of Salisbury, says, "I have occasion, at the present, of begging your lordship's passport and encouragement for one Mr Bedell, whom I shall be very glad to have with me in the place of chaplain, because I hear very singular commendation of his good gifts and discreet behaviour. It may therefore please your lordship, when he shall take the boldness to present himself before you, to set forward also this piece of God's service."

During his residence in this city, he formed a close intimacy and enduring friendship with Fra Paolo Sarpi, better known by the appellation of Father Paul, the official theologian, or divine of the senate, and author of the celebrated history of the councils of Trent. With

this eminent and excellent man he spent a large portion of his time, in study and religious conversation, unrestrained by any of those nominal differences that might exist between them; for Father Paul was zealously seeking for the truth, and prepared to receive it, through whatever channel it might flow. They mutually assisted each other in the study of their native languages, and frequently read together the Greek New Testament, on the different doctrinal passages of which Bedell always shed a new light, and explained them to the entire satisfaction of his friend. He afterwards confessed, with much candour, that "he had learned more of theology and practical religion from Mr Bedell, than from any other person with whom he had conversed during his whole life." He was also greatly struck with the English liturgy, which Bedell translated both into Italian and Latin, and in conjunction with many of his friends, resolved to adopt it into common use, in case their differences with the Pope (which were then at their height) should end, as they hoped, in separating them from his jurisdiction.

The origin of these differences is too well known to need discussion, and are detailed with great accuracy in the works of Father Paulo himself. We cannot, however, omit the argument made use of by cardinal Baronius to the Pope, for the purpose of proving the divine sanction that existed for his carrying death and destruction into the refractory state which had resisted his interdict, and retained two lawless friars in prison, the Pope having ordered their liberation. The cardinal stated that there had been two distinct injunctions given to St Peter, the first being, "Feed my sheep," but the second, "Arise and kill;" and that, therefore, "since he had already executed the first part of St Peter's duty, in *feeding the flock*, by exhortations, admonitions, and censures, without the desired effect, he had nothing left but *to arise and kill*." The general ignorance of the Scriptures that prevailed, made it unnecessary for him to allude to the two distinct occasions on which these injunctions were given, as it is possible that the mass of the people knew nothing either of the prayer of Cornelius or the vision of Peter.

During Bedell's stay at Venice, the famous Ant. de Dominis, archbishop of Spalata, came there, and formed an intimacy and friendship with him, in the course of which he communicated to him the secret of his having composed the ten books *de Republica Ecclesiastica*, which he afterwards printed at London. Bedell corrected for him many mistakes, both in the quotations in it, and their applications, which the archbishop's ignorance of the Greek tongue made inevitable. The brief history and melancholy fate of this prelate may be given in a few words. On the termination of the differences some years after, between the Pope and Venice, he accompanied Bedell to England, where he was received with every mark of respect and consideration. The clergy, however, at last became offended and disgusted by his overweening pretensions, and his vanity made him resent their supposed derelictions. On the promotion of Pope Gregory IV., (his former schoolfellow,) he was led to believe that the Pope intended to give him a cardinal's hat, and to make great use of him in all affairs of importance. Under the mixed motives that generally influence

mankind, he yielded to the urgency and representations of Gundamor, the Spanish ambassador, hoping at once to become an instrument of reformation to the Romish church, and to forward his own views of personal aggrandizement. In an evil hour he returned to Rome, where he was at first well received, but happening to remark that cardinal Bellarmine, who wrote in opposition to him, had not refuted his arguments, a complaint was made to the Pope that he held the same opinions as formerly, and though he offered to refute those he before held, he was seized, thrown into the inquisition, never brought to trial, but privately poisoned a short time after, when his body was thrown out of a window, and his goods confiscated to the Pope. But to return to Bedell. About this period, a Jesuit, named Thomas Maria Carassa, published a work which he dedicated to the then Pope, blasphemously calling him PAVLO V. VICE DEO, *Christiane Reipublicæ monarchæ invictissimo et Pontificiæ omnipotentiae conservatori acerrimo*,* which so much shocked Bedell, that it probably recalled to his mind some of the prophetic descriptions of the Man of Sin, and on retiring to his study, and calculating the numerical letters of the title, PAVLO V. VICE DEO, he found it contain, by a strange coincidence, the number of the beast 666. He showed it to Sir Henry Wotton, to Father Paul, and to the seven divines, who immediately laid hold upon it, as if it had been by divine revelation from heaven, and acquainted the prince and the senate with it. It was carried suddenly through the city that this was Antichrist, and that they need not look for another." It was also published and preached through their territories; but when it came to the ears of the Pope, he caused a proclamation to be made, that Antichrist was born in Babylon, of the tribe of Dan, and was coming with a great army to waste and destroy all opposers; he therefore ordered the princes of Christendom, their vassals and tenants, to arm themselves speedily, and make ready for the coming contest. The public mind was thus turned into another channel, and before facts disproved the assertion, the excitement had subsided, and the subject was forgotten.

Bedell resided for eight years in Venice, and the general estimation in which he was held may be inferred from the manner in which he is spoken of in a letter written by the eminent Diodati of Geneva, to De Mornay. It curiously happened that Diodati was afterwards the cause of his being noticed and promoted in England, where his unobtrusive merits were for many years unknown,—so often does it happen that a prophet has no honour in his own country. The letter is as follows, and was written in 1608, when the principles of the reformation had widely spread, and were zealously embraced, both in the Venetian states and the countries dependent on them. "There lately passed through this place, a secretary of the English ambassador at Venice, on his return from England to that city, from which he had been absent about two months and a half. He described to me so particularly the state of affairs, that it seemed to me as if God declared to

* To Paul V., the vice-God, the most invincible monarch of the Christian commonwealth, and the most zealous asserter of papal omnipotence.

me, by his mouth, what he declared in a vision to St Paul at Corinth, the parallel between which city and Venice is very great.—*Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee, for I have much people in this city.** This excellent person, who is grave and learned, spoke with much confidence of his hopes of some individuals, and of his expectation of most important general consequences: in sum, all is ready (to explode) and it only requires to apply the match. 'Thus far,' said he to me, 'Venice is like a new world: it is the greatest consolation to find one's self in companies and assemblies, at noblemen's houses, and to hear them speak with so much piety and zeal of the truth of God, with those good men, Father Paul, Fulgentio, and Bedell, the ambassador's chaplain. The public sermons are as good as could be preached at Geneva, and they are delivered with such earnestness, that crowds flock to hear them; and it is necessary to go very early to be in time to get a place. The inquisition is kept under by a senator, who is a member of it, without whose suffrage nothing can be decided; he is always chosen from amongst the greatest adversaries of the Pope. The vehemence against the Pope and the court of Rome is greater than ever. The Jesuits are denounced from the pulpit, their doctrines refuted and decried, and themselves mortally disliked. Many nobles provide themselves with tutors of the reformed religion to instruct their families; three-fourths of the nobility are warmly attached to the truth, and as these are gained over, so the rest are favourably inclined. The city is full of German artisans, who are, for the most part, protestants. My mind imagines the man of Macedonia exclaiming, '*Come over and help us.*'† This is the work of the Almighty.‡ Fulgentio was a divine of much eminence in Venice. When preaching on the text, *Have ye not read?* (Mat. xii. 3,) he told the people, that if Christ were now to ask the same question, all the answer they could give, would be, No; for we are forbidden to do so. Bedell also mentions, that on another occasion, when his text was the inquiry of Pilate, *What is truth?* after condemning the practice of withholding the scriptures from the people, Fulgentio told them, that as for himself, he had, after a long search, found out what was truth, and holding out a New Testament, he said that there it was, in his hand; he then put it in his pocket saying, 'but it is a prohibited book.'"

Bedell spent much of his time in the study of Hebrew, for which purpose he secured the assistance of R. Leo, the chief Chacham of the Jewish synagogue in Venice. From him he learned the way of pronunciation, and some other parts of Rabbinical knowledge, and in return, communicated to him the true understanding of many passages in the Old Testament, with which that Rabbi expressed himself often highly satisfied; and once in a solemn dispute, he pressed the Rabbi with such clear proofs of Jesus Christ being the true Messiah, that he, with several of his brethren, had no other way to escape, but by saying that their Rabbins everywhere did expound those prophecies otherwise, according to the traditions of their fathers.§ Through the

* Acts xviii. 9, 10.

† Ibid. xvi. 9.
§ Burnet.

‡ Memoirs of De Mornay.

exertions of Leo he obtained the manuscript copy of the New Testament, which he afterwards gave to Emmanuel College, and which cost him its weight in silver.

When the period arrived for Mr Bedell's return to England, the parting between him and Father Paul was very affecting. The latter even thought of accompanying him there, but was prevented by the interference of the senate. They exchanged various tokens of regard, among which Father Paul gave Bedell a picture of himself, a Hebrew Psalter and Bible, in the same language, without points, besides large portions of his valuable writings in manuscript, most of which Bedell translated and got printed, both in Latin and English.

On his return to England, he established himself again at Bury St Edmunds, and shortly afterwards married Leah, the widow of a recorder of Bury, of the name of Maw, whom his biographer describes as "a person comely, virtuous, and godly." He had, by her, three sons and one daughter, two of whom died young.

In 1615, he was presented to the rectory of Horningsheath, by Sir Thomas Jermyn, who resided in the neighbourhood, and knew and appreciated his rare combination of piety, deep learning, and still deeper humility. On his coming to the then bishop of Norwich for induction, he found the fees demanded for the ceremony so enormous, that he conscientiously declined to pay more than for the writing, parchment and wax; considering that such demands partook of the nature of simony; and chose rather to relinquish the preferment than purchase a title to it by the sacrifice of principle. He accordingly left the bishop and returned home, but was sent for by him in a few days, and regularly inducted, the offensive fees being relinquished.

He remained there for twelve years, in the most zealous performance of his parochial duties, attending the sick, reclaiming the profligate, and relieving the indigent; while, at the same time, he was so successful in discovering and punishing impostors, that they shunned his parish, knowing that all they would be likely to obtain there would be disgrace and exposure. During his residence at Horningsheath, his friend Waddesworth died, and he, shortly afterwards, in 1624, published the friendly controversy which had taken place between them: the correspondence is made the more interesting by the statement of Waddesworth's son, who mentioned that Bedell's letters almost always lay open before his father; that he commanded him to thank him for the pains he had been at in writing them; he also said that he was resolved to *save one*, which seems to be explained by his carefully bringing up his son in the protestant faith; but he does not seem to have had sufficient energy, whatever may have been his convictions, to retrace his own steps. The friendly, yet fervent and uncompromising spirit, in which this christian controversy was sustained, and which terminated, unlike the generality of religious disputes, in increased regard on both sides, is, however, alike creditable to both parties.

Bedell lived almost exclusively in his parish, and devoted himself to the active duties of his profession, so that although he had published many works, he was but little personally known. When his friend Diodati came over from Geneva, and inquired for him among the members of his profession, he was greatly surprised to find a man so eminent as

Bedell, and one so prized and appreciated in a foreign country, so entirely overlooked in his own, and after many fruitless inquiries he had to give up the search. At length he "met with him by chance," says his biographer, "in Cheapside, and embraced him with all the joyful affection imaginable, until they both shed many tears; after which interview, Diodati carried him to the bishop of Durham, Dr. Morton, and gave that learned bishop such a character of Mr. Bedell, that he presently took particular care to have him provided for." In 1626, the provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, becoming vacant, the fellows of the College, acting under the advice of archbishop Usher, unanimously invited him to fill that important office, while, at the same time, they forwarded an address to the king, entreating him to lay his commands on Bedell to accept of the situation.

The king having ascertained his perfect fitness for the office, complied with the request of the primate and fellows of the college, and commanded him immediately to make arrangements for accepting it. Bedell complied with cheerfulness and alacrity, feeling confident that this new path of duty was opened to him by a higher hand, and with childlike simplicity he followed upon the course thus indicated to him. He removed to Ireland, in the first instance, alone, leaving his wife and children under the protection of her friends, until he could provide a residence for their reception. On his arrival in Dublin, he at once commenced a close and accurate study of the statutes, and established regulations of the college, resolving, with his characteristic good sense and caution, to take no step whatever respecting the existing abuses, until he had fully ascertained the legitimate grounds on which they could be reformed, and the utmost limits to which his own authority might extend. During this period of necessarily suspended action, many rash and perhaps interested persons came to the conclusion that he was incompetent to the office, and whispered abroad that, however amiable and learned he might be, he was indolent, abstracted, and totally devoid of energy and decision of character required in such a position. These insidious whispers were at length conveyed to the ear of the primate, who began to think that possibly the long period he had passed in seclusion and study, might in some degree have incapacitated him for the duties of a more practical life. His, however, was a mind incapable of forming a hasty or unjust judgment, and some months after, when Bedell returned to England for the purpose of removing his family, he having obtained some knowledge of the general prejudice that existed against him, which he even feared had slightly tinged the mind of Usher, thought seriously of resigning his new preferment, and returning to his peaceful benefice in Suffolk. He, however, about this period, received so kind a letter from the primate, that he at once resigned his English preferment, and removed with his family to Dublin. Immediately on his settlement there, he applied himself vigorously to the great work of reformation. He corrected various abuses, established new regulations, and was so firm in enforcing their performance, that it was quickly acknowledged he was of all others the most suited to fill that high and responsible office. His ideas of duty were higher still, and his first object was to awaken religious convictions amongst the students, and to instruct them in right principles. He

catechised the various classes once each week, and preached every Sunday, though not obliged to do so, that he might the more effectually impress and enforce the great truths which so entirely swayed his own mind, and guided every word and action. He thought so highly of the body of divinity compressed into the Church Catechism, that he divided it into fifty-two parts, one for every Sunday, and gave such clear expositions of it, mixed with so much interesting speculative and practical matter, that many took notes of them at the time, and years after copies of them were sought for with the greatest anxiety. His sermons were remarkable for such clear and simple statements, that the youngest and most unlearned could comprehend them, while the deeply informed never failed to derive from them interest and instruction. After continuing for about two years in the performance of these anxious and arduous duties, his early discriminating and energetic friend, Sir Thomas Jermyn, obtained for him a nomination to the two vacant bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh, which adjoined each other, in the province of Ulster; but from the neglect and mismanagement of the preceding bishops, their revenues were in so unproductive a state, that they were scarcely capable of supporting a bishop who was resolved not to supply himself by base and indirect means, such as, at that period, were too generally resorted to.

His new course of life opened to him new sources of usefulness, and duties of a far more difficult and dangerous nature than any he had yet been called upon to perform; but his efforts rose with the exigencies, and at fifty-nine he encountered and overcame obstacles that would have seemed insuperable to any who relied on their own unassisted strength. His ideas of the duties of a bishop were of a very exalted kind, approaching, according to the statements of Burnet, the occupation of an angel, considering that he was called upon to divide his time "as much as could consist with the frailties and necessities of a body made of flesh and blood, as those glorious spirits do, between the beholding the face of their Father which is in heaven, and the ministering to the heirs of salvation. He considered the bishop's office made him the shepherd of the inferior shepherds, if not of the whole diocese; and, therefore, he resolved to spare himself in nothing, by which he might advance the interest of religion among them; and he thought it a disingenuous thing to vouch antiquity for the authority and dignity of that function, and not at the same time to express those virtues and practices that made it so venerable among them.*"

He found his diocese in a state of the greatest disorder and neglect, both as it concerned morals and temporalities. His revenues were exhausted by dilapidations—the most sacred things had been exposed to sale—one of his cathedrals had fallen to the ground for want of repair—and the livings were in general held by Englishmen, who did not understand the language of the country, so that the people were literally as sheep wanting a shepherd. His own letter to archbishop Laud, will, however, best explain the melancholy position of affairs, and the enormous difficulties with which he had to cope, in effecting any species of reformation.

* Burnet.

"Right reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

"Since my coming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas, (till which time, the settling of the state of the college, and my Lord Primate's visitation, deferred my consecration,) I have not been unmindful of your lordship's commands to advertise you, as my experience should inform me, of the state of the church, which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my dioceses, and can set down, out of my knowledge and view what I shall relate: and shortly to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable. The cathedral church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by Saint Patrick, together with the bishop's house there, down to the ground. The church here, built, but without bell or steeple, font or chalice. The parish churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired. The people, saving a few British planters here and there, which are not the tenth part of the remnant, obstinate recusants. A popish clergy more numerous by far than we, in full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical, by their vicar-general and officials; who are so confident as they excommunicate those that come to our courts, even in matrimonial causes: which affront hath been offered myself by the popish primate's vicar-general; for which I have begun a process against him. The primate himself lives in my parish, within two miles of my house; the bishop in another part of my diocese further off. Every parish hath its priest; and some two or three a-piece; and so their mass-houses also; in some places mass is said in the churches. Fryers there are in divers places, who go about, though not in their habit, and by their importunate begging impoverish the people, who indeed are generally very poor, as from that cause, so from their paying double tythes to their own clergy and ours, from the dearth of corn, and the death of cattle, these late years, with their contributions to their soldiers and their agents: and which forget not to reckon among other causes, the oppression of the court ecclesiastical, which in very truth, my lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform. For my own, there are seven or eight ministers of good sufficiency; and, which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in popery still, English, which have not the tongue of the people, nor can perform any divine offices, or converse with them; and which hold, many of them two or three, four or more vicarages a-piece; even the clerkships themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English; and sometimes two or three or more upon one man, and ordinarily bought and sold, or let to farm. His majesty is now with the greatest part of this country, as to their hearts and consciences, king but at the pope's discretion.

"WILL. KILMORE AND ARDAGH."

Kilmore, April 1st, 1630.

In correcting the numerous abuses which existed, Bedell was well aware that he must meet opposition, hinderance, and even some opprobrium; but he had previously "sat down and counted the cost," and was therefore ready for the combat, and prepared to meet its consequences. Unlike, however, many sincere and zealous advocates of the truth who are carried on and aided through their difficult and ob-

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structed course by a natural impetuosity of character, and heat of temperament, Bedell had no stimulus but Christian principle; everything was done in the spirit of meekness and Christian forbearance; for to his faith he added patience, and where influence and example could effect his object he preferred them to the exercise of his official authority. A remarkable instance of this presents itself in one of his first and most important acts, the abolishing of pluralities. Convinced that this pernicious practice was equally opposed to the vows at ordination, by which they were pledged to instruct and feed with the bread of life, the flock committed to their care, and also to the early practice of the church, he called a meeting of his clergy, and in a sermon, with which he opened it, he explained to them his own views and convictions upon the subject, with a clearness and a force from which there was no appeal. He told them that he would demand no sacrifice from them that he was not prepared to make himself, and consequently that he had come to the resolution of parting with one of his bishoprics; though, as was before stated, the joint revenue was insufficient to meet his own moderate expenses. It should also be remembered that he was perfectly competent to discharge the duties of both sees; but he knew too well the importance of the sanction that example gives to precept, to lose the opportunity of thus enforcing it. He accordingly resigned Ardagh to Dr. Richardson, when all his clergy, with the solitary exception of the dean, followed his example, and at once laid down their pluralities.

One of Bedell's objects in so strenuously opposing pluralities, was to compel his clergy to reside in their parishes; but this was in many instances attended with great difficulty, in consequence of the reprehensible negligence of the commissioners, who had been appointed on the reduction of Ulster after Tyrone's rebellion, to assign glebe-lands to the clergy: these appear to have been allotted at random; for in a large proportion of instances they were out of the parish, and frequently divided into small portions in different directions. To remedy this, the bishop, who had a portion of land in every parish, resolved to make an exchange, wherever his own was more conveniently situated for the clergyman; and he applied to Sir Thomas Wentworth, the lord-lieutenant, to have commissioners appointed, that all might be fairly and satisfactorily arranged.

Some years after his coming to the diocese, he called together a General Assembly of his clergy, and laid before them a code of regulations calculated to benefit the whole diocese, and to stimulate the spiritual efforts of the clergy. He also arranged that they should meet annually as a synod, and issue whatever decrees they should find necessary. The improvement in his diocese, and in the general conduct and demeanour of his clergy was quickly perceptible, and he was early made sensible of the necessity of it, by the observation of an Irishman, who once said to him in open court, "that the king's priests were as bad as the pope's priests," the latter being remarkable, at that period, not only for drunkenness, but every sort of profligacy. His anxiety for his clergy extended even to their temporalities; for, finding that they were subjected to enormous fees on their induction to a living, he reduced the various documents then in use into one instrument, which he wrote with his own hand.

Among the many abuses existing in the diocese, the management, or rather mismanagement, of the ecclesiastical court appears to have been the most flagrant, while the correction and remodelling of it subjected the bishop to more opposition and annoyance than any of his previous reforms. He was, however, prepared for opposition, and firm in his resolution to proceed. "He found this court," says Burnet, that sat in his name, "an entire abuse. It was managed by a chancellor that had bought his place from his predecessor, and so thought he had a right to all the profits that he could raise out of it, and the whole business of the court seemed to be nothing but extortion and oppression; for it is an old observation, that men who buy justice will also sell it. Bribes went about, almost barefaced, and the exchange they made of penance for money was the worst sort of simony; being in effect the same abuse which gave the world such a scandal when it was so indecently practised in the court of Rome, and opened the way for the reformation." After due consideration, the bishop resolved to sit as judge himself in the court that bore his name, and acted on his authority. He convened a competent number of his clergy to sit there with him, and after hearing the causes, and obtaining their advice and opinion, gave sentence. Numerous causes were thus quickly disposed of, and general satisfaction given, with the exception of the offending officers of the court. The lay chancellor brought a suit against the bishop into chancery, for invading his office, but the other bishops supported him in the step he had taken, and promised to stand by him in the contest. The bishop desired to plead his own cause, but this was not permitted, so he drew up a most able statement, but not sufficiently powerful to influence the decision of the courts. The chancellor was accordingly confirmed in his position, and the bishop cast in a hundred pounds' costs. But lord chancellor Bolton admitted afterwards to the bishop, when he accused him of having passed an unjust decree, that as his Father had left him only a registrar's place, he thought he was bound to support those courts, which he saw would be ruined, if the course he took had not been checked. It is probable that the hand accustomed to receive bribes was not slack in administering them; and there can be no want of charity in such a surmise, when Bolton himself so unblushingly admitted that he had perverted judgment and justice from private and personal considerations.*

The other bishops who had promised him their support, failed him in the hour of need, and even the primate told him, "the tide went so high, that he could assist him no more." The bishop, however, having put his hand to the plough, resolved not to look back; and, when he returned home, continued to sit in his courts as usual, with-

* We can readily understand the corruptness of the judge, yet doubt the sincerity of the admission. We have already, in our memoir of Usher, stated our view as to the real equity of this case, when looked on according to the analogy of our law, and the constitution of our courts; but it was a period when lax notions prevailed in every department of the administration. A refined system of law had not yet been sufficiently disentangled from notions of discretionary power; but in its applications to a rude and simple nation, there was added temptation and immunity for all abuse. The kind friend to whom we are indebted for this memoir, has rightly thought fit to put forward, without question, Bedell's own grounds of action, which are honourable to him, alike as a Christian and a man.

out receiving any molestation from the chancellor, who appointed a surrogate, to whom he gave strict orders "to be in all things observant of the bishop, and obedient to him." This same chancellor, (Mr Cook,) in speaking of him, some years after, said, "that he thought there was not such a man on the face of the earth as bishop Bedell was; that he was too hard for all the civilians in Ireland; and that if he had not been borne down by mere force, he had overthrown the consistorial courts, and had recovered the episcopal jurisdiction out of the chancellor's hands." It was supposed that after the adverse termination of the trial, Cook was influenced by the authorities in Dublin to take no farther steps, for he did not even apply for the hundred pounds' costs that had been awarded him. The bishop abolished most of the fees connected with the court, and when criminals, or "scandalous persons," were brought to him to be censured, while he showed them the enormity of their offence, he conveyed his reproof with such parental tenderness, that he touched the single uncorrupted spot in the human heart,* that which is acted upon by *kindness*, and the offender frequently became a penitent. Many of the Irish priests were brought before him on those occasions, and his exhortations to them often produced subsequent results that could scarcely have been calculated on. The bishop felt great pity for the native Irish, who were in a state of the most profound darkness, and yet, from their avidity in receiving spiritual instruction, seemed actually to be hungering and thirsting after righteousness, while their priests could do little more than read their offices, without understanding them; he therefore determined to direct his attention to their particular instruction, that they might be no longer "blind leaders of the blind." He was successful in many instances; and provided those, of whose conversion he was well assured, with benefices. He had also a short catechism printed both in English and Irish, with prayers and portions of scripture, for the benefit of the young and the ignorant; and was most particular that those he ordained for the ministry should understand the native language. But the object he had most at heart, of all others, was the translation of the Scriptures into Irish; and for the accomplishment of this, he secured, by the advice of the primate, the services of a person of the name of King, who had been converted many years before, and was considered the best Irish scholar of his day. He was a poet as well as a prose writer, and though seventy years of age, he entered on the undertaking with zeal and industry; and the bishop, who formed a high idea of his character and capabilities of doing good, ordained him, and gave him a benefice. Being unable to meet with any of the native Irish that understood either Greek or Hebrew, and dissatisfied with a translation from the English version, this apostolic bishop, who thought only of "spending and being spent" in his master's service, resolved on learning the Irish language himself, and became such a proficient, that he was enabled to compose a grammar for the use of other students. As the work advanced, he undertook the revision of it, and every day, after either dinner or supper, he compared a chapter of the Irish translation with the Eng-

* Chalmers.

lish, and then compared the latter with the Hebrew, and the Seventy Interpreters, or with Diodati's Italian translation, of which he thought very highly; and he corrected the Irish wherever he found the English translation in error, so that, in fact, it is the most perfect of the two. A few years completed the translation, and the bishop was preparing to get it printed at his own expense, when a very unexpected obstacle arose to the performance of this good work.

Some persons, interested in keeping the population of the country in a state of ignorance and barbarism, spread abroad an impression that the translator was a weak and ignorant man, and incompetent to the work; and artfully infused this impression among a high and influential circle, at the head of which were lord Strafford and the archbishop of Canterbury, neither of whom were competent, from their ignorance of Irish, to put the work to the only fair test, that of comparison with originals. The consequence was the suspension of the work, and a most tyrannical abuse of power towards its unoffending translator. A young man of the name of Baily pretended that the benefice which the bishop had given to King had lapsed, and obtained a broad seal for it, while the real incumbent was ejected, fined, and imprisoned. The bishop was indignant at such oppressive and unjustifiable proceedings, and expressed his opinion of them in a letter to the lord deputy, of which a copy has been preserved. The manuscript was, however, providentially preserved from the general devastation, and was printed many years afterwards at the expense of the Hon. Robert Boyle. The interest the Irish take in hearing the glad tidings in their native language is not less at the present day than it was in that day when Mr. Cloogy, the bishop's chaplain, says, "I have seen many of them express as much joy at the reading of a psalm, or of a chapter in the New Testament, in the Irish tongue, as was discovered by the people in the captivity, when Ezra read the law unto them."

The bishop, in the interval that occurred before the rebellion, translated into the Irish language, and printed in his own press, some of Leo's sermons, three of the homilies on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, with a new edition of his catechism in English and Irish.

The bishop preached twice every Sunday, and when he entered the church, it was evident, from his manner, that he remembered the counsel of the preacher: "keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God." Before the evening sermon he regularly catechized the younger part of the congregation. His voice is described as having been "low and mournful, the gravity of his countenance and behaviour secured attention, and the instructions which he delivered were excellent and spiritual."

The bishop's domestic habits and conduct were consistent with his public profession, and his devotional exercises, both in private and in his family, were frequent, fervent, and exalted. He prayed with his family three times in the day; early in the morning, before dinner, and after supper; and he never rose from dinner or supper without having a chapter read, which he often expounded. On Sundays, about the observance of which he was very strict, considering "the obligation of the Sabbath moral and perpetual," he was in the habit of reviewing the subjects of his sermons when retired amongst his family, and concluded the day with a psalm of thanksgiving, and with prayer.

He considered forms merely as the scaffolding that supported the building, and consequently most necessary; but in his estimation "Christianity was not so much a system of opinions, as a divine principle renewing and transforming the heart and life;" and he often repeated the saying of Augustine, "I look for fruit, not leaves." He wrote numerous paraphrases and expositions of scripture, which, along with his journal, and a large mass of papers, were lost during the rebellion, while a valuable Hebrew manuscript was preserved by the exertions of one of his Irish converts, and is at present in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. It is a remarkable circumstance that but one of the priests who had conformed to the protestant religion under Bedell's instruction, returned to their ancient faith, and *that one* turned out so infamous a character, that he plainly showed that he was totally devoid of all religion. The rest shared with Bedell the multiplied horrors of the rebellion of 1641, which was guided and stimulated by the fanatic barbarity of the Spanish priests, who would be satisfied with nothing less than a general massacre, and a universal extirpation of the protestants. With these atrocities raging round him, the bishop was still left unmolested. "There seemed," says Burnet, "to be a secret guard set about his house; for though there was nothing but fire, blood, and desolation about him, yet the Irish were so restrained, as by some hidden power, that they did him no harm for many weeks." He goes on to say that the bishop's house was in no condition to make any resistance, and yet his neighbours, all around, fled to him for shelter and safety. He shared everything he had with them; so that like the primitive Christians, they had all things in common; "and now that they had nothing to expect from men, he invited them all to turn with him to God, and to prepare for that death which they had reason to look for every day; they spent their time in prayers and fastings, which last was likely now to be imposed on them by necessity. The rebels expressed their esteem for him in such a manner, that he had reason to ascribe it wholly to that overruling power that stills the raging of the seas and the tumult of the people; they seemed to be overcome with his exemplary conversation among them, and with the tenderness and charity that he had upon all occasions expressed for them, and they often said, he should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland. He was the only Englishman in the whole county of Cavan that was suffered to live in his own house without disturbance."* Not only his own house, but the out-buildings, the church and church-yard, were full of people, who had been living in affluence, and were now glad of a heap of straw to lie upon, and of some boiled wheat to support nature. The bishop continued to sustain their sinking courage, calling upon them to commit their way unto the Lord, and to trust in Him.

Some of the more moderate of the rebels, in the county of Cavan, seeing most of their expected aids fail them, and that although many of their commanders were good, yet that the majority of their soldiery were at once cruel and cowardly, and consequently incapable of bringing about the day of independence and restitution that they dreamed of, began to fear that the days of retribution might follow, and came to the

* Burnet.

bishop, entreating him to interpose for them with the lords-justices, and to write a petition, to be signed by themselves, entreating clemency, and the removal of their grievances, and promising to make every possible reparation for the past, and for the outrages of the lower orders. The bishop complied; but the address, though admirably worded, produced no effect on the authorities to whom it was addressed.

About this period, Dr. Swiney, the titular bishop of Kilmore, came to Cavan. The bishop was intimate with his brother, whom he had been the means of converting, and ultimately provided for, besides keeping him for a long time at his own house as an inmate. Dr. Swiney told the bishop that he would go and live at his house, for the purpose of protecting him, if he wished it; but this the bishop declined in a courteous letter, which was written in the purest Latin.

During this season of calamity the bishop seemed to live for every one but himself. He was applied to for advice and instruction by Mrs. Dillon, the wife of a son of lord Roscommon's, who was a protestant, and very piously disposed; but who had been inveigled into a marriage with Mr. Dillon, under the assurance that he professed the same faith. So far from this he was a bigoted member of the church of Rome, and was also engaged in the present rebellion. He, in addition, insisted in bringing up his own children in the Roman catholic faith, but did not interfere with her religion, or that of her children by her first marriage.

The bishop wrote her a long and consoling letter, containing an epitome of christian duty, with its exalted privileges, and consoling hopes, with advice suited to her peculiar position, wise, moderate, and uncompromising.

The bishop remained unmolested from the 23d of October, the first day of the breaking out of the rebellion, until the 18th of December, when he received a command from the rebels to send away the outcasts he had so long sheltered and comforted. This he of course refused to do; and the rebels then assured him, that much as they loved and respected him (more indeed than all the English whom they had ever seen), they would yet be compelled, in compliance with the strict orders of the council at Kilkenny, to remove him from his house, to which he answered in the language of David—"Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seemeth good unto him; the will of the Lord be done."

He was accordingly seized with his two sons, and Mr. Cloogy his chaplain, and taken to the ruined castle of Lochoughter, the only place of strength in the county. It was built on a small island about a musket-shot from the shore, while only one small tower remained of the building. The water also had gained so much upon the island, that there was only about a foot of dry land surrounding the tower. They allowed the prisoners to take nothing away with them, while Dr. Swiney took possession of all that belonged to the bishop, and quickly converted that house, which might almost be called holy, having been so long sanctified by prayer, into a scene of riot, and the most debasing drunkenness, and on the following Sunday he performed mass in the church. They placed the bishop, who was near seventy, on horseback, but the rest had to proceed on foot, and on their arrival at this miserable habitation, all but the bishop were put into irons. The place was considered one of some strength and importance, and had been intrusted

to the care of Mr. Cullum, who had a large allowance from the government, for keeping it supplied as a magazine with powder, and weapons of defence; but he neglected his charge, and was one of the first captives placed there, when the rebels had converted it into a prison. The situation was very bare, and much exposed to a winter unusually severe, while the building was completely open to the weather. The gentle conduct of his keepers, as bishop Burnet well expresses it, seemed like a second stopping of the lions' mouths. The good old bishop, according to the same writer, took joyfully the spoiling of his goods and the restraint of his person, comforting himself in this, that these light afflictions would quickly work for him a more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. The day after his imprisonment, being the Lord's day, he preached to his little flock on the epistle of the day, which set before them the humility and sufferings of Christ; and on Christmas-day he preached on Gal. iv. 4, 5, and administered the sacrament to the small congregation about him; their keepers having been so charitable as to furnish them with bread and wine. The following day his son preached on the last words of saint Stephen. While they were endeavouring to keep their minds in the holy and prepared state of men waiting for their Master's coming, an unexpected circumstance occurred which was the means of removing them out of their miserable captivity. This circumstance was a sally made by Sir James Craig, Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Arthur Forker, afterwards Lord Grenard, with a body of Scots, from some houses in which they were closely besieged, and their provisions being exhausted, they preferred slaughter in the field, to famine. The attempt was at once unexpected and successful: they took some of the rebel leaders, killed others, and dispersed the rest. The result of this was their immediately demanding that the bishop, his two sons, and Mr. Cloogy, should be exchanged for their prisoners, and these latter being persons of importance, the demand was complied with. On the 7th of January, the prisoners on both sides were liberated, but the Irish only performed half their compact, as they promised to allow the bishop and his family to remove to Dublin, but hoping to secure additional advantages by keeping him in their power, they would not permit him to leave the county. He accordingly removed to the house of an Irish minister, Denis O'Shereden, to whom some respect was shown, in consequence of his Irish extraction, though he had conformed to the protestant religion, and married an English woman. He was a man of kind disposition, and strict principle, and aided many in their extremity.

During this last month of the bishop's life, notwithstanding his declining strength, he each Sunday either read the prayers and lessons, or preached. On the 23d of the month, he preached from the 71st psalm, particularly dwelling on these words, "O God, thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous work; now also when I am old and gray-headed, forsake me not." On the succeeding Sunday, he repeated again and again the following verse, which occurred in the psalms for the day, "Send down thine hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of the great waters, from the hand of strange children, whose mouth talketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood." The intense earnestness with which he repeated it,

but too plainly showed what was passing in his mind, and his family were impressed as if by an omen, and could not restrain their tears. On the next day he became alarmingly ill, and on the following, ague, the natural consequence of his long exposure to damp, set in. As he grew worse he called his sons and their wives around him, and addressed them at intervals in appropriate terms.

His speech failed shortly after, and he slumbered with little intermission, appearing composed and happy to the last. He died on the night of the 7th of February, the day of the month on which he was delivered from his captivity at Lockwater, or Lough-outré, as it is elsewhere called.

He requested to be laid next to his wife, who had been buried in the remotest part of the south side of the church-yard of the cathedral of Kilmore. The titular bishop having taken possession of the cathedral, it became necessary to get his permission. The chief of the rebels gathered his forces together, and accompanied the body from Mr. O'Shereden's to the church-yard of Kilmore with great solemnity, firing a volley of shot over his grave, and some of the better instructed among them exclaiming in Latin, "*Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*;"—May the last of the English rest in peace! They had often said, as they esteemed him the best of the English bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them.

"Thus lived and died," says Burnet, "this excellent bishop, in whom so many of the greatest characters of a primitive and apostolical bishop did show themselves so eminently, that it seemed fit that he should still speak to the world, though dead; since great patterns give the easiest notions of eminent virtues, and teach in a way that has much more authority with it than all speculative discourses can possibly have."

His judgment and memory were very extraordinary, and continued unimpaired to the last. He corresponded with many of the first divines of the age, not only in England, but on the continent, and wrote in Latin with great elegance and correctness. He was free of access, and easy in conversation, but talked seldom of indifferent matters; his thoughts and heart being fixed above; and whatever conversation occurred, he generally gave it a useful and instructive direction. He was as remarkable for his sincerity and faithfulness in giving reproof, as for his mildness and moderation in receiving it, however undeserved.

He was tall and graceful in his person; and there was an elevation in his countenance and demeanour that discovered what was within, and created an awe and veneration for him. His style was like his mind,—clear, elevated, and correct, but plain and simple, despising superfluous ornament, especially on subjects of such solemn import as the salvation of souls.

His deportment was serious and unaffected; and one of his biographers, in speaking of his dress, says, "His habit was grave; in a long stuff gown, not costly, but comely; his stockings woollen; his shoes not much higher behind than before." His grey hairs were a crown to him, both for beauty and honour, and he wore a long beard, according to the general custom of the time. His strength and health were remarkably good until within a few years of his death, and even

after he left Lockwater, he surprised his family by the bodily exertion he was enabled to make.

His recreations were few and simple; consisting chiefly of walking, and digging in his garden, in which he took great interest, having acquired much skill in the management of plants during his residence in Italy. The furniture of his house was plain, but suitable to his situation, and his table was well covered, and generally well attended with guests; but they were chiefly of those who could make him no return, and he lived amongst his clergy as if they had been his brethren. His humility was great, and finely contrasted with his undaunted firmness, whenever principle was involved, or self-interest to be sacrificed. He selected an ingenious device to express and increase this humility. It was a flaming crucible, with the following motto in Hebrew, "Take from me all my tin;" the word in Hebrew that signifies tin being *Bedel*. He directed in his will that his tombstone should bear this simple inscription:—"Depositum Gulielmi quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis," signifying that his body was committed in trust to the earth, till the time arrived when she should give up her dead.

JOHN BRAMHAL, PRIMATE OF IRELAND.

CONSECRATED A.D. 1634.—DIED A.D. 1663.

JOHN BRAMHAL was descended from a respectable family in Cheshire: he was born in Pontefract, in Yorkshire, in 1593. He received his education at the university of Cambridge, from whence, after taking his degree of A.M., he obtained a benefice in Yorkshire. A controversy with some Jesuits upon the Romish tenet of transubstantiation, terminated so as to ascertain his being possessed of high logical powers: and thus recommended, he was appointed chaplain to Matthews archbishop of York, whose friendship he soon gained, by his sterling virtues and sound practical ability. By this prelate he was appointed a prebendary of York and Rippon. In this station his character became generally known, and obtained a high influence among the aristocracy of his county; and becoming known to Sir Thomas Wentworth, then president of York, he was selected to be his chaplain. In 1633, there was a regal visitation in Ireland, held by his patron, with whom he came over and acted as one of the chief directors of the proceedings. He resigned his English preferments by the desire of Wentworth, and by his influence and recommendation was soon after appointed to the see of Derry; and was consecrated in the chapel of Dublin castle, on May 26th, 1634, by Usher and Dopping, with the bishops of Down and Cork. He had been recommended to the sagacious Wentworth, by his eminent attainments and talents for the conduct of affairs, at a period when the unsettled state of the kingdom, both in church and state, made such attainments more than usually desirable. In addition to his extensive theological and academical acquirements, Bramhal was also known to have obtained an accurate

knowledge of English law, a fact indicative of the industry of his disposition, and the solidity of his understanding.

In Ireland he quickly launched into a course of useful activity. There he found indeed ample scope for the hand of correction and reformation. Wentworth's visitation had exposed the ruinous state of the church, which was, in every respect, in the lowest condition consistent with existence: its revenues were insufficient for the sustenance of the clergy; and its condition in point of doctrine and discipline had fallen into an entire derangement. Bramhal at once set himself, with all the vigour of his character, to the reform of these defects, so fatal to the maintenance of religion, and no less so to the progress of civil prosperity in this kingdom.

In 1635, there was a meeting of parliament, in which he exerted himself, in conjunction with the lord-lieutenant, to repair the ruins of the church. An act was passed for the execution of pious uses. Another to confirm leases of certain lands made by the bishops of Armagh and other prelates, and empowering them to make leases for sixty years of such lands within five years. Another was passed for the preservation of the inheritance, rights and profits of lands belonging to the church and persons ecclesiastical. Another act was passed to facilitate the restitution of impropriations, tithes, &c., with provisions restraining alienations of such rights. In the course of the following four years, this activity of Bramhal, with the aid of these legal provisions, effected considerable improvements in the external condition of the church: availing himself of the law, and exerting such means as could be made available, he recovered between thirty and forty thousand pounds, *per annum*, of its income.

But his exertions were in nothing more successfully exerted for the church; than in the sharp struggle, which, at the same time took place, to restore the suspended uniformity of the two national churches. For this object there were many strong motives to be found in the then existing political state of the two kingdoms. The tremendous struggle of the civil wars was then developing in the distance; and the more tremendous element of religious dissent, though, not yet disclosing any thing of its real power as a principle of revolution, had begun so early as the previous reign, to make itself sufficiently sensible in the balance of opposing powers, to have become an object of earnest and anxious attention in the view of all thoughtful and observant politicians. The church of Ireland had received a tinge of the Calvinistic spirit, which had then presented itself, in a form opposed to the principles of the episcopal church of England, and was feared by the court, and the court party also, as inconsistent with the principles of monarchical government then held. The puritans were becoming already formidable in England, and it was reasonably feared, that if their influence should increase, all classes of Christians who concurred with them in general views of doctrine or discipline, would eventually be found to make common cause with them against the crown; and such, indeed, afterwards turned out to be the actual fact. These considerations, then, sufficiently apparent, had a prevailing weight in the policy of Charles, and of the sagacious Wentworth. Unquestionably, reasons of a still more influential description were not without their due weight:

both the king and his lieutenant were men susceptible of a strong tinge of religious notions; and it is not necessary to point out those which must then have pressed strongly on the heart of every Christian member of the episcopal church. To every consistent member of this church, there were questions of far higher interest than those paltry considerations of nationality, which engross the narrow scope of popular opinion, and cloud the intellect of the partisan; it was obvious, that the adhesion of the Irish church, to the uniform state of the English, was not only an accession of strength to the whole; but, as matters then stood, essential to the reformation, and even the safety, of the church. The disunion of the Irish church, like that of any smaller and less matured system comprising human principles of conduct and feeling from a larger and more matured system, with which it has such a connexion as subsists between the two countries, is not unlike that independence, which children would willingly gain, from the control of their parents: in all such cases the premature arrogation of self-government is sure to be maintained by every deviation from the course of prudence and discretion, that pride, passion, and the natural combativeness of human nature, can suggest. There are, it is true, abundant grounds of exception to this general rule; but, at that time, such grounds had no existence in a country, in all things characteristically governed by party feeling, and at that time especially, subject to this and all other deleterious influences, from the deficiency of those counteracting processes which belong to knowledge and civilization. Our church could only attain to a healthy state, and preserve its vitality by that incorporate vigour and regulated action, to be attained by a union like that then designed, and against which, there was no objection in principle; governed by English bishops, and ostensibly agreeing in forms of worship, doctrine, and church government, the same in all essentials that have any practical importance, the Irish church had fallen into the utmost irregularity in these respects, and having in itself no sanatory principle, might be restored but could not be impaired by such a connexion.

We have already had occasion to state the change which had been some time before effected in the form of the Irish church, by the substantial adoption of the articles of Lambeth. We are now, at the distance of twenty years from that incident, to relate the re-adoption of the articles and canons of the English church, a course advised by Bishop Bramhal, and violently resisted by many other influential members of the convocation. The plan of proceeding devised for the occasion, appears from a letter from Laud to Strafford, to have been this, that the articles of the church of England should be received *ipsisimis verbis*, and leave the other articles unnoticed, on the obvious principle of the statute law, that such a silence would amount to a virtual annulment. The propriety of this course was made clear enough from the justly anticipated risk of opposition. Such indeed, when the matter was first moved, seems to have been the suggestion of Usher himself, if we rightly interpret a passage in one of Strafford's letters to Laud, in which a way was "propounded by my lord Primate, how to bring on this clergy the articles of England, and silence those of Ireland, without noise as it were, *aliud agens*." Usher, however,

retracted; from what influence it is not now easy to ascertain farther than conjecture; but of his dislike to the proposed alteration there is no doubt. His change of opinion was expressed, and awakened the suspicions of Strafford; but he was at the moment too heavily encumbered with the pressing hurry of parliament, to interfere; and the convocation in which the proposal was introduced proceeded in its own way: what this was, and its likely result, may best be told in the words of the same letter: "At length I got a little time and that most happily too; I informed myself of the state of those affairs, and found that the lower house of convocation had appointed a select committee to consider the canons of the church of England; that they did proceed in that committee, without at all conferring with their bishops, that they had gone through the book of canons, and noted in the margin such as they allowed with an A; and on others, they had entered a D, which stood for *deliberandum*; that into the fifth article they had brought the articles of Ireland to be allowed and received under the pain of excommunication," &c.

The indignation of Strafford will easily be conceived; he at once summoned before him the chairman of the committee who was desired to bring with him the book of canons to which the above marks were annexed, with the draught of the canons which they had drawn up to present the same evening in the house; and having expressed his strong disapprobation, he peremptorily forbade the presentation of the report, till further notice. He then convened a meeting composed of Usher, Bramhal, and other bishops, before whom the committee had also been summoned to attend. In this assembly he sternly rebuked them for the whole of the proceedings. He then directed the prolocutor of their house, who was present by his desire, that he should put no question in the house, touching the receiving or not the articles of the church of Ireland; but that he should simply put the question for the allowing and receiving the articles of the church of England, "barely content, or not content."

Usher was desired to frame the canon for this purpose; but having done so, Wentworth, not contented with his draft, drew up another himself and sent it to Usher, who soon came to tell him that he feared it could never pass in that form. But Strafford, whose suspicions as to the primate's good-will, on the occasion, had been strongly excited, announced his determination to put it to the vote as it stood; and forthwith sent it to the prolocutor. This was the first canon of the convocation, and declaratory of the adoption of the thirty-nine articles, in the following form: "For the manifestation of our agreement with the church of England, in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments; we do receive and approve the book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the archbishops, and bishops, and the whole clergy in the convocation, holden at London, in the year of our Lord 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion. And, therefore, if any hereafter shall affirm, that any of those articles are, in any part, superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not absolved before he makes a public recantation of his error." By this canon, the thirty-

nine articles were adopted; but the natural question arose among the clergy—on whose part, in general, there remained a strong leaning in favour of the former articles—whether they were to be regarded as abolished or not. Some conceived that, by the new canon, they who should subscribe would only thereby declare their agreement with the doctrines of the English church, while the former still continued in force. Others, thinking more precisely, saw that the Irish articles were annulled by the canon. And it cannot but be admitted, that a recent enactment, of which the provisions were in direct contrariety to the previous law on the same points, must needs be considered as a virtual repeal. On points of coincidence, the former provisions would be merely superseded; and the question can only properly arise on points unaffected by the new law. Such must have been the decision, had the case been referred to judicial consideration; but in such a question relative to an entire system of fundamental provisions, embodying, in fact, the constitution of a church, there would seem to be a question of fitness antecedent to any such considerations. A church intending to unite itself with another, by the reception of its symbols and forms, must be referred to the design of such an act; and thus the maintenance of its ancient frame must be regarded as a plain absurdity, and wholly inconsistent with the object. Usher, indeed, with an inconsistency which we can but imperfectly account for, by allowing for the partiality of parentage—for the tenets of Usher are not represented by the Irish articles—considered that the English articles were only received subject to the construction they might receive from the Irish, and for the purpose “of manifesting our agreement with the church of England.” For some time after, the primate and several of the bishops required subscriptions to both sets of articles; but it was not without strong doubts of the legitimacy of such a procedure, an application was made to the lord-deputy for consent to re-enact the Irish articles, which he refused. Most of the bishops, however, adopted a course more in unison with the intent of Bramhal and the government. And in the troubles, which immediately after set in, the matter was dropped, and the thirty-nine articles have ever since been received without any question, as those of the united church of England and Ireland.

A similar effort was made with respect to the canons, but resisted by the primate, on the ground that the Irish church would thus be reduced to an entire dependence on the English; to prevent which the good primate proposed that, in this respect, some differences should be maintained, to preserve independence in that church of which he was the ecclesiastical head. Such a reason was consistent with the patriotism of Usher, and the no less respectable corporate feeling which is a main preserving principle of public institutions: but it was little consistent with a more enlarged view of the true interests of Ireland, which has in nothing suffered more than from its high pitch of nationality, maintained by distinctions, of which most, arising from the state of things, could not be removed. In thus excepting against the primate's reason, we may say, *en parenthese*, that eventually, this slight distinction between the two churches has been of service to religion in this island. But there were indeed better reasons for differences in the canons of

the churches than the one put foremost by Usher; and these, fortunately, were alone operative in the actual arrangement. It is, however, mentioned by Carte, that "abundance of the members were puritanical in their hearts, and made several trifling objections to the body of canons extracted out of the English, which was offered to their judgment and approbation; particularly to such as concerned the solemnity and uniformity of divine worship, the administration of the sacraments, and the ornaments used therein; the qualifications for holy order, for benefices and pluralities, the oath against simony, the times of ordination, and the obligation to residency and subscription."

Notwithstanding these and such objections, it was agreed to construct a body of ecclesiastical canons and constitutions for the Irish church, on the frame of those of England, by adopting such as might be deemed unobjectionable, and adding such as the special circumstances of Ireland might seem to require. The execution of this arrangement was committed to Bramhal, who drew up the Irish canons to the number of one hundred. These were passed in the convocation, and received the king's assent. The differences between those and the canons of the English church have been noticed, in a careful comparison, in a learned work by a late prelate, to whom the Irish church is variously indebted for works of great practical utility, to which we need only here refer.

As the puritans became ascendant in England, and obtained the full possession of the powers of government, the Irish parliament followed the example of the long parliament in England, and became the active instrument of rebellion and oppression. Their party in Ireland felt the advantage of the juncture, and resolved not to be wanting to the occasion: a petition against the bishops of the north, partly false—and what was not false, unjust—was got up, and received by parliament complacently. Against the active and uncompromising Bramhal, the especial enmity of the puritan party was directed: he was impeached, together with the chief justice, the chancellor, and Sir G. Radcliffe, by Sir Bryan O'Neill. The supporters of the charge were powerful and confident; and Bramhal's friends urged that he should keep himself aloof; but the firmness of the bishop's character made him resolve to meet the vexatious charges, which, in truth, had no object but a pretext for his destruction. He came to town and appeared in his place in the house of lords. He was immediately arrested, and committed to prison. The record of his merits and sufferings on this occasion has been perpetuated by the eloquence of Jeremy Taylor:—"When the numerous army of vexed people heaped up catalogues of accusations—when the parliament of Ireland imitated the violent proceedings of the disordered English—when his glorious patron was taken from his head, and he was disrobed of his great defences—when petitions were invited, and accusations furnished, and calumny was rewarded and managed with art and power—when there were about two hundred petitions put in against him, and himself denied leave to answer by word of mouth—when he was long imprisoned, and treated so that a guilty man would have been broken into affrightment and pitiful and low considerations—yet then, he himself, standing almost alone, like Callimachus at Marathon, hemmed in with enemies, and covered

with arrows, defended himself beyond all the powers of guiltiness, even with the defences of truth and the bravery of innocence; and answered the petitions in writing, sometimes twenty in a day, with so much clearness, evidence of truth, reality of fact, and testimony of law, that his very enemies were ashamed and convinced.* Such is the eloquent, but not exaggerated, account which Taylor has given, of the most truly illustrious period in the life of this eminent prelate. He winds up his brief and nervous detail, by the remark, that his enemies having failed to make good any particular case against Bramhal, had recourse to the common subterfuge of democratic persecution, and attacked him with vague and general accusations; or, in the words of Taylor, "They were forced to leave their muster-rolls, and decline the particulars, and fall to their *συμμετα*, to accuse him for going about to subvert the fundamental laws, the device by which great Strafford and Canterbury fell;" a device which, assuredly, in Bramhal's case, as in those of Laud and Wentworth, betrays, in the utter dishonesty of the pretence, a sanguinary premeditation to remove persons obnoxious by their virtue and principles. The robber as fitly might justify his vocation on the public roads, by pretending to maintain the laws of property, as the puritan parliament affect to vindicate any law but the will of an armed democracy. To these notices we may add the bishop's own account, in a letter to the primate:—"It would have been a great comfort and contentment to me, to have received a few lines of counsel or comfort, in this my great affliction which has befallen me, for my zeal to the service of his majesty, and the good of this church, in being a poor instrument to restore the usurped advowsons and impropriations to the crown, and to increase the revenue of the church in a fair, just way, always with the consent of the parties, which did ever use to take away errors.

"But now it is said to be obtained by threatening and force. What force did I ever use to any? What one man ever suffered for not consenting? My force was only force of reason, and law. The scale must needs yield when weight is put into it. And your Grace knows to what pass many bishopricks were brought, some to 100 per annum, some 50, as Waterford, Kilfenoragh, and some others; some to 5 marks, as Cloyne, and Kilmacduagh. How in some dioceses as in Frens and Leighlin, there was scarce a living left that was not farmed out to the patron, or to some for his use, at £2, £3, £4, or £5 per annum, for a long time, three lives or a hundred years. How the Chantries of Ardee, Dundalk, &c., were employed to maintain priests and friars, which are now the chief maintenance of the incumbents.

"In all this my part was only labour and expence: but I find that losses make a deeper impression than benefits. I cannot stop men's mouths; but I challenge all the world for one farthing I ever got, either by references or church preferments. I fly to your grace as an anchor at this time, when my friends cannot help me. God knows how I have exulted at night, that day I had gained any considerable revenue to the church, little dreaming that in future times that act should be questioned as treasonable, &c. &c."

* Quoted from Mant's History of the Irish Church.

In the reply of Usher, among other things, it is mentioned, "my lord Strafford, the night before his suffering, (which was most christian and magnanimous, *ad stuporem usque*) sent me to the king, giving me in charge, among other particulars, to put him in mind of you and of the other two lords that are in the same pressure." Eventually the king sent over his commands for the deliverance of the bishop, and he was soon after liberated.

The Irish rebellion now shortly set in; its deplorable consequences were not confined to any sect or class; but however they may have commenced in causes already sufficiently dwelt on, rapidly spread and involved alike the innocent and guilty in their prolonged course of terror, suffering, and destruction. Among the sufferers, it was least of all to be reckoned that Bramhal should escape his share. The miscreant O'Neile, whose character was an equal compound of madness and atrocity, made an effort for his destruction: Bramhal, however, came off with the loss of some personal property in the attack, the plunder of his carriages, and escaped into England, where he bravely and faithfully encountered many dangers scarcely less imminent, by his adherence to the king.

He visited this country again under the Commonwealth, and narrowly escaped being seized and delivered up at the revolt of Cork: on this occasion Cromwell is said to have strongly expressed his vexation, and said that he would have given a liberal reward for the apprehension of that "Irish Canterbury."* After some other misadventures, he again took the wise part of escaping into England, and was on the passage saved from his enemies, by a providential change of wind, which baffled the pursuit of two parliamentary ships, by which the vessel in which he sailed was chased. Finding no refuge in England, he was presently driven to the shift of travelling, and formed the somewhat unaccountable and rash design of a visit to Spain. But on his arrival in that country he received a seasonable warning: at an inn upon the road, his surprise was great at finding himself recognised by the hostess, who, on looking at his face, at once called him by his name. On being questioned by the bishop, the woman showed him his picture, and gave him the startling information, that many copies of it had been sent over with orders for his arrest and committal to the Inquisition. Her husband, she added, was under orders to that effect, and would not fail to execute them, should he discover him. It may be presumed, that the bishop was not slow to depart. On this incident doubts have been raised; with the grounds of the particular doubts we do not concur. But we have no very great confidence in any part of the narrative: we cannot admit the doubt that his parliamentary enemies would be active to get rid of the "Irish Canterbury" by any means, and we can as little doubt the convenient subserviency to such a purpose, of that most revolting and execrable of human institutions, the Spanish Inquisition: but we should most doubt that the sagacious intelligence of Bramhal would have walked heedless into so formidable a trap, without some motive more adequate than has been stated.

At this fearful period of calamity and reverse, when few clergy or prelates of the English and Irish church escaped the license of plunder, and the rapacity of unhallowed power; and Bramhal, like most of his brethren, was narrowly struggling on the verge of utter destitution, he was so fortunate as to receive a debt of £700, from some person to whom he had lent the sum in better times. As he was circumstanced, this was, indeed, a great and signal mercy, which he thankfully received, and gratefully disposed of, not only for his own relief, but that of other sufferers of his forlorn and persecuted church, and faithful loyalists, "to whom even of his penury he distributed so liberally, that the blessing of such as were ready to perish fell upon him."*

But Bramhal was reserved for better times; and as he had been tried and found faithful in the season of a fiery trial, so he was to be rewarded by the station for which he had been thus severely approved.

"At this period," writes bishop Mant, "the church of Ireland had preserved only eight of her former bishops; Bramhal of Derry; John Leasy of Raphoe; Henry Leasy of Down and Cavan; Maxwell of Kilmore; Baily of Clonfert; Williams of Ossory; Jones of Clogher; and Fulwar of Ardfert.—Of these, the bishop of Derry, in particular, was well-known, and highly esteemed for his previous ecclesiastical services, so that the general sense of the church and of the kingdom concurred with the judgment of the government, which made an early selection of him for the archbishoprick of Armagh, and primacy and metropolitan dignity of all Ireland, to which he was nominated in August 1660, and formally appointed on the 18th of January, 1661."† The appointment of so many new bishops as such a state of things demanded was for a time the rallying point of party and sectarian excitement: the desolate condition of the Irish church had raised the strong hopes of its enemies of every persuasion, that it could hardly be restored: and above all, at the present moment the expectation was, that the sees would not be filled. There was some difficulty on the part of government, arising from the want of the great seal, for the execution of the patents; but the marquess of Ormonde saw the strong expediency of putting an end to party speculation and to the propagation of the adverse feeling, by expediting the nomination which he advised to have made out under the king's signet. On the opposite side, addresses were sent up from numerous protestants, chiefly the leaven of the Cromwellian soldiers, to petition against bishops, and that their spiritual interests might remain "under the charge of the godly ministers of the gospel, who had so long laboured among them." The strength of this party was, however, not of a substantial or permanent character, as it lay almost entirely in the officers of the army, who were in fact only kept together in a state of organization by the want of money to pay their arrears. By these, or rather by their principal commanders, Sir T. Stanley, &c., the petitions were sent round for signatures, which were obtained with the ordinary facility of that spurious expression of popular sentiment. The officers had nevertheless been generally so free in their language, that there were few of

* Mant from Vesey's life of Bramhal.

† Hist. of the Church of Ireland.

them altogether beyond the reach of being called to account for seditious and disloyal expressions: of this circumstance Sir Charles Coote took advantage for the purpose of intimidating the most violent of them, and it is stated that they were thus led to desist.*

Yet the intrigues thus defeated, would, at this time, have been of slight comparative moment, had there not been persons of high rank and weight secretly concerned in impeding the re-edification of the Irish church. Such persons could not without danger commit themselves to proceedings which might, without wrong, be interpreted into disaffection to the crown at a moment when such a charge would be most unsafe. They felt themselves therefore, compelled, silently to allow the appointment of the bishops; but it was another thing and subject to no dangerous construction, to interfere with their temporalities, and to resist in every way the restoration of church possessions. Under the pretence of urging other interests, they endeavoured to obtain the insertion in the king's declaration for the settlement of Ireland, of a clause to withhold all improvements of ecclesiastical rents made during the government of the earl of Strafford—improvements mainly attributable to the wisdom and energy of Bramhal. They were now attacked on the pretence that they had been made at the council table, which had no authority for such acts.

To counteract this intrigue, Bramhal, now raised to the head of the Irish church, convened the other eight bishops in Dublin, in November, 1660, when they agreed upon an address, in which they represented to king Charles, "that it never was the intention of his grandfather, that one single tenant, who had no need, and was of no use to the church, should enjoy a greater yearly revenue out of his royal bounty than the see itself, and the succession of pastors; yet this was the case till the time of the earl of Strafford, through whose sides the church was now attacked, and in danger of suffering. That they were ready to demonstrate, that the council table in Ireland had been ever esteemed and used as the proper judicature for such causes, throughout the last two reigns, and so upwards throughout all ages since the conquest. Nor could it possibly be otherwise; the revenues of Irish bishops, depending much on the rules of plantation—and rules of plantation being only cognoscible at the council board." Having further extended the application of this principle, the petition went on to state the consequences, which they showed to be the entire beggary of the sees; and craved that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the church, until at least they might be heard in its defence. This petition was presented by the marquess of Ormonde, and received, through him, a favourable answer from the king, "that he would, by all the ways and means in his power, preserve their rights and those of the church of Ireland, so far as by law and justice he might, &c., &c." With the king's letter the marquess wrote to the primate, assuring him of his own zealous co-operation. The good offices of the marquess were indeed prompt and effectual, and, through his zealous exertion, the king soon restored the temporalities of the Irish church

* Carte, ii. 209.

to the full extent of their possessions in 1641. He also issued his royal mandate to the primate for the consecration of the new bishops nominated to the vacant sees. Accordingly, two archbishops and ten suffragans were, on the 27th of January, 1661, consecrated in St Patrick's cathedral, by the primate, assisted by four other bishops; the consecration sermon being preached by Jeremy Taylor. And, not often in the history of churches has there occurred an occasion so suited to call forth the higher powers of that illustrious preacher, than on that occasion which witnessed the restoration of the sacred edifice of the church from the dust and ashes in which it had been cast down by cupidity and fanaticism; and the consecration to that sacred office of twelve men, who had, during these dark and dreadful years of trial and dismay, braved all the terrors and sufferings of persecution for her sake, and now stood up in their white robes, like those "which came out of great tribulation," to stand before their Master's throne and serve him in his temple. Bishop Mant, who gives a brief but full detail of the proceedings of this day, closes his account with the following observation, which we here extract:—"The consecration, at the same time, and by imposition of the same hands of twelve Christian bishops, two of the number being of metropolitan eminence, to their apostolical superintendence of the church of Christ, is an event probably without a parallel in the church." The event and its consequence, with reference to the illustrious primate engaged in the consecration, is thus noticed by bishop Taylor, in his sermon preached at the funeral of archbishop Bramhal, in the year 1663:—

"There are great things spoken of his predecessor St Patrick, that he founded 700 churches and religious convents, that he ordained 5000 priests, and with his own hands consecrated 350 bishops. How true the story is I know not, but we were all witnesses that the late primate whose memory we celebrate, did by an extraordinary contingency of Providence, in one day consecrate two archbishops and ten bishops; and did benefit to almost all the churches of Ireland; and was greatly instrumental in the re-endowments of the whole clergy; and in the greatest abilities and incomparable industry was inferior to none of his antecessors."

We cannot, consistently with the popular design of this work, here enter, in all the detail to which we might otherwise be inclined, upon a view of the position in which our church now stood, after many trying vicissitudes again settled on a strong basis, against a sea of troubles which continued and continues to beat against her sacred ramparts. She was yet surrounded on every side by jealousy, enmity, and cupidity; and her many and various enemies, though beaten down by the result of the long struggle which had steeped the land in woe and murder for so many years, still retained their hate, and, though they did not endanger her existence, exposed her to many trials, and much abridged her usefulness. On this general state of things we shall at a further period venture some reflections, which might here carry us further than is our desire from the direct purpose of this memoir.

Among the difficulties to which the bishops were now exposed, was that arising from the number of their clergy who had been admitted from

the presbyterian church, and who, therefore, had not received ordination according to the canons of the church, as it now stood. To these men in general, there was personally no objection; but it was justly decided by Bramhal and the other bishops, that the canons of the church must be adhered to. A departure from order is unquestionably inconsistent with that inviolability on which the existence of institutions is (to all human contemplation,) dependent. The difficulty was indeed considerable: the necessity of a strict adherence to the laws of an institution is not always sensible to the popular eye; it is easier to see the evil or the hardship when a good preacher and a worthy minister of the gospel stands questioned on a seeming point of form, than to comprehend the vital necessity of preserving inviolate the order and form of a sacred institution. The bishops were, perhaps, becomingly indifferent as to the foam and "salt surf weeds" of popular opinion: but they felt as men the hardship to the man, and as prelates the loss to the church. The course to be pursued was nice and difficult, for it was a peremptory necessity in such cases, that the minister should receive episcopal ordination: such, by a clause in the act of uniformity was the law; nor could the bishop depart from it for any consideration of expediency, without an abandonment of the sacred obligations of his office. Under these circumstances, the conduct of Bramhal displayed the prudence, firmness, and kindness of his nature; "when the benefices were called at the visitation, several appeared and exhibited only such titles as they had received from the late power. He told them they were no legal titles; but in regard he heard well of them, he was willing to make such to them by institution and induction, which they humbly acknowledged, and entreated his lordship to do. But desiring to see their letters of orders, some had no other but their certificates of ordination by some presbyterian classes, which, he told them did not qualify them for any preferment in the church. Whereupon the question immediately arose 'are we not ministers of the gospel?'" To this Bramhal replied that such was not the question, and explained the essential distinction between an objection on the ground of a positive disqualification for the ministry, and one on that of not being qualified to be functionaries of the church. He pointed out the important fact that the defect of their orders was such as to vitiate the title of their temporal rights, and that they could not legally sue for their tithes. Without disputing their sacred character or their spiritual qualification, he insisted on the necessity of guarding against schism and of the preservation of order. To his arguments all the more reasonable gave their assent, and complied with the law by receiving ordination according to the form prescribed by the canons of the church, and contained in the Book of Common Prayer. In the letters of orders given on this occasion, there was introduced the following explanatory form. "*Non annihilantes priores ordines, (si quos habuit,) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorum determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forensicarum condemnantes, quos proprio judici relinquimus: sed solummodo supplentes quicquid prius defuit per canones ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum; et providentes paci ecclesiæ, ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ullo modo dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actui*

suos presbyteriales tanquam invalidos asseverantur: in cuius rei testimonium," &c.

In 1661, a parliament was called in Dublin, and Bramhal was appointed speaker of the house of lords; the lord chancellor having been supposed to be disqualified for that office, as being at the time one of the lords-justices of the kingdom. The appointment, with the reasons and attendant circumstances, are thus announced to the duke of Ormonde, by lord Orrery: "His majesty having empowered the lords-justices to appoint a fit person to be speaker of the house of lords, my lord Chancellor has proposed to us my lord Santry, against whom we had several material objections, besides his disability of body; and he being at best a cold friend to the declaration: which made me propose my lord primate, well known in [versed in] the orders and proceedings of that house, (having sat in two parliaments,) a constant and eminent sufferer for his late and now [present] majesty: and that in such a choice, we might let the dissenters and fanatics see what we intend as a church government. Besides, it was but requisite, that church which had so long suffered, should now, (in the chief of it,) receive all the honours we could confer on it. My lord chancellor, [Sir M. Eustace,] for some days dissented therein, but at last concurred; and this day my lord primate sat in that character."*

In this parliament the primate was both alert and efficient in promoting the cause of the church and the interests of the clergy, and his efforts were expressly recognised by a solemn vote in the convocation. The parliament, indeed, appears to have been favourably inclined, as their first act was a declaration, requiring conformity to the church and liturgy as established by law. They are said to have proceeded thus early in this matter, as there was an apprehension of opposition from the dissenters so soon as their estates should be secured.† Other acts indicative of the same spirit may be here omitted, having been for the most part already noticed.

During the continuance of this parliament, a false alarm was excited by a letter, dated November 18th, and purporting to be written by a priest, named James Dermot, to another, named James Phelan. This was sent to the lords-justices, and contains complaints of the obstinacy of their enemies, in not returning to the obedience of the holy see, holding out prospects of freedom, and recommending that care should be taken to preserve their arms for the time of using them which was near, &c. This letter was the means of exciting alarm, and causing rigorous proceedings to be proposed; but the primate at once suspected and early pronounced it to be an imposture. To expose the truth he advised to have the two priests sent for: this was done, and many circumstances appear to have confirmed the primate's suspicion, although it was not found an easy matter to quiet the zeal of the government functionaries or the strong fears of the protestants; and the priests were treated with undeserved suspicion and protracted inquiry before the affair was set at rest.

On the 31st May, 1661, by an order of the house of commons, the master of the wards waited upon the primate to request, that he would

* Carte's Life of Ormonde, and Orrery's State Letters. † Life of Ormonde.

administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the members: the primate, in compliance, appointed for the purpose the Sunday fortnight, in St Patrick's cathedral; and the Friday previous to that day he also appointed for a sermon, preparatory for the occasion. The sermon was on the subject of repentance, as testified by the forsaking of former sins, and was printed in accordance with a request of the house.

On the 25th June, 1663, the church was deprived, by death, of this most able, judicious, and efficient of her servants. Some, like Usher, may have deserved more highly the praise of comprehensive and profound learning; some, like Bedell, may be more venerable for saintly devotion; and some, like Taylor, may be illustrious for the splendid combination of unrivalled eloquence with these eminent gifts. But for the solid judgment which directs, and the moral virtues of firmness and industrious perseverance which hold on through the oppositions and difficulties of circumstance; for the sagacious estimate of the wants and workings of institutions, and the practical ability and energy to carry into effect the necessary expedients for improvement, reform, or defence; few churchmen may justly claim a fuller or worthier tribute of praise than Bramhal.

JOHN LESLIE, BISHOP OF CLOGHER.

CONSECRATED A.D. 1628—DIED A.D. 1671.

THE family of Leslie originated in Hungary at a very early period, and became in the course of many generations diffused into most parts of Europe. In their native country the family rose to high distinction, and gave many illustrious names to history. In the year 1067, when queen Margaret came to Scotland, Bertholdus Leslie came in her train, and obtained the favour of Malcolm III., who gave him his own sister in marriage, with large grants of land, and the command of the castle of Edinburgh, which he had bravely defended against the king's enemies. He was afterwards raised to the earldom of Ross; and gave rise to many noble families in the Scottish peerage.

The family of Leslie, in Ireland, is descended from William Leslie, fourth baron of Wardis in Scotland, who for his personal agility obtained the post of grand falconer to James IV. of Scotland. Of his sons, two gave origin to Irish families; James, whose grandson married into the family of Conyngham; and George, whose son, the Rev. John Leslie, is the subject of our present sketch.

He was born in 1572, in Scotland, and when about thirty-two, went abroad to complete his education by foreign travel. He visited Spain, Italy, and Germany, and having passed into France, was induced, by what reason we have not discovered, to reside there for many years. He was probably induced to this prolonged sojourn by the facilities for study not yet to be found at home, and which that country then afforded; and this conjecture is confirmed by the fact, that he attained a high and honourable proficiency in the learning of that period; and, in a not less remarkable degree, a command of the continental

tongues. He remained abroad for twenty-two years, and came home, we may presume, with a high reputation from the foreign schools. He was consecrated bishop of Orkney, having then attained the advanced age of fifty-six. He obtained doctor's degree in Oxford, and not long after came over to Ireland with his cousin James. He was made a denizen of Ireland, and in 1633 appointed a privy-councillor, and bishop of Raphoe.

During his continuance in this see, he recovered a third of its estate from those of the gentry of the diocese who wrongfully held the bishop's lands. He also erected an episcopal palace, which enabled him not only to stand his ground through the troubles which shortly after broke out, but to take a bold and distinguished part—not only stemming the first fury of the rebels, but resisting, with not less vigour and success, the more organized and powerful arms of Cromwell. His spirit and vigour induced the government to offer him a military command—this he refused as inconsistent with his sacred calling. But his refusal had in it no touch of weakness; and when the emergency of the occasion appeared to demand, he performed the duties of a brave and able leader, in defence of the protestant people of Ireland.

On one occasion this spirited old man displayed a spirit which approaches more near to the heroism of the ancient Greek warrior than an aged christian prelate. When the parliamentary forces began to obtain a superiority in the war, the bishop collected a force among his neighbours, and advanced to the defence of a mountain-pass on the road from Raphoe to Maharabeg in Donegal, where Sir Ralph Gore lay besieged—expecting the approach of the enemy, he is reported to have dropped on his knees on the roadside, and in the hearing of his men uttered the following very singular prayer:—"Almighty God! unto whom all hearts be open, thou knowest the righteousness of the cause we have in hand, and that we are actuated by the clearest conviction that our cause is just; but as our manifold sins and wickedness are not hid from thee, we presume not to claim thy protection, trusting in our own perfect innocence; yet if we be sinners, they are not saints; though then thou vouchsafest not to be with us, be not against us, but stand neuter this day, and let the arm of the flesh decide it." The enemy came shortly on, and were defeated, and the neighbouring country thus delivered from much severe calamity.

Bishop Leslie was soon after besieged by Cromwell in his palace; but this having been built with military foresight of such dangers, his resistance was successful. He was the last person in his country who held out against the parliamentary forces. When the liturgy was prohibited, he used it in his own household, and amid all the dangers of the time, steadily and openly maintained his episcopal character.

This brave and pious bishop died in 1671, at his house (or castle) of Glaslough, in his hundredth year, having been, according to his biographers, fifty years a bishop; though, looking to the dates which they give of his consecration and death, the time appears to be something less, as his consecration as bishop of Orkney was in 1628, from which to his death, in 1671, amounts to no more than 43 years.

Bishop Leslie left two sons, of whom one, Charles Leslie, dean of Connor, was eminent in the next generation.

JEREMY TAYLOR, BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.

BORN A. D. 1613.—DIED A. D. 1667.

IN the year 1555, it is known that the statutes of earlier reigns, from Richard II., against the Lollards, the earliest protestants of England, were revived by the bigotry of queen Mary, and carried into a fearful and atrocious execution by those merciless and miscreant apostates, Bonner and Gardiner. Among the exalted and worthy prelates and ministers of the church of England, who obtained the martyr's crown in that season of trial, was Rowland Taylor, the chaplain of the illustrious Cranmer, and rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk. This worthy servant of God had the fortune to have a neighbour, the rector of the next parish, a man of pliant conscience, who, like all such, was perhaps ready to veer and turn with the wind of preferment and power, without any very conscious sacrifice of principle. Of this person it is mentioned, that, in the fervour of his zeal to comply with the new court doctrines, he was not content to celebrate the mass in his own parish of Aldham, but resolving to convert also the parishioners of Hadleigh, he seized possession of the church. When Taylor received the information of this outrage, he quickly repaired to the scene. A crowd of the people, who had been attracted by curiosity and other feelings, stood outside: the door was locked, and Taylor had to make his way through a side entrance. On entering the church, he found his neighbour dressed in the attire of the church of Rome, and standing before the communion table ready for that service so irreconcilable with any of the reformed churches, and surrounded by a guard of soldiers. Taylor was unsupported by the presence of any of his own parishioners, who were locked out; but he was a man of firm and warm temper, and not less zealous than the fiery renegade who had intruded into his church. "Thou devil," said he, "who made thee so bold as to enter this church of Christ?" The intruder replied—"Thou traitor, what doest thou here, to let and disturb the queen's proceedings?"—"I am no traitor, but the shepherd whom God hath appointed to feed his flock in this place. I have therefore authority here; and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God, to avoid coming hence," retorted Taylor. But the rector of Aldham and his party were not to be moved by words; they put Taylor forcibly out of the church, and fastened the door by which he had entered. The people who surrounded the building, when they perceived that violence had been used, had recourse to stones, but could do nothing more than break the church windows. The party within completed their commission, and, being regular soldiers, came away without effective opposition. From this act of resistance, no very serious apprehensions were perhaps at first entertained by Taylor, who probably contemplated deprivation as the extreme consequence to which he might be subjected by persisting in his duty: the law was yet in his favour, as the occurrence happened a little before the revival of the statutes above mentioned; and there was a seeming security in the known

sense of the English people. Such a reliance is, indeed, mostly illusive; it is seldom considered that it requires a considerable time to call national feeling into action, and that great and sudden exertions of arbitrary power are always more likely to amaze and prostrate, than to awaken the slow process of popular concentration. The queen, inflamed by a morbid and fanatic temper, and urged by the bigots of a persecuting creed, acted with decision. The protection of law was easily withdrawn; and when the statutes of the dark ages were revived, Taylor was urged by his friends to escape from a danger which was now easily foreseen; but the brave and devoted man rejected such counsel. He told his friends—"I am now old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible days. Flee you, and act as your consciences lead. I am fully determined to face the bishop, and tell him to his beard that he doth naught." His courage was not long to remain untried. He was brought before the lord-chancellor Gardiner who degraded the office of a bishop, and the seat of British equity, to give weight to the Satanic mission of an inquisitor. When confronted with his judge, Taylor asked him, in a solemn and unmoved tone, how he could venture to appear before the judgment-seat, and answer to the Judge of souls for the oaths he had taken under Henry and Edward. Gardiner answered, that these were Herod's oaths, and to be broken; that he had acted rightly in breaking them, and wished that Taylor would follow the example. The trial was not of long duration; for Taylor admitted the charges that he was married, and held the mass to be idolatrous. He was committed to prison, where the savage Bonner came to deprive him of his priesthood. Here another characteristic scene occurred. It was necessary that Bonner should strike him on the breast with his crosier. When about to perform this ceremonial, his chaplain told the bishop—"My lord, strike him not, for he will surely strike again." "Yea, by St Peter, will I," was the stout old man's reply. "The cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian if I refused to fight in my Master's quarrel." His sentence was the stake; and on the 9th February, 1656, he was brought out to be burned before his parishioners at Hadley. He was put into a pitch barrel, before a large crowd of afflicted spectators, whose outraged feelings were restrained by a cruel soldiery. Before fire was set to the barrel in which this martyr stood, an unknown hand among the soldiers threw a fagot at his head, with such force as to make the blood stream down his face. When he felt the flames, he began to repeat the fifty-first Psalm—"Have mercy on me, O God, after thy great goodness; according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences. Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge my faults; and my sin is ever before me. Against thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight," &c. He was interrupted by a stroke of a halbert in the mouth, and desired to pray in Latin. The anger, or compassion of one of his guards happily abridged his sufferings. While the fire was slowly increasing about his agonized frame, a merciful blow on the head knocked out his brains.

From this venerable martyr of the English church was lineally descended Nathaniel, the father of Jeremy Taylor. The suffering of

his venerable ancestor had entailed poverty on his descendants; as Gardiner, who had probably selected the victim for his estate, had obtained possession of it after his death; and Nathaniel Taylor held a station in life more lowly than might be presumed. He was a barber-surgeon—a profession which, though very far below the rank of the surgeon of modern science, was no less above the barber of our time. Bishop Heber infers the respectability of his condition from his having filled the office of churchwarden, mostly held by wealthy and respectable persons. That he was not devoid of learning is ascertained from a letter written afterwards by his son, who mentions him “as reasonably learned, and as having himself solely grounded his children in grammar and mathematicks.”*

He was, it is supposed, sent at an early age to a grammar school in Cambridge, in which his progress is not traced, and entered the university in his thirteenth year, as a sizar in Caius college. There too, but indistinct and scanty notices remain of the course of reading he may have pursued. It does not appear from his writings, or from the known incidents of his life and conversation, that he made any considerable progress in mathematical science then, as since ardently cultivated in Cambridge. Yet the study of the mathematical science, as it then existed, would have filled but a small cell in the wide and all-contemplative mind of Taylor; and we cannot easily conclude that any part of ancient learning so gratifying to the intellect, and even attractive to the speculative imagination, should not have been followed and mastered by one who entered already grounded in the science. But many high talents were combined in Taylor, and we cannot conceive him long detained by the mere science of quantity and position; for the reader must recollect that the foundations of applied science had not been yet laid. But he was doubtless industrious in the acquisition of the multifarious knowledge which gleams copiously diffused through his style. It is generally related, on the authority of one who was his friend, that he obtained a fellowship in his own college, after taking his bachelor's degree, in 1631. But Heber, who was in possession of fuller and more authoritative accounts, cites Mr Bonney, who denies that there is any proof for such an assertion.

Shortly after taking his master's degree, he was admitted into holy orders; and an incident soon occurred which brought him into notice, and laid the first step of his advancement. He had among his college-intimates a friend named Riden, who had a little before obtained a lectureship in St Paul's cathedral. Having occasion to absent himself for some time, he applied to Taylor to fill his place until his return. Taylor consented, and soon became the object of that admiration which ever followed his preaching. Besides the power, brilliancy, and varied effect of his style; the grace of his person, and youthful sweetness and dignity of his countenance, heightened the charm of an eloquence unprecedented in the pulpit; and with these, “perhaps,” writes Heber, “the singularity of a theological lecturer, not twenty years of age, very soon obtained him friends and admirers.” His fame soon reached the palace of Lambeth, and Laud sent for him to preach before him there.

* Heber.

He attended, preached, and was approved. But the archbishop was no less judicious than zealous in his encouragement of learning and piety: he thought it would be of far more advantage, in both respects, that Taylor should remain some time longer in his college. In order that he might more effectually be enabled to serve him, the archbishop thought it desirable to remove him to Oxford, in which he had himself considerable influence, having spent most of his life there, and some authority, being a visitor at the university. Some interval is supposed by Heber to have elapsed between the first interview here mentioned and the latter circumstance, during which Taylor may have prosecuted his studies at Maidley Hall, near Tamworth, according to a tradition still current in that vicinity. On October 20th, 1635, he was admitted in University college, Oxford, to the same rank which he had held in Cambridge; in three days after, a letter from Laud recommended him to succeed a Mr Osborn, who was about to give up his fellowship. This recommendation, however influential it might be with many, was naturally counteracted by that strong and salutary corporate feeling, which renders such bodies jealous of independence and in some degree exclusive. Taylor had scarcely obtained the character of an Oxfordman ten days; and unfortunately the statutes then required three years standing in the candidates. Laud argued that the degree of master conveyed the privileges of the standing which it implied: and the fellows were inclined to assent. The opposition of the warden, Dr Sheldon, defeated the object proposed, and in consequence no election took place at the time—and the nomination thus appears to have lapsed to the archbishop, in his visitorial capacity. In virtue of this power, he appointed Taylor to the vacant fellowship, on the 14th of January, 1636. The history of this incident seems to have been much involved in difficulties, which we think unnecessary to state, as the recent and popular memoir of Taylor by Bishop Heber, which we mainly follow, investigates the question with great fulness and sufficient authority, and, we think, explains the grounds of his decision satisfactorily. The bishop concludes his statement with the remark, that "the conduct of Sheldon, throughout the affair, seems to have been at once spirited and conscientious; but it may have been marked by some degree of personal harshness towards Taylor, since we find that, for some years after, a coolness subsisted between them, till the generous conduct of the warden produced, as will be seen, a sincere and lasting reconciliation."

Taylor was thus placed in a position of all others perhaps the most favourable to the pursuits, as well as to the prospects, of a young student in divinity, who has talents to cultivate and a love of literature as it then subsisted. It was a time when the productive energies of the human intellect had not yet been called, otherwise than slightly and partially into operation—or even the right modes and processes of such a development been more than intimated to the mind of the day. The tendency, therefore, of the highest and brightest intellect was rather to gather and accumulate from the vast spread stores of the learning of antiquity and the middle ages, than to spend its power on such vague efforts at invention, as mere speculative investigations were only sure to produce. Hence the vast and seemingly inexhaustible treasures of

erudition which give to Hooker, &c. &c., the colossal amplitude, which has been so often observed by modern critics. These giants, as they are not unaptly termed, were fully engaged in extricating from the quarry, in rough-hewing and drawing into orderly arrangement, the ponderous materials, on which so many and magnificent structures have been raised. The profuse treasures of Greek and Roman antiquity; the comparatively unknown branches of oriental literature, which still demand the earnest cultivation of universities; the wide field of scholastic learning, from which purer and more compendious methods of reasoning and expression were then beginning to arise, according, perhaps, to the best models of the standard writers among the ancients. These offered a wide and sufficiently engrossing direction. But, in addition, vast revolutions in ecclesiastical and civil concerns were in their maturity of form ready to break out into action, at the call of circumstances. And questions of the most profound importance, and involving the very foundations of church and state, called forth the more available powers of learned men. The discussions which began yearly to acquire increasing interest were not, as now, met on points of seemingly slight detail, but at the fountain head. Hence the broad and comprehensive view of a whole question, from the first elements to the minutest ramifications of the argument—so that every discussion was an elementary treatise. This tendency was, it is true, augmented by the time hallowed dialectic of the schools, from which the art of reasoning was yet drawn, and the habits of the intellect formed. Hence the minute and nugatory distinctions and divisions, without substantial difference, which characterize the ablest pens. The comparative scarceness of elementary treatises, and indeed of books, either demanded or invited the digressive method which supposes every thing unknown, and leaves out nothing that may however remotely be involved in the main argument. Such were the main causes, and such the general state of literature, in the period on which we are now engaged. And we have thought it not unseasonable to advert to it here, as we are impressed with a strong sense of its relation to the intellectual frame of Taylor's genius—though we shall again have to notice the same facts, when we shall come to trace the relative character of the learning of this period and our own, and the transition from one to the other.

During his occupation of the fellowship, Taylor is said to have been much admired for his preaching, which Wood designates "casuistical;" but Heber comments on the term, by observing, that "few of his existing sermons can be termed 'casuistical.'" We should presume that Wood employs the term inaccurately, and rather to convey an impression than to describe precisely. A more important fact was the suspicion which started up, at this time, of his being privately inclined to the communion of the church of Rome,—a suspicion which haunted him through life. This groundless notion mainly arose from that absence of bigotry, which ever characterizes the higher order of Christians; sometimes, indeed, to the verge of that opposite extreme, which deserves the name of latitude. There is no subject so dangerous to touch on lightly, as the accusation or defence of those fierce extremes, into which human opinion seems to verge in opposite directions.

Truths which rather influence from habit than by reason, are held by nearly the same tenure as prejudices; and, therefore, in the very remotest allusion to bigotry, there is always a risk incurred of seeming to favour the opposite and worse extreme: worse, because it is better to adhere with a blind tenacity to truth and right, than blindly to reject them; and better to be a formalist, than to break down the barriers of divine and human institutions. The combative principle of our nature, in nothing appears more strongly, than in its union with the intellectual ardour for disputed opinions and tenets; but they, who, in support of a creed however holy, would "call down fire from heaven," may be truly answered with the divine rebuke, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." If, indeed, the hostile array of opposing churches were but to vie in the essential spirit, and endeavour to outshine each other in the genuine sanctity of Christian charity, there would, in the course of a little time, be an end of ecclesiastical contention. It must, however, in fairness be allowed, that as the rank of those who are Christians according to the Redeemer's own test,—“if ye love one another,”—is by no means commensurate with the church visible, in any of its forms, and that there is yet at least a spurious and powerful array of secular hostility, leagued against it on every side: it is, perhaps, therefore, providentially ordered, that the church can derive strength from the worldly passions, or the intellectual tendencies which cling together in support of institutions. The charge of bigotry is a missile which can be retorted indeed freely on every side—but unless when it involves the baser and darker passions of our nature we would say it is too indiscriminately applied, and is never so truly applicable in the worst sense, as to the shallow infidel who is the most ready to use it. In making this allowance, we may claim from the severe and rigid champion of tenets, some indulgence for the discriminative liberality of men like Bedel and Taylor, whose zeal against the errors of the church of Rome did not prevent their ready and cordial intercourse with such of its clergy as were otherwise worthy of respect and regard. There are protestant clergymen—and it is indeed for this reason we think it necessary to say so much on the point—who are so destitute of moral firmness, and so little built up in the knowledge of their profession, that they cannot be liberal without being lax, or charitable without feebleness, and a few weak individuals have allowed the vicious love of popularity to usurp the place of principle; such instances, we are glad to allow, are not frequent, but, a few instances of this nature are enough to exasperate prejudice, and lead to the confusion of ideas, so often contained in such reproaches as we have noticed. But on the high intellectual and spiritual level of a man like Taylor, opposition cannot take the form of narrow bigotry, or conciliation and charity that of low and feeble compromise. Mailed alike in the armour of righteousness; and panoplied with the full resources of talent and knowledge—there was no room for any feeling opposed to a frank and ingenuous regard for an able and a good man, who might yet entertain errors, much to be deprecated. Great learning and superior understanding must command respect, and good qualities regard, even in an enemy, and the person who feels them not, is at least devoid of some of the nobler virtues of

human nature; but we cannot conceive an object of deeper or more anxious interest to a good mind, than an amiable, well-intentioned, humane, and gifted man, whom we know to be involved in unhappy and dangerous errors, which may, for any thing we can know to the contrary, place him under a most awful weight of spiritual responsibility—a feeling which must be heightened much by the consideration, should it have place, that he is the object of severe human enactments, (even though just and politic,) and of the prejudices of the vulgar, whose feelings, however rightly directed, are seldom placed upon the just grounds. At the period of his life, in which we are now engaged, Taylor is mentioned to have lived on terms of intimacy with a learned Franciscan, known by the appellation of Francis a Sancta Clara, but whose real name was Christopher Davenport; and of whom, Heber gives the following brief account:—"He was born of protestant parents, and, with his brother John, entered, at an early age, in the year 1613, as battler or poor scholar of Merton college. The brothers, as they grew up, fell into almost opposite religious opinions. John became first a violent puritan, and at length an independent. Christopher, two years after his entrance at Merton, being then only seventeen years old, fled to Douay with a Romish priest, and took the vows of Francis of Assisi. He rambled for some years through the universities of the Low countries and of Spain; became reader of divinity at Douay, and obtained the degree of doctor. At length he appeared as a missionary in England, where he was appointed one of Queen Henrietta's chaplains, and during more than fifty years, secretly laboured in the cause of his religion." We further learn, that, although his great ability led to his promotion, and preserved to him the confidence of the papal cabinet, yet his known liberality of sentiment and the conciliatory spirit, which is said to have appeared throughout his writings, drew upon him a general distrust among the members of his own church. One of his books entitled "*Deus, Natura, Gratia*," had the honour to find a place in the *Index Expurgatorius* of Spain, and narrowly escaped being burnt in Italy.* He spent much of his time in Oxford, among the learned men of which he had many friends, and often found refuge there in the stormy times through which he lived. He died at a very advanced age, in 1680.

Such friendships, however consistent with firm and consistent adherence to Taylor's own church, could not in such times escape misconception. An intimacy with the same person was afterwards, in 1643, one of the charges which brought Laud to the block.† The friar, in his conversation, very naturally spoke of Taylor, as of one whose opinions tended very much to an agreement with his own: it is easily understood, how two able men of different persuasions, may very much confine their communications either to those points on which they can agree, or at least in which they may not unreasonably hope to convince each other; and as easy to apprehend the mistake which is but too likely to arise from such conversations, when so much that is common is differently seen in relation to different principles. It is, therefore, no injustice to assume, that Davenport is most likely to have repre-

* Heber.

† Heylin, Book V. p. 40.

sented Taylor in such a manner, as could not fail to heighten much the prejudices which, in such times, would be excited by their acquaintance.

It was at a very advanced age, and, of course, many years after Taylor's death, and still further from the period of their intimacy, that Davenport told Wood how Taylor had some serious thoughts of being reconciled to the church of Rome, but that the Roman catholics rejected him on account of some offensive expressions, in a sermon which he preached at this time, on a fifth of November, in the university. Now, this is mere dotage, if not a very unwarrantable breach of truth; for, it appears that the unwarrantable expressions in question, are nothing less than a clear chain of reasoning, from which the preacher infers that the gunpowder plot was a consistent consequence from the tenets of the Romish church. That Taylor may have regretted and even apologised for such a sermon, proves nothing. He was vexed at finding himself compelled to give offence, by a statement which he would not have made if he did not think it just. The sermon was published with a dedication to Laud. Should we seem to dwell on this point at greater length than its importance may be thought by some to demand, we must plead that the charge was frequently renewed; and, considering the history of the times through which Taylor lived, was inferior to none in the risks to which its object must have been exposed. There is, indeed, a general and far more serious importance in the consideration of a question which involves the charge of a latitudinarian temper or conduct—liable to be made in every time—and of all accusations, perhaps most liable to be unfairly made—for the defect of popular judgments is want of the fair allowance which grows from just discrimination. As we would not, however, for a moment have it inferred, that we should wish to suggest any indulgence for the error opposed to that for which Taylor was falsely censured, we may briefly digress so far, as to draw some distinction between the two. Every observing man, who has some acquaintance with the educated portion of society, and who has been habituated to observe the moral and intellectual habits of men, will have often had occasion to notice two classes of minds, constituted oppositely in various degrees, though, for brevity, we may here describe their several extremes. Of these, the one may be described as exclusively theoretical; the other as exclusively practical. The one is uniformly governed by habits, maxims, and time-ruled cases, and proceeds without ever reverting to the first principles of things; the other dwells altogether in the reason, and is always reverting to primary laws, and original foundations. Of these, the first must be admitted to be the safer mode of error; because to preserve irrespectively, is safer than to trust the course of things to the ablest speculative interference. But both, in excluding a wide range of observation or principle, are essentially wrong in their understanding of every subject which has any object. The one is a bigot, and the other a mere projector: the bigot in his narrow scope considers only what is before him, but he may be useful and even wise in his practical capacity; the theorist is nearly sure to be wrong, so soon as he may chance to come into contact with the realities of life; for, though his logic may be quite correct, the

habits of his mind will, in most instances, exclude those facts of common observation which are the real *data* in every question of any practical weight. In truth, it must be considered, that in the practical workings of social life, there are processes of our nature, far too profound for any reach of mere speculation, and only to be taken into account effectively, by a comprehensive estimate of the habits, prejudices, and errors of the mass of mankind, as elements of chief importance; and there is no question of social or ecclesiastical polity to be treated like a metaphysical theory from which may be deduced a clear and systematic *rationale* of all the grounds for legislative interposition. The person who undertakes this is the latitudinarian,—he who irrespectively resists improvement is a bigot. A mind such as Taylor's, was too comprehensive and acute for either case—his commanding, pervading, and penetrating intellect, dispelled the cloud which blinds the reason—while the rich development of his imagination and moral perceptions and capacities placed before him the true aspect of human realities; the wide sea of life, with its mutable breezes and entangled cross-currents; its mingled good and evil, folly and wisdom, vice and virtue, truth and error; which are the great moving forces, acting with infinite diversity of opposition and combination. Such men, while they must be indulgent in their allowance for the errors of a being essentially liable to err, will, for the same reasons, exercise caution in the adoption or abandonment of opinions or systems of opinion. But in truth it is by a providential arrangement in the social economy, that the crowd hold their opinions by the safer operation of habit, rather than by reason, which would demand a far larger amount of natural intellect, as well as of intellectual cultivation, than consists with man's condition or the end of his present state of being. But it is also for this reason that men such as Taylor are very liable to be misjudged by the world. His biographers observe, that the suspicion of an inclination to the Romish church attended him through life. Heber observes, that the favour of Laud would of itself have exposed him to suspicion. We cannot here enter on the vindication of Laud. But it is a reflection naturally connected with the subject of these remarks, that in times of violent controversy, it is a familiar fact—as it would be an obvious inference from the preceding statements—that one of the most common missiles of controversy or of party, is the imputation of extreme errors. Such imputations are often pernicious and always unjust; unjust because false and mischievous; because they often happen to turn away the attention of the accuser and accused from fatal errors, which should constitute the true point of discussion between them. To take an illustration from the subject: if a person inclined to compromise so far with the Romish church, as to conform in some points of form or discipline, not considered on either side as essentially connected with doctrine, should be accused of a leaning to popery; it is evident that while this wrongful accusation continues to be enforced and defended, that the accused is not merely assailed in an impregnable position, but that the question of real and vast importance is meanwhile passed without notice; that is, to what extent the preservation of mere forms or of discipline may happen to be essential to the maintenance of essentials. In revolutionary times, when such questions and such ac-

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cusations are ever sure to arise, clever persons of shallow judgment are ever tending to compromise on the very ground here noticed; and from the inveteracy of their opponents, their error escapes a full and direct exposure; the real question is never stated. It seems never to enter the minds of liberal reasoners, that though the adoption or rejection of a mere form may be harmless, or even beneficial—that a concession may be most fatal, in the direction of some prevalent current of human passion and prejudice. The question goes indeed beyond the depth of the intelligence mostly engaged in such controversies: it is not what is abstractedly the value of such a compromise, but considering human nature and the actual state of opinion, what will be its effect. Theologians, in the plenitude of their erudition, too little recollect that all such external arrangements have the complicated workings of our nature for their sole object.

We have dwelt on these reflections, because we conceive it to have too much real importance to very many persons in this country, where such intimacies and such mistakes are not uncommon. In such cases, the moral we would urge is;—not that there should be less delicacy or less conciliation, or a less careful tact in the avoiding of useless controversy; but, we would recommend a considerate forbearance from the common and always mischievous precipitation, by which such kindly and discreet liberality is confounded with that vicious liberalism, which, when justly considered, reduces itself to the entire want of principle in creed or party.

From this digression, we turn to our narrative. On this period of his life, Taylor's biographers have ascertained few facts. His advancement to the rectory of Uppingham, soon after the election to his fellowship, is thought to have drawn him away to a considerable extent from the university and its pursuits. With all his tastes and capacities for studious engagements, a spirit so ardent, and so largely diffused with the active impulses of the breast, is little likely to have lingered *inter sylvas academi* longer than the first moment which might offer a field of public and productive exertion. His fellowship was, however, in 1639, terminated by marriage, having on the 27th of May, in that year, married Phoebe Langsdale, whose mother, there is reason to believe, was at the time a widow residing in the parish of Uppingham. It is also known that her brother was a physician, resident at Gainsborough, and afterwards at Leeds, where he died in 1638.*

Here we may easily conjecture an interval of such happiness as results from the quiet rotation of studies, spiritual avocations, and domestic intercourse, for all of which the frame of Taylor's mind was so pre-eminently adapted. Such intervals have no history, save that tender and often painful record which they find in the after-seasons of trial and adversity, when they star the distance of past days with a calm and holy light, which no future short of heaven can restore. Such happiness and such reminiscences we can conceive for Taylor, who had truly "fallen on evil days." It is to these periods of trial mostly, and always in a measure to the rough and toilsome emergencies and difficulties of active life, that we are indebted for the broken and

* Heber, from Bonney's MS. Note.

defective notices which remain of the lives of the eminent men of this period; and but too often, even in the relation of the acts of the individual, there is little to be related more than the historical outline of those events to which these acts mainly belong. Of the fierce and eventful controversies which so soon broke in upon the peace of Uppingham, as of every other corner of the three kingdoms, we have repeatedly had to relate. The church and the monarchy were assailed by those awful and destructive commotions, which were not to cease until they had overthrown the existing order of things. Among those who earliest entered the field of controversy was Taylor. He was among the first of those who joined king Charles at Oxford; and it was "by his majesty's command" that he soon after published a treatise of "Episcopacy asserted against the Acephali, old and new." The work was at the time little noticed; for the controversy was to be decided by arms, before it should be discussed by the less effectual warfare of dialectics. But it found notice and approval among those who were afterwards to lead the argument; and king Charles, not inferior to any of his bishops in his judgment of the merits of a theological argument, showed his satisfaction by conferring upon the author the degree of D.D. by his legal mandate—an honour lessened, it is true, by the abuse of this royal privilege, to such an extent that the heads of the colleges felt themselves bound to remonstrate against the numerous and somewhat indiscriminate admissions to academical degrees: but at the time they served to compensate for the king's inability to confer any other reward than such honours. His powers to reward were circumscribed indeed, while the injuries inflicted, or likely to be inflicted, upon his adherents, were great and imminent: the parliament, which trampled on the tyranny of kings with a fiercer tyranny of its own, spared no worth, or respected no right, if it were but qualified with the taint of loyalty. Taylor was deprived of the possession of his living of Uppingham, though there seems to be reason to doubt the fact of its actual sequestration. As the consequence was to him the same in either case, we shall not waste space here by entering upon the question, of which the main consideration will be found in the lives written by Heber and Bonney, as doubtless also in others.

Taylor had no duty, therefore, to interfere with the appropriation of his time. That which now mainly occupied him was in the flying court and camp of the king, to which, about this period, he was attached as one of the royal chaplains. This appointment he had obtained about the time of his institution to Uppingham; and it is supposed that it was in the autumn of 1642 that he left it to attend the court, when the king, after the battle of Edgehill, was on his route to Oxford. At Oxford there were at this time assembled, on the same occasion, many of the most illustrious persons of their time, for every virtue and attainment. We have already had to describe the preaching of Usher before the court in this interval. Hammond also was there; and amid his fears and privations, Taylor did not at least want that consolation so valuable to those who are susceptible of the intercourse of thought, the conversation and sympathy of spirits of his own elevated order. To a man like Taylor, the loss of property, or the fears of approaching troubles,

would indeed only serve, by the excitement of such external circumstances, as the means of calling forth higher powers of reflection, and loftier capacities of fortitude and endurance. But he had been severely visited about the same time, by afflictions far more trying to good and noble hearts—the loss of one of his sons, who died in the spring of the same year; “nor,” says Bishop Heber, “did the mother long survive her infant.”* We quote the bishop’s words, because on looking attentively through Mr Bonney’s memoir, which he here cites as authority, not only is there no mention of the first Mrs Taylor’s death, but, on carefully turning over the entire memoir, it is apparent that Mr Bonney was not aware of the fact, as he speaks throughout, under the impression that Taylor was not married again, and that this lady was the mother of his seven children, and sharer of his subsequent troubles and promotion. The bishop, however, not only cites Mr Jones’ MS. account, but confirms the fact by the authority of lady Wray, who, with Mr Jones of Henro, in the county of Down, were descendants in the fifth degree from the bishop and his second wife. Mr Bonney, indeed, draws a fallacious inference, from the number of his children, that the first wife was yet alive at a subsequent period; but the answer is, that three at least of those children were born of the second marriage.

As one of the royal retinue, Taylor is supposed to have accompanied the court in the frequent campaigns and expeditions of king Charles during the three following years, in which he kept his head-quarters at Oxford, and took his turns with Usher and Dr Sheldon as preacher. But after the fatal field of Naseby, the royal prospects were overcast, and the king became a fugitive, from which time the principal persons of his retinue were under the necessity of seeking their safety where they might best find it. During this uncertain period, Taylor appears to have experienced some adventures and wanderings, obscurely hinted at by his biographers. In 1643, a letter to his brother-in-law, which we shall here give as we find it in Mr Bonney’s book, makes it seem likely that he was then, with his mother-in-law and children, at lodgings in London.

“DEARE BROTHER,—Thy letter was most welcome to me, bringing the happy news of thy recovery. I had notice of thy danger, but watched for this happy relation, and had layd wayte with Royston to enquire of Mr Rumbould. I hope I shall not neede to bid thee be carefull for the perfecting of thy health, and to be fearful of a relapse: though I am very much, yet thou thyself art more concerned in it. But this I will remind thee of, that thou be infinitely [careful] to perform to God those holy promises which I suppose thou didst make in thy sicknesse; and remember what thoughts thou hadst then, and beare them along upon thy spirit all thy lifetime; for that which was true then is so still, and the world is really as vain a thing as thou didst then suppose it. I durst not tell thy mother of thy danger (though I heard of it), till, at the same time, I told her of thy recovery. Poore woman! she was troubled and pleased at the same time; but

* See Bonney, p. 18, as cited by Heber.

your letter did determine her. I take it kindly that thou hast writt to Bowman. If I had been in condition, you should not have been troubled with it; but, as it is, both thou and I must be content. Thy mother sends her blessing to thee and her little Mally; so doe I, and my prayers to God for you both. Your little cozens are your servants; and I am

"Thy most affectionate and endeared brother,

"JER. TAYLOR.

"November 24, 1643.

"To my very dear brother, Dr Langsdale, at his Apothecary's House in Gainsborough."*

From an expression in this letter, it is inferred by Heber that he was at the time suffering from distressed circumstances; and that it was written from London, as Royston was a printer and bookseller in Ivy Lane, who afterwards published many of Taylor's writings.

Taylor's first retirement from the royal army is supposed to have been occasioned by the attraction of an attachment; and the most authoritative testimonies lead to the conclusion that, in 1644, his second marriage was contracted with a lady in Wales. He had become acquainted with this lady during his first visit to Wales. She was a Mrs Johanna Bridges. She possessed a small estate at Mandinam, and is reputed to have been a natural daughter of the king's, when prince of Wales and under the corrupt tutelage of Buckingham. The fact of the estate is stated by Heber, on the authority of Mr Jones' manuscripts, and in some degree confirmed by the marriage settlement of Taylor's third daughter, in which the mother, who survived the bishop, "settles on her daughter the reversion of the Mandinam property."† From a letter of lady Wray, Heber states that she is said to have possessed a fine person, which is (he says) confirmed by her portrait, still preserved by the family, which exhibits a striking resemblance to her father.

Of the events of his life, during this period of confusion, we have already intimated that there is no certain register. In one of his occasional attendances on the king, he was taken prisoner, in a victory gained by the parliamentary troops, before the castle of Cardigan, in February, 1644. To this, and we think to the recent circumstance of his marriage, the following extract from the dedication to his "liberty of prophesying," seems to allude when he tells his patron, Lord Hatton, "that in the great storm which dashed the vessel of the church all in pieces, he had been cast on the coast of Wales; and, in a boat, thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which, in England, in a far greater, he could not hope for. Here," he continues, "I cast anchor; and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor. And here again, I was exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but, that He who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people, had provided a plank for me, I had been

* Bonney, p. 15.—Heber, I. 36.

† Heber, I. 55.

lost to all the opportunities of content or study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy. "Οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι παρέχον οὐ τῇ τυχούσῃ φιλάνθρωπίᾳ ἡμῶν; ἀνάψαντες γὰρ πυρὸν προσέλαζοντο ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ἙΜΑΣ, διὰ τὸν ἕτερον τὸν ἐφιστῶντα, καὶ διὰ τὸ ψυχρός."** In this there appears to be a close, though figurative, sketch of the course and circumstances of his fortune, during the interval to which it applies; the temporary secession from the perils of his court-life—the seemingly secure provision for domestic quiet and competence, which such a marriage must, under ordinary circumstances, have secured, and the sudden interruption, alleviated by the "mercies of a noble enemy." While, as Heber justly observes, the Greek quotation seems to imply that he had numerous fellows in misfortune. It also intimates the kindness of their treatments; with respect to the particular circumstances, and the duration of his confinement, there is nothing more certain than conjecture. It seems only to be inferred with strong probability, that from Colonel Langham, the governor of Pembroke Castle, and the members of the parliamentary committee for that district, he met with the humane attention which was due to his character.

We should here make some mention of the noble person, who was, during this interval, his chief friend and patron, Christopher Hatton, afterwards Lord Hatton, of Kirby, with whom he had formed a friendship during his residence at Uppingham. To this nobleman his "Defence of Episcopacy," with several of his earlier works, were dedicated. Of him also, a passage quoted by Heber, from Clarendon, says, "a person who, when he was appointed comptroller of the king's household, possessed a great reputation, which, in a few years, he found a way to diminish." Upon this Heber justly and pointedly observes, at some length, on the uncertainty of such statements, counterbalanced, as they so often are on either side, by the friendship and enmity of parties and rivals. It would not, he says, be "easy to find a more splendid character in history, than is ascribed by the hope or gratitude of Taylor to the nobleman, of whom the historian speaks thus slightly;" the bishop hints, however, the deduction which may be made for the style of eulogy, which debased the dedications of that period: but admits, that Hatton must have had some pretensions to learning or talent, on grounds which we think have sufficient interest to be stated with a little more detail.

Sir Christopher had been made knight of the bath, at the coronation of Charles I., and was one of the very first who came to his aid with hand and fortune, at the commencement of the civil wars. In 1640, he was member of the parliament which then met, and had the sagacity to foresee the destruction of ecclesiastical structures, which would be likely to take place as a result of their political proceedings: he urged Dugdale, the well-known antiquary, to visit and endeavour to secure sketches and descriptions of the principal churches through England: for the execution of this useful suggestion we quote the

* And the barbarians showed us no small kindness; for they kindled a fire and received us every one, because of the present rain and because of the cold.—*Acts* xxviii. 2.

authority cited by Mr Bonney. In the summer of 1641, Dugdale, accompanied by William Sedgwick, a skilful arms-painter, "repaired first to the cathedral of St Paul, and next to the abbey of Westminster, and there made exact draughts of all the monuments in each of them, copied the epitaphs according to the very letter, and all the arms in the windows or cut in stone. All of which, being done with great exactness, Mr Dugdale rode to Peterborough, Ely, Norwich, Lincoln, Newark-upon-Trent, Beverley, Southwell, Kingston-upon-Hull, York, Selby, Chester, Lichfield, Tamworth, Warwick, and the like, in all those cathedral, collegiate, conventual, and divers other churches, wherein any tombs and monuments were to be found, to the end that the memory of them might be preserved for future and better times." *Fasti*, Oxon. p. 694. As every reader of English history is aware, the suggestion of Hatton and the industry of Dugdale were nothing less than seasonable. The storm of sacrilege was not slow to break forth over the most sacred and venerable antiquities of the country.

The duration of Taylor's confinement cannot be ascertained, and we shall not waste space with conjecture. Neither can we pretend to reconcile the apparent discrepancies, by which we are from time to time perplexed in the unavoidably vague narrations of our authorities; it is enough to observe, that such difficulties must always occur in the want of those details which cannot be fairly the subject of conjecture. After his liberation it probably was, that he found his means of subsistence so far reduced, as to drive him to the necessity of obtaining sustenance by teaching. Deprived previously of his church preferment, he was, on his liberation, probably compelled to make a large composition for the preservation of a small estate. It is, however, certain, that he joined with William Nicholson, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, and William Wyatt, afterwards a prebendary of Lincoln, in a school kept at Newton-hall, a house in the parish of Lansfangel; in which, according to Wood, as quoted by Bonney and Heber, several youth were most "loyally educated" and sent to the universities, though a tradition, said to be yet current in that part of Wales, affirms that Taylor taught school from place to place wheresoever he could find means. There is, indeed, nothing inconsistent in supposing both accounts to be true, as the latter may have led the way to the first mentioned; nevertheless, on mere oral traditions, there is no reliance to be placed, further than as simply indications of some originating fact, and as corroborative of more authoritative testimony. So far, they may have decided weight, because a testimony of no *independent value* may by an obvious law of probable reasoning be a valuable *corroboration*.

Of the scholars, few have arrived at the distinction of a historical record. Among those mentioned by Taylor's biographers, Judge Powel is recollected, as having borne a distinguished part afterwards in the famous trial of the seven bishops. "A new and easy institution of grammar" was one of the results of this passage of Taylor's life: it has a Latin dedication by Wyatt, and one in English by himself. It is of course a scarce book, a copy still exists in the library of Caius' college. Heber, who probably had seen it, mentions that it was most likely to have been the work of Wyatt. This was published in 1647; and

shortly after, appeared his "Liberty of Prophesying," which bishop Heber calls the most curious, and perhaps the ablest of Taylor's writings; of its contents we shall hereafter offer some account: here we shall only notice it, so far as it may be regarded as illustrative of the general disposition and characteristic opinions of the writer. To have published a work in favour of toleration, was, indeed, not merely to think in advance of the time in which he lived, but to brave the spirit of popular intolerance in one of its most imposing and dangerous moods. Not only was religious persecution in one of its periods of full and vigorous operation, but the principle of toleration was not yet understood. So vigorous is the hold which the corruptions of prejudice and habit take of human nature, that, in the course of fifteen centuries, it seems to have grown into an axiom of reason, that the truth of God, was to be maintained by ways in every sense so opposed to the plainest principles which he has revealed to his fallen and erring creatures. And it is even a sad truth, that toleration has, even to the present day, few to advocate it otherwise than on the false principle of infidelity or latitudinarianism. It is to the praise of Taylor that he maintained the truth without falling into any of those errors which surround it on every side. Guarding against the admission of those dangerous immunities, which some of the freethinking politicians of our time would claim for the open dissemination of immorality and blasphemy of every foul shade and form; he exposed the unfitness of legal coercions and penalties, as the means of suppressing religious opinions, with a force, and to an extent, which exposed him to the charge of advocating those tenets for which he simply claimed freedom from severities not warranted by the law of God. There was, indeed, not much indulgence to be expected from the utmost liberality of his time; as Heber with great force reflects, "Even the sects who have themselves under oppression exclaimed against their rulers, not as being persecutors at all, but as persecuting those who professed *the truth*; and each sect, as it obtained the power to wield the secular weapon, esteemed it also a duty, as well as a privilege, not to bear the sword in vain." The bishop also mentions, "a copy of the first edition, which now lies before me, has its margin almost covered with manuscript notes, expressive of doubt or disapprobation; and the commentator, whoever he was, has subjoined at the end of the volume, '*Palleo metu et vobis dico non omnibus*.' His arguments, particularly in behalf of the anabaptists, were regarded as too strenuous and unqualified; and the opinions of the author himself having consequently fallen into suspicion, he, in a subsequent edition, added a powerful and satisfactory explanation of his previous language, and an answer to the considerations which he had himself advanced, in apology for the opinions of those sectaries."* It is only necessary to add in this place, that, notwithstanding the general error which we have stated in these remarks, there was at the particular juncture, some peculiar fitness for such an argument. It was, in fact, one of those critical moments, when something like a temporary revulsion takes place in the balanced collisions of party; when, fearing and doubting each other, the thought of com-

* Heber, i. 45.

promise starts up, and seems for a moment to offer hopes of advantage. As we have already noticed, the rival sects, which had conjointly found their way to within a near grasp of ascendancy, began to see and feel that they had more to fear from each other, than from the subdued powers of the church and throne. A compromise with these fallen powers would have promised, at least, an advantage of no small weight; but with the inconsistency so common to popular prejudice, each would have a bargain in which nothing essential was to be allowed or yielded up. It was, indeed, simply an intrigue for political victory; but it was one which must have given some effect to a forcible and eloquent argument for toleration.

About the same time, Taylor published a "Discourse concerning Prayer Extempore," &c., of which the substance had been drawn up by him formerly, on the occasion of the form of worship issued by the parliamentary party, in 1643, under the known title of a "Directory," which we have frequently had occasion to mention. Some of his arguments on this subject may be here offered, as containing a brief view of the most essential portion of the argument. We may premise so far as to say, on our own part, that there is a small portion of his reasoning which we should somewhat modify, were we engaged in a statement of the whole argument: we would say, that, in order to advocate set forms of prayer, it is by no means essential (though it may be imposed by the errors of an adversary,) to consider the question as to the operation of the Spirit. And we cannot help thinking, that in this very question, both parties have been misled from the perception of some very simple truths, by this unnecessary complication. To deny that every good gift cometh from the Father of lights—to say that any grace, or gift, or any holy attribute, or manifestation of christian mind, can exist independently of the power of God by his Spirit, we would conceive to be contradictory to Scripture, and a denial of the tenets of the church of England: to talk of miracles as affecting this affirmation, is a foolish sophism. The ordinary operation of the Spirit is simply a portion of the uniform, though unseen, agency of a power that never ceases to be present or to act: it becomes a miracle only, in fact, when the case is a visible exception to the ordinary course. The power which works by actuating the affections and faculties must, demonstrably, be only known as a natural agent, until we draw the more correct inference from the direct affirmation of God, in his revelation. It is for this reason that we consider both Taylor, and other very able writers who have followed in his steps, to be not a little incautious on this point, and adapted to give an advantage to their antagonists. The extract, which we here offer, is, however, free from such a charge.

"If all christian churches had one common liturgy, there were not a greater symbol to testify, nor a greater instrument to preserve the catholic communion; and, in former ages, whenever a schism was commenced, and that they called one another heretick, they not only forsook to pray with one another, but they also altered their forms, by interposition of new clauses, hymns, and collects, and new rites and ceremonies; only those parties that combined kept the same liturgy; and, indeed, the same forms of prayer were so much the instrument of

union, that it was the only ligament of their society, (for their creeds I reckon as part of their liturgy, for so they ever were,) so that this may teach us a little to guess, I will not say into how many churches, but into how many innumerable atoms, and minutes of churches, those christians must needs be scattered, who alter their forms according to the number of persons, and the number of their meetings; every company having a new form of prayer at every convention. And this consideration will not be in vain, if we remember how great a blessing unity in churches is, and how hard to be kept with all the arts in the world; and how powerful everything is for its dissolution. But that a public form of liturgy was the great instrument of communion in the primitive church, appears in this, that the *xabajeoc*, or excommunication, was an exclusion, 'a communicatione orationis et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii,' from the participation of the public meeting and prayers; and, therefore, the more united the prayer is, still it is the greater instrument of union; the authority and consent, the public spirit and common acceptation, are so many degrees of a more firm and indissoluble communion." In this, and in the succeeding parts which, in the course of a few years, he published on the same subject, Taylor's object was evidently to convince all parties, that they might reconcile their differences and unite in the fold of the same church. A union which might, perhaps, be effected between most of the protestant churches, if it were possible for men, constituted as man appears to be, to avoid giving to forms and accidents, the place of vital and essential principles; and to inferential tenets, upon which the best and holiest men have differed and will differ, more importance than to those authentic and primary doctrines, on which all christian churches which have taken Scripture for their authority, have agreed. Nothing, in truth, can be more illustrative of human "foolishness" than the aptitude of sects to elevate their feelings, and narrow their views to the almost exclusive contemplation of the little dogmas, upon which they stand separate from other religious denominations. And yet this will, upon strict examination, be found at the bottom of dissent: what renders it more palpable to those who observe extensively, is the fact, that, within the very bosom of every church or sect, the differences of every kind, among individuals, will be found to be as great as those which separate the professions to which these remarks apply. We must, indeed, admit, that there are sects altogether beyond the pale of comprehension; such as differ upon the main and fundamental tenets concerning justification, must, of course, stand ever far apart. For this reason, the socinian, whose doctrine sweeps clean away the entire system of redemption; and the church of Rome, which, by the doctrine of transubstantiation, places it upon a wholly different foundation, cannot be included in the reproach of wide dissent on narrow or unessential grounds. But we would, if we could, strongly impress the distinction to be drawn between speculative and metaphysical tenets, and those which are simply and literally revelation. The one, though grounded on the text of Scripture, rises into deductions beyond its direct scope, and far above the level to which human reason has yet succeeded in rising, so as to ensure certainty, which is by no means to be measured by individual conviction. The other is the practical sub-

stance of ordinary piety, such as looking to Scripture as designed for the reasonable information of the humble followers of Christ, and such as looking to common human nature, was evidently all that man is capable of reaching. A single glance on the fluent and fiery controversialists of any given tenet, is enough to show, that whether the doctrine is true or not, its professor is not often more than the partisan. Bishop Butler has beautifully pointed out, that a system, which is but *part* of one more vast and comprehensive, must needs have many links of connexion with the unknown whole, and these must necessarily offer inscrutable and mysterious points to human ignorance. It is but too often upon these dim and vague points, that human presumption seizes to build high and subtle structures of theosophy: such, in every branch of knowledge, has been the error of our reason: in natural philosophy, facts come at last to demolish these proud edifices of error; but the sophist, who anatomizes the being, and scrutinizes the counsels of God, is at least safe in the remote and unfathomable depth which he pretends to sound. On such questions, do we counsel a perfect abstinence of reason? Certainly not, for it is not in man's nature: but we cannot help urging that a broad distinction should be made between those practical articles, which the gospel offers as articles of saving faith, and those which are the growth of dogmatic theology. And that those who are the guides of churches and sects, would well consider whether a comprehensive unity in the visible church of Christ, beset as it is with enmity on every side, is not more important than any secondary question of discipline, form, or even of those articles of speculative opinion, which, while they separate some, are in fact diffused throughout the entire body of every church of any considerable extent.

As we have repeatedly intimated, there remains little trace of the private history of Taylor, through the time over which these publications may be supposed to have been appearing. The school in which he had taken part was probably broken up by the disturbances of the time, or by his imprisonment; and he was reduced to a state of much difficulty, in which he appears to have been entirely thrown upon the kindness of his friends. Of these the principal, at this period of his life, was Richard Vaughan, earl of Carberry, a noble distinguished for his virtue and ability, who had obtained celebrity in the Irish wars, and as the chief commander for the king, in South Wales. He was universally known for the moderation of his character, and respected in every party. After the battle of Marston Moor he was allowed to compound on easy terms for his estate. He was first married to a daughter of Sir John Altham, of Orby, of whom Taylor has left a portrait in the sermon which he composed for her funeral, which, says Heber, "belongs rather to an angelic than a human character." The second was a lady of celebrity more than historic, as she was the original of the "lady" in Milton's "Comus." In a note, derived from Mr Bonney's MS. notes, the bishop gives us the following interesting particulars:—"The pictures of these two ladies are still at Golden Grove, and in good preservation. That of the first, displays a countenance marked with all the goodness and benignity, which might be expected from the character which Taylor gives her; the second has a much more lofty and dignified air, such as might become the heroine in Comus. The

first lady Carberry left three sons and six daughters. Her eldest son, Francis, Lord Vaughan, married Rachel, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who survived her husband, and afterwards became conspicuous in English history, as the heroic wife and widow of William, lord Russell. A copy of Taylor's *Essay on Repentance*, presented to her by the author, is now in the possession of the Rev. Dr Swire, of Melsonby, near Richmond, Yorkshire.

With this family at Golden Grove, Taylor found, for several years, a secure asylum, where he was enabled to pursue his learned labours, and perform the duties of his calling as private chaplain, when they were proscribed and suspended elsewhere. In this interval he published his "Life of Christ, or the Great Exemplar," the first of his writings which obtained considerable popularity, and which Heber considers to have thus determined the character of his succeeding works. His publications, for some years following, were entirely or mainly devotional. Such, we are inclined to believe, was the native temper of his mind; and had he not been cast in times so peculiarly characterized by great and fundamental controversies, it is probable that to such his pen would have been confined. Like all men of broad and comprehensive intelligence, Taylor's understanding and affections rested too strongly on principles and essentials, to have any impulses to the mere discussion of controversy, or to increase division by unduly aggravating those small differences which are too apt to be the main rallying points of popular prejudice. In the three following years, he published a funeral sermon on the first lady Carberry; a course of twenty-seven sermons; and his "Holy Living and Dying," both composed at the desire of the same lady.

In 1654, he was provoked, by some unseasonable demonstrations from the members of the Romish church, of triumph in the adversity of the church of England, to review several of the chief topics of difference between these two churches, for the purpose of selecting the most decisive point. His choice was, we think, judicious, as he seized on that, which if all other points were reconciled, must involve the most wide, diametrical, and necessary difference which can be conceived to exist between two churches professing to have a kindred source. The title of the essay which contained his view is enough to convey all that we should here venture to add—the "Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, proved against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation." It was dedicated "to Warner, bishop of Rochester, a worthy and wise man, who, even in the times of general distress, continued, from his scanty means, to assist the still deeper poverty of Taylor."*

In the same year, his "Catechism for Children" was enlarged and republished with a preface, which, though according to Heber, "ostensibly calculated (and perhaps intended) to conciliate the Protector in favour of the persecuted church of England, as friendly to established governments, and more particularly to monarchy," contained expressions offensive to that captious vigilance, with which a revolutionary government must ever be upheld. He was in consequence committed to prison. The

* Heber, i. 61.

entire knowledge of the fact is derived from a letter of great interest from the celebrated John Evelyn, which is published in the memoirs of that famous scholar.

In the biography of Taylor's period, it would not be easy to discover a subject of more interest, than the incidents and progress of the friendship between him and Evelyn. Yet, of these the record is slight and imperfect, and, with little exception, is only to be drawn from the few letters which are to be found of their correspondence through many years.

Shortly after, 31st March, 1665, a letter of Evelyn's proves the fact, that Taylor was a second time arrested, and, as before, confined in Chesham Castle. The time was the same to which we have already adverted more largely in the life of primate Usher, when Cromwell recommenced the persecution of the episcopalian clergy, who had a little before obtained a brief rest.

His confinement was short and unattended with severity. A letter published in one of his works—*Deus Justificatus*, and addressed to Warner, Bishop of Rochester,—thus adverts to the circumstance: "I now have that liberty that I can receive any letters and send any; for the gentlemen under whose custody I am, as they are careful of their charges, so they are civil to my person."* On this Heber observes: "His amiable manners, no less than his high reputation for talents and piety, seem at all times to have impressed and softened those, who were from political and polemical considerations most opposed to him." The bishop also mentions, that "there is room for the suspicion that his wife's estate was a second time largely drawn upon, for the purpose of conciliating the ruling powers," and that these "last were content to grant some degree of freedom to a learned and holy man whom they had reduced to almost abject poverty."

The luxuriance of his genius was, in the meantime, not repressed, or his christian zeal slackened by external circumstances. He completed his course of sermons for the year, and produced a work entitled, "*Unum Necessarium*; or the doctrine and practice of Repentance." In this work he expressed himself on the doctrine of original sin, so as to expose himself to the reproach of Pelagianism, and to give much alarm to the clergy. Taylor endeavoured to flank his book with dedications and prefatory explanations, which, of course, could have but slight effect. His friend the bishop of Rochester expostulated with him in a letter not preserved. Saunderson, who had been the regius professor of divinity in Oxford, lamented his error with tears, and regretted that it could not be authoritatively suppressed. Taylor did not sit quite passive under the storm of reproach and reproof: he produced a "Further explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin," in the form of a tract, with a dedication to the bishop of Rochester. This was sent to the bishop for correction and approval: the bishop was still unsatisfied, and refused to revise a work which retracted nothing objectionable. This is ascertained from a note of his reply, on the back of Taylor's letter, since published for the first time, by Heber. The offer in this letter of Taylor to suppress this tract, as also to correct it if the bishop thought fit, "is,"

* Taylor's Works, vol. ix. ; quoted by Heber.

says Heber, "at least an evidence, that, if Taylor were wrong, he was not unwilling to be instructed; and that the error of his opinions was not rendered more offensive by a self-confident and dogmatical temper." "With such a disposition," he adds, "he might err, but he could hardly be a heretic." The letters from Evelyn in connection with this matter prove that not only was Evelyn himself a convert to his friend's opinions, but that the alarm which was excited among the orthodox clergy arose not so much from the supposed danger of the new doctrine thus advanced, as from the harm and scandal to which their persecuted church would be exposed, if on account of its novelty, there were a colour given to the charge of Pelagianism so often brought against it as receiving support from the writings of one of its most distinguished champions.

From the letter of Taylor above referred to, which bears date November 17th, 1665, it is evident he was then free, and at his house at Mandinam, and as his letter to Warner, from which we have extracted a sentence as to his treatment while there, ascertains that he was in Chepstow Castle in the middle of September, the period of his confinement is thus computed by Heber to have been from May to October 1665.

During the next two years we can mainly trace our illustrious subject by occasional references in Evelyn's Diary, or by letters addressed by him to that celebrated antiquary, and printed in the Memoir of him already referred to. He appears to have varied a general residence at Golden Grove in South Wales with occasional visits to London when his limited means permitted the latter; and to have found himself under the necessity of accepting pecuniary assistance of a permanent nature from that good man, and, for occasional periods, from other friends. Being much affected by the death of two children—both boys, and of an interesting age, from smallpox and fever, he appears in 1657 to have left Wales and taken up his abode in the metropolis, where he "officiated to a small and private congregation of Episcopalians," and rejoiced in the occasional society of Evelyn and other friends, advancing in the preparation and republication of various works during his hours of leisure, as well as wielding a controversy with various opponents—and chiefly with two presbyterian clergymen—who impugned his favourite theory as to the probable limitations of the generally accepted doctrine of the universally damnable consequences of original sin.

In January, 1658, we find him in London; but so uncertain are all traces of detail at this period of his life, that all we can tell the reader is, that he was again a prisoner, and in the Tower. The indiscretion of Royston had ventured so far as to offend the known prejudices of the uppermost party, by prefixing a print of Christ in the attitude of prayer, to his "collection of offices." A recent act of Cromwell's parliament had prohibited representations of this nature as scandalous and idolatrous. He seems, however, to have been soon released by the strong representations of Evelyn in his favour. By the following entry, we trace him to March. "March 7th. To London to hear Dr. Taylor in a private house, on xiii. Luke 23, 24. After the sermon followed the blessed communion," &c. There is some reason to suspect that the commitment of Taylor may have been irregular, at least on some

subordinate authority, as Heber mentions in one of his notes that no traces of any order to this purpose appear in the minutes of the privy council. To account for this, he thinks it necessary to resort to the supposition that "in those arbitrary times, the committees and inferior agents of government exercised the power of imprisonment." In the same note he gives a letter written by Evelyn to the lieutenant of the Tower, which seems to involve such a probability. That Taylor's presence in London was still occasional, is inferred from the rareness of these notices of Evelyn's, and we think the inference not to be avoided: from this there is little if any deduction to be made on the consideration of the private nature of such occasions. It is generally indeed admitted by historical writers, that Cromwell was himself disinclined to measures of intolerance: our views of human nature as confirmed by historical precedent, would incline us to a similar belief: the sagacious usurper, who is raised to power by the prejudices of faction and the delusions of the people, is seldom quite sincere in his attachment to the violent moving principles by which he has been raised, and by which he may be reversed; the sooner he can allay the fluctuation of the waves, it will be his interest; and it is indeed thus that the extreme of licentious liberty so often terminates in the opposite of despotism. But Cromwell did not live to attain this consummation; the revolution which placed him on the seat of the British monarchy was yet to be completed by the exertions of his extraordinary vigilance, resolution and sagacity. The people of England had not been converted, but overwhelmed: and years of wise and successful government were wanting to set him free from the championship of fanaticism. The independents were the main column of his throne; the presbyterians, though they favoured his government, were far less certain, and though they were less formidable by their relations with the state and army, yet held a far larger base in the mind of the country. Jealous too of the influence, power, and favour of the independents, they showed many symptoms of a restless disposition to press upward and break in upon the actual circle of his power. It was therefore a subject of the most anxious care and watchfulness to give these ambitious and powerful parties no *common* causes of discontent. Hence, while he endeavoured to gain the utmost possible extent of goodwill, by the most unfettered licentiousness of conscience, in every direction not immediately offensive to any prevalent party, he felt himself compelled to the utmost stretches of tyranny to the episcopal churches. Such a state of things well accounts for the clandestine meetings of the members of the church of England, as well as for the little record which can be traced of them. It indeed also helps to explain the difficulty which we have noticed above on the subject of imprisonments apparently unwarranted. Cromwell was frequently compelled to act on private information or suspicion, and when it suited his purpose, showed no respect to the forms of state. He might desire to put a suspected loyalist out of the way for a few weeks without betraying him to the fanaticism of men like Harrison and Desborough, or the "three or four precious souls standing at his elbow," who were far more anxious for a spiritual tyranny of their own imagination, than for the power and safety of their master.

But the time had arrived which has left to Ireland the high privilege of numbering this excellent divine among her worthies. During some of his visits to London, he formed an acquaintance with lord Conway, who had been active in the service of the late king, and, according to Mr. Bonney's just conjecture, who was probably among the royalists who attended on his occasional ministry in London. This nobleman, feeling for the risks which Taylor incurred in the city, and possibly anxious to secure his services in the vicinity of his own extensive possessions, made him a proposal of which the nature can be inferred from the letter which he wrote on the occasion. This letter is imperfect from mutilation, a circumstance justly regretted by Heber, as he observes that the subject of usury is treated in it more rationally than was to be expected from a writer of his time.

Taylor felt a natural reluctance to quit the land of his birth and the home of so many good friends and endearing associations; but the attraction of new prospects is strong to one whose life has been always a combat with difficulties; and the prospects which now perhaps awakened his imagination were not without reasonable and strong foundation.

By the strong interest that was thus exerted for him, by the dangerous and unsettled condition of the church in England, and by the prospects of peace and competence, Taylor was, however reluctantly, induced to consent to the wishes of the earl of Conway, and accept of a lectureship in Lisburn. A house was provided for him on lord Conway's estate near the mansion of Portmore, a splendid and princely edifice, after a plan by Inigo Jones, and of which the stables alone now remain. Taylor is said to have divided his residence between Lisburn and this place. Here his time was divided between his lectures and preaching, and the earnest prosecution of his elaborate and anxious work, the "*Ductor Dubitanium*:" and with all his manifest disadvantages, it is impossible not to agree with Heber in viewing it as the happiest part of his life. Away from the painted shadows and illusive hopes which constitute the sum and substance of the troubled passing stream of the world, free to converse with self, nature and God, to meditate on the interests and hopes of the eternal world, and labour for the kingdom of Christ and the true welfare of mankind: such a state was, to one of Taylor's intensely active spirit, equivalent to an approach to that higher state in which the cares and sorrows of this fleeting scene may be forgotten. In such a state, it is true, none can be long suffered to remain without many and painful interruptions; but it is to be hoped at least, that those cares which are all connected with important duties, and with the exercises of the highest spiritual graces, are to be met with calmer fortitude, and more pure and strenuous labour, by those to whom it is thus allowed to gather strength and spirit in pious and contemplative retirement. Of some such frame of spirit Taylor's letters bear pleasing evidence. They at the same time curiously convey the strong indication of that interest which the remote noise of life carries into the "loopholes of retreat,"—a sense wholly distinct from the painful self-interestedness of those who are involved in the strife; and which, while it is not unpleasantly tinged with a softened gleam of hopes and wishes, is elevated by high affections, and soothed by the ordinary effect which

remoteness and isolation produce. The clash and din of human pursuits melt as it were into the murmur of the stream of ages, and the lapsing current of human things. But we are castle-building in Lough Neagh and Lough Beg: like some one of Hazlitt's table-talkers, we keep good company, and forget ourselves.

From the state of tranquil happiness which we have been assigning to Portmore, we are obliged reluctantly to make some considerable deductions. His means were far from that state of independence which is so permanently essential to comfort and peace of spirit: and he was compelled to receive the pension which the good and generous Evelyn still continued to pay, though from a diminished fortune. Taylor was also assailed by malice: a person of the name of Randy, a general agent residing in the neighbourhood, became jealous of the respect and kindness of which Taylor quickly became the general object. This chicaning miscreant felt his reptile self-importance wounded by the honour shown to one whose poverty he considered as the lowest demerit; and whose high virtues and noble understanding were beyond his comprehension. Nor was his eager malice slow to hunt out a vulnerable point: it was, he thought, enough to send information to the Irish privy council, that Taylor was a disaffected character, and had used the sign of the cross in baptism. Taylor was incapable of bringing home to his mind the small springs of party, and the little motives which so often govern the acts of councils and cabinets, and could not entertain any serious apprehension, though his friends were deeply alarmed.

The fears of Taylor and his good friends were, however, to be of short duration. He was brought to Dublin by a warrant directed to the governor of Carrickfergus: but he was subjected to no annoyance further than a fatiguing and harassing journey in very bad weather, of which the consequence was a severe fit of illness upon his arrival. He was thus, perhaps, saved from any further proceeding, as it is likely that during the interval of his indisposition, the members of the council had time to obtain more correct information, and a view of the matter more consistent with the real characters of the parties: Heber thinks that his illness was made a plea for "letting him off more easily."

Among the Irish peasantry, he was at the same time become an object of respect amounting to veneration; and evidently lived on terms of the kindest intercourse with them. This most creditable and praiseworthy circumstance appears to have been tortured by the high party prejudices of the Cromwellians into the old charge of a leaning to popery. This calumny he is mentioned to have complained of in his "Letters to persons who have changed their religion;" which, says Heber, "though not now published, appear to have been written at this time." The only work which he published in this year was the "Ephesian Matron," a story told by Petronius, and introduced into a previous work, the "Holy Living and Dying," from which Mr. Bonney thinks it to have been now extracted by the bookseller.

Taylor visited London early in 1660, with the design, it is supposed, to give the last revision to his "Ductor Dubitantium," then in the press: the thoughtful reader will easily conjecture a variety of inducements common to every man under similar circumstances, and from which we cannot see the necessity of assuming Taylor to have been altogether

exempt. Besides, the natural desire which a man of letters, and a man of many strong affections, must ever feel to visit the centre of literary resort, and the scene of many ties of regard and respect: the moment was pregnant with vast interest in every way for a known loyalist of his reputation, and old connexion with the court. His journey, says Heber, "was as well-timed as if he was in the secret of Monk's intentions." Of these intentions a general surmise pervaded the kingdom, and was, as sometimes occurs, more lively in places more remote from the centre. The people formed opinions from their earnest wishes, and from a common feeling of the tendency of events not beyond the reach of popular common sense—while they were unimpressed by several expedients with which Monk disguised his intentions from those who might be supposed to watch him most narrowly. It is thus that those who are nearest and most concerned are often the last to divine what is to come.

On the 24th April, 1660, the day before the meeting of that parliament which, in a few days, restored the kingdom, there was a meeting of the loyalists of London and its environs, who issued a declaration of the sentiments expressive of their confidence in Monk. Among the signatures to this declaration, was that of Jeremy Taylor. He was thus placed in the most advantageous point of view before the king and his advisers: and with pretensions to notice not exceeded by those of any other member of his profession; the splendour of his reputation both as a preacher and writer; the exalted worth of his character; his signal piety; the devotion with which he had served the late king, and the persecutions he had suffered in consequence of his well approved loyalty, were all matters too notorious to be overlooked; nor had the moment yet arrived when Charles, with the proverbial ingratitude of princes, felt privileged to overlook past merits. The shortlived ebullition of royal gratitude lasted long enough for the exaltation of Taylor; to whose claims we should have added one the most likely to be serviceable, that he had gained the respect and approbation even of his enemies. A motive of a different kind, though not less a tribute to his worth, is thought by Heber or some of his authorities, to have influenced the generosity of Charles—he was as anxious to remove the christian moralist, as Cromwell to remove the loyalist: if so, he could not have fallen upon a better expedient, than to improve upon the Protector's example and send the subject whose virtues were sufficient to overawe an usurped throne, and a licentious court, to Ireland. How far the dedication of his great work may have had its share is little worth computing, as it is morally improbable that either Charles, or any one about him, ever spent a second thought on the matter; and finally, to say what we think, we presume that the only moving influence was the first impulse of the restored monarch to give satisfaction to those whose office of restorers was not quite concluded before Taylor's appointment to the Bishoprick of Down and Connor. This took place on the 6th August, 1660, a little more than two months from the king's arrival, when he was nominated by the privy seal, and immediately after by the influence of the Duke of Ormonde elected vice-chancellor of the University of Dublin.

This appointment was not unsatisfactory to Taylor, whose affections

had already been strongly called forth to Ireland and its people, whom he loved, and who returned his regard: there he had passed the most calm and settled years of his life—his family was already there and like himself won to the place. His promotion was still not unattended with a host of disadvantages and difficulties; the Irish church was yet in a state of disorganization; its revenues dilapidated and its order and discipline dissolved and disarrayed. The state of the university was no less ruinous: the Cromwellian government had both seized upon its estates, of which large portions had been alienated, and obtruded unfit persons into its fellowship, by arbitrary appointments or irregular elections. There was at the time of Taylor's appointment, not one fellow or scholar who had been legally elected. Taylor proposed, as the only practicable course under such circumstances, that he, the archbishop of Dublin, and the new provost appointed by the crown, should be empowered to elect seven senior fellows. The Marquess of Ormonde, however, was reluctant to suffer a power which he considered to be placed in his own hands, to devolve to any other authority; but still considering Taylor's proposal as substantially the more expedient procedure, he desired that he and the provost would recommend five persons, who might be appointed by himself, as minister of the crown in Ireland. Such was the course adopted; it presented an opportunity to Taylor of providing for his friend Dr Sterne. This person was in fact incapacitated by marriage as the statutes then stood: but Taylor pleaded for him the difficulty of finding persons qualified by their learning to fill such a station. Thus he had the satisfaction of obtaining for his friend a station of honourable independence suited to his tastes and acquirements. By the statement of Carte, Sterne appears to have been connected with the university: he was living in a house which belonged to it, and was largely acquainted with its constitution and affairs, so that Taylor was justified in the representation, that his experience was indispensable for their purpose. The other appointments were Joshua Cowley, Richard Singard, William Vincent, and Patrick Sheridan: these appointments formed the nucleus for the restoration of our university. The chancellor could in virtue of his office give them the necessary degrees; but their power as a legal corporation to exercise an ownership over the college estate could only come from the crown. This was, however, quickly arranged, and it only remained to re-establish and complete the statutes and discipline of the university. This weighty task was committed to the hands of Taylor, who probably availed himself largely of the experience of his friend Dr Sterne. He collected, arranged, and revised the statutes left incomplete by Bedell, and settled the forms and the course of studies and lectures; thus, says Bishop Heber, "laying the basis of that distinguished reputation which the university of Dublin has since attained."

In his diocese the labours of Taylor were far more arduous. There he was encountered by obstacles sufficient to neutralize ordinary effort, ability, or virtue. These obstacles we have already had to dwell upon, and shall not therefore return to them here. Suffice it to say, that the diffusion of puritanism the known effect of the recent convulsions, prevailed most in the diocese of Down. The episcopal

clergy had been swept away, and their places supplied from the ranks of those dissenters who, while they differed in forms, agreed in doctrine with the protestant church. But as Heber justly remarks, their animosity appeared to be great in proportion to the minuteness of the essential causes of disagreement: and it was by slow degrees that the patient and charitable deportment, the exemplary life and able conduct of the bishop succeeded in gaining over the opinion of the laity to his side. They witnessed his exertions to soften, by candour and kindness, the hostility by which his first advances were opposed: they justly appreciated the rejection of his invitations to settle by conference the points of disagreement. In reply to all his kindness, his patience, his liberality, eloquence and laborious exertion, the pulpits of his diocese resounded with denunciation and defiance: the preachers even carried their hostility so far as to enter into a compact among themselves "to speak with no bishop, and to endure neither their government nor their persons." Such virulence, without any proportioned occasion, could not stand the test of that common sense which in ordinary times prevails in the reasonable portion of society: and at length the nobility and gentry of the united dioceses came over to the bishop. And even upon the clergy themselves such was the influence of his character and conduct, and so well directed his efforts, that the same effect was produced, though more slowly: so that when the act of uniformity was soon after passed, the greater number were found to be exempt from any consequence of its operation.

It was not only by his wise and christian conduct in the discharge of his episcopal duties, that Taylor displayed the combined wisdom and moderation of temper and spirit which composed his character. He had been appointed in this critical juncture of restoration and reaction, to preach before the two houses of parliament; and availed himself of the occasion to inculcate sentiments of mercy and moderation where they were most wanting: while at the same time he reproved the captious and violent spirit of dissent which appeared to menace the existence of christianity itself, in a country in which every christian grace seemed to have been parched and blasted, by the long prevalent rancour of spiritual contention. He pointed out in forcible terms, the inconsistency of those who were zealous even to blood for forms, costumes, and phrases; while they seemed forgetful of christian holiness and charity, and substituted the gall and wormwood of human hate, for that love by which the followers of their Master were to be known. In consistence with such exhortations he set before his auditors the wide-spreading calamities and sufferings which must needs follow on the execution of the then impending confiscations. He cautioned them against being biassed by interest, or by the thoughts of revenge, or the love of spoil, or by prejudice or pretended zeal,—or being warped from justice, by the sense of supposed national interests, or by the pretences of different religion. By an affecting image, he reminded them of the inconsistency of human affections and sympathies, and recalled their feelings to the truth. "If you do but see a maiden carried to her grave, a little before her intended marriage, an infant die before the birth of reason, nature has taught us to pay a tributary tear. Alas! your eyes will behold the ruin of many families, which, though they

sadly have deserved, yet mercy is not delighted with the spectacle; and therefore God places a watery cloud in the eye, that when the light of heaven shines on it, it may produce a rainbow, to be a sacrament and a memorial that God and the sons of God do not love to see a man perish. God never rejoices in the death of him that dies, and we also esteem it indecent to have music at a funeral. And as religion teaches us to pity a condemned criminal, so mercy intercedes for the most benign interpretation of the laws. You must indeed be as just as the laws,—and you must be as merciful as your religion,—and you have no way to tie these together, but to follow the pattern in the mount—do as God does, who in judgment remembers mercy!”

Under the pressure of such trying difficulties which demanded so largely the exertion of his thoughts and the devotion of his time, there must needs have been comparatively little time for the pursuits of literature: the following letter adverts to his writings during this interval.

John Evelyn, Esq.

“Deare Sir,—

“Your own worthiness and the obligations you have so passed upon me, have imprinted in me so great a value and kindness to your person, that I thinke myself not a little concerned in your selfe, and all your relations, and all the great accidents of your life. Doe not therefore thinke me either impertinent or otherwise without employment, if I doe with some care and earnestnesse inquire into your health and the present condition of your affaires. Sir, when shall we expect your ‘Terrestrial Paradise,’ your excellent observations and discourses of gardens, of which I had a little posy presented to me by your own kind hand, and makes me long for more. Sir, I and all that understand excellent fancy, language, and deepest loyalty, are bound to value your excellent panegyric, which I saw and read with pleasure. I am pleased to read your excellent mind in so excellent (an) idea; for as a father in his son’s face, so is a man’s soule imprinted in all the pieces that he labours. Sir, I am so full of publike concernes and the troubles of businesse in my diocese, that I cannot yet have leisure to thinke of much of my old delightful employment. But I hope I have brought my affaires almost to a consistence, and then I may returne againe. Royston (the Bookseller) hath two sermons, and a little collection of rules for my clergy, which had been presented to you if I had thought (them) fit for notice, or to send to my dearest friends.

“Deare Sir, I pray let me hear from you as often as you can, for you will very much oblige me if you will continue to love me still. I pray give my love and deare regards to worthy Mr Thurland: let me heare of him and his good lady, and how his son does. God blesse you and yours, him and his.

“I am,

“Deare Sir,

“Your most affectionate friend,
“JEREM. DUNENSIS.”

This letter, we are informed by Heber, is the last which has been discovered of the correspondence between these two eminent persons, which had been continued so many years, and which is so honourable a testimony to both. It is supposed by the bishop to have first slackened on the part of Evelyn; but we think it unnecessary to assume on this ground any diminution of regard. Such fallings off are unhappily too frequent a result of human affections, and we cordially subscribe to the just and eloquent reflection of Heber, on the proof thus afforded: "how vain is that life, when even our best and noblest ties are subject to dissolution and decay," &c. But, though this sad condition of our state must be admitted for a common truth, yet we are inclined to make a favourable exception for the nobler, and, above all, the holier spirits, whose paths in life are to be traced throughout in deeds of charity, and in the exercise of the best affections. The growing selfishness of human pursuits soon corrupts and withers the youthful affections, by which it is moderated for a few years; and having gained the supremacy, ejects all rival regards, and makes a sad cold void of the heart. But there is a far more obvious and honourable view of that estrangement, which so often occurs between the noblest friends: as life advances, its cares and duties thicken upon our paths with a strength proportioned to that of the man; while our powers and energies, from the moment of the highest pressure, or mostly sooner, begin, with an accelerating rapidity, to decline. Engagements multiply, and languor increases; while the fervid impulse of youthful passions ceases to administer its fuel. The difficulties of letter-writing will thus ever be found to present a serious obstacle to the prolongation of intercourse between the most tried friends; for, unless where there is a natural predisposition to epistolary garrulity, the mere want of matter, and the energy of spirit which moves to thinking and language, will be found sufficient reason for procrastination, which must soon necessarily amount to cessation. Before they arrive at the maturity of experience, wise men have learned the emptiness of human speculations, and the narrow limit of their faculties: experience has made common the trite iterations of life, and thrown the vail of impenetrable darkness over the unfathomed vastitudes beyond it. The anxious confidences of hope and fear have departed; there is no impulse to communicate the "weariness" of age. Such is the general tendency, which in every special case has some peculiar cause of increase or diminution.

In the same year, Taylor had to sustain a heavy affliction, in the loss of the only surviving son of his second marriage, who was buried at Lisburn, 10th March, 1661. Little can be ascertained concerning his private history during this interval of his life; and we can do no more than mention the few incidents which have escaped oblivion. He rebuilt the choir of his cathedral church of Dromore at his own expense, and his wife contributed the communion plate. He also at the same time invited over George Rust, fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, with a promise of the deanery of Connor, then expected to become soon vacant. He continued to reside at Portmore, where he preserved his close intimacy with the Conway family, and rendered himself beloved by the people of all ranks through the surrounding district, by

his benevolence and the ready kindness of his charity, and the affability of his address and conversation. Heber observes, that the only particulars which can be gleaned of his life in this place are due to his connexion with a ghost story, which has found its way into the records of human superstition. It is related that, in the year 1662, on the eve of Michaelmas day, a spirit appeared to one Francis Taverrue, a servant of lord Donegal, on horseback and dressed in a white coat, and made certain disclosures to him for the purpose of recovering the rights of an orphan son, who had been fraudulently or wrongfully deprived by his mother's second husband. This curious tale may be found in the fullest detail in the notes to Heber's life of Taylor. We should willingly extract it here, but from the necessity which we feel to avoid protracting this memoir with stories, of which there is a full abundance to be found in numerous popular works. It would be still more in character with the plan on which these memoirs are written, to dwell on the curious moral and intellectual phenomena connected with this class of traditions; their early prevalence in human history; the remarkable analogy which seems to pervade them, so as to offer something like that traceable law of occurrence which is the usual indication of some causal principle; and, finally, to point out the errors in reasoning on either side, to which the credulous and incredulous classes of mankind, standing at the opposite extremes of error, are led by their several prejudices and prepossessions. For this end, we shall, indeed, be enabled to avail ourselves of a better occasion, though on a different topic.

It was remarked, with some bitterness, that Taylor took a part in this affair, which seemed to indicate that he did not quite discredit the story. But it is evident that no such inference could be drawn from any course pursued by one, who may have felt it advisable to propose the tests best adapted for the exposure of a fraud, to those who might be more easily deceived. Heber observes, and shows that his writings afford strong ground for an opposite inference. But we do not think the point of any moment. Taylor clearly exhibits his disbelief, by the use of arguments, which, like all those we have ever met, are not very conclusive. It is unfortunately an old pervading error of human reason, to consider all questions as within its cognizance, and in default of satisfactory proofs or disproofs, to consider it legitimate to apply the nearest that can be found; and overlook the sure law, that the conclusion, on either side, cannot be more certain than the premises.

There is a question of more importance, connected with a sermon which Taylor preached this year before the university, in which he has set his notions of toleration on a most clear and just ground. According to this view, the just limit of toleration is to be found in the just conservation of social interests: in any society, whether lay or ecclesiastical, the first right is that of self-preservation, without which neither churches nor states can stand. Those, therefore, who hold tenets practically inconsistent with the body politic or ecclesiastical, cannot be entertained as constituent members of that body. Such appears to be the inexpugnable ground on which Taylor took his stand, equally remote from those who are governed by sectarian feelings and revolutionary licence. Heber quotes two passages, one from

the "Liberty of Prophecy," and the other from the sermon here noticed, to show the consistency of his views at the several periods.

In 1663, Taylor published "A Defence and Introduction to the Rite of Confirmation," which he dedicated to the duke of Ormonde—three sermons preached at Christ Church, Dublin, and the funeral sermon on the death of primate Bramhall, "full," says Heber, "of curious information concerning the secret history of the times, and the pains which had been taken, with more success than was then generally known or apprehended, to pervert the exiled king from the faith of his countrymen."

He was also at the same time engaged on the last work which he lived to publish, the "Dissuasive from Popery," a work undertaken at the desire of the Irish bishops. Much success from such efforts to enlighten the poor Irish was not to be hoped; and Taylor, who undertook the task with some reluctance, was not sanguine in his expectations. He had the sagacity to perceive that truths so obvious to all unprejudiced minds, and prejudices which were identified with political distinctions, and with the national feelings to which such distinctions gave birth and permanency, were not to be reduced by reason. He also perceived the hopelessness of such a reliance, in the peculiar situation of the people, when the only provision for their instruction was in a language of which they were then totally ignorant. And thus, while their pride and affections were bruised and outraged by a policy of which they could in some degree feel the consequences, they were left in total darkness as to the grounds, form, and worship, of the religion which was pressed upon them solely as the religion of a people they were taught to hate. Some efforts had been made to redeem our countrymen from this afflicting condition. Usher, Bedell, and afterwards Boyle, attempted, by promoting a knowledge of the Irish tongue among the clergy, or by translations of the Scripture and liturgy, to break down the wall which shut in the people within their enclosure of superstition and barbarism. But such efforts were more difficult than can at first sight be calculated; and Heber observes, with truth, that even to our own times the evil has been suffered to continue. The English government, he observes, preferred the policy of endeavouring to enforce the dissemination of the English language. Such an object we consider of the utmost importance to the civilization of the country; but we think it a fatal truth, and a fundamental error in the policy of the English government, then and at all times, to adopt practically the false principle, that it is the part of human policy to overlook altogether the spiritual interests of the country. When we admit the nice limits and exceeding difficulties attendant on the due consideration of those interests, under many combinations of circumstances, it is not with the least admission of any qualification of this important truth. The policy of governments, when not (as in modern times) viewed as a shallow game, within the comprehension of any order of ignorance, is, of all branches of human knowledge, the most abounding with difficulties and complications, which task to the utmost, and often defy, the best qualities of the human mind, whether moral or intellectual. Had not the English government been ever more earnest to reduce the Irish people to a low state of subjection than to make them prosperous and

bring them to God, both objects had been long since attained. We must however add, what could not be as fully known to Bishop Heber, the knowledge of the English tongue is widely prevalent among the Irish peasantry. We may even add, that under the influence of later events, and the strenuous efforts which have been long making by religious societies and individuals for their instruction, the real mind and spirit of the Irish people has within recent years undergone a vast, but silent, and, therefore, yet unknown change—a change, indeed, not yet apprehended by themselves. Of this we shall take occasion to speak more fully and explicitly hereafter. But, reverting here to Taylor and his time, he justly remarks on the same topic—"The Roman religion is here among us a faction, and a state party, and design to recover their old laws and barbarous manner of living—a device to enable them to dwell alone, and to be *populus unius labii*—a people of one language, and unmingled with others," &c.

After a life signalized by valuable labours, by christian talents, and graces of the highest order, shown as remarkably in sufferings, privations, and sad bereavements, as in prosperity; and after a career no less exemplary by the humbler, but not less acceptable, lessons of humility, patience, and charity, than by the faithful discharge of the duties of a high and important station,—Bishop Taylor died on the 13th August, 1667, in the 55th year of his age, and the seventh of his episcopacy.

His remains were interred under the communion table in the cathedral church of Dromore. It is mentioned by Heber, that they were afterwards disturbed, to make room for those of other bishops; but Bishop Mant, on satisfactory grounds, clearly shows the statement to be quite erroneous.* More founded was the complaint that there existed no monument to mark the last abode of so much worth and genius, in a church on which Taylor himself had expended large sums for its repair and improvement. Bishop Percy had designed to repair this disgraceful want, but was prevented by the rapid increase of bodily infirmity and decay. We are however enabled to add, on the authority of Bishop Mant, a successor in the same diocese, that this reproach "has been removed by the clergy of the united diocese of Down and Connor, who, in the year 1727, placed in the cathedral church of Lisburn, a white marble tablet commemorative of the most renowned bishop of the see, appropriately decorated on each side by a crozier, and above by a sarcophagus, on which is laid the Holy Bible, surmounted by a mitre—indicating his principle and rule of action by the Latin motto, applied to that purpose by himself in his lifetime," &c. This motto is as follows:—

Non magna loquimur sed vivimus;

Nihil opinionis gratia, omnia conscientie faciam.

After which there follows a longer English inscription, expressive of the sense entertained by the inscribers of Taylor's character. This inscription is worthy of extraction here, both for its discriminate truth and the eloquence of its composition, which will lose nothing by our economy of space, in omitting the customary arrangement of such in-

* History of the Irish Church, p. 673, vol. I.

scriptions. There is a good engraving of the monument itself in Bishop Mant's work, from which we transcribe these lines:—

“Not to perpetuate the memory of one whose works will be his most enduring memorial, but that there may not be wanting a public testimony to his memory in the diocese which derives honour from his superintendence, this tablet is inscribed with the name of JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D., who, on the restoration in MDCLX of the British church and monarchy, in the fall of which he had partaken, having been promoted to the bishopric of Down and Connor, and having presided for seven years in that see, as also over the adjoining diocese of Dromore, which was soon after intrusted to his care, on account of his virtue, wisdom, and industry, died at Lisburn, August 13, MDCLXVII, in the 55th year of his age; leaving behind him a renown second to that of none of the illustrious sons whom the Anglican church, rich in worthies, has brought forth. As a bishop, distinguished for munificence and vigilance truly episcopal; as a theologian, for piety the most ardent, learning the most extensive, and eloquence inimitable; in his writings, a persuasive guide to earnestness of devotion, uprightness of practice, and christian forbearance and toleration; a powerful asserter of episcopal government and liturgical worship, and an able expositor of the errors of the Romish church; in his manners, a pattern of his own rules of Holy Living and Holy Dying; and a follower of the great Exemplar of Sanctity, as portrayed by him in the person of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

“Reader, though it fall not to thy lot to attain the intellectual excellence of this master in Israel, thou mayest rival him in that which was the highest scope even of his ambition, an honest conscience and a christian life.

“This tablet was inscribed by the bishop and clergy of Down and Connor, in the year of our Lord 1727.”

A funeral sermon preached by his chaplain and successor, Rust, affords a just and clear view of the life, character, and genius of this extraordinary man. It is difficult, if not impossible, for human praise to afford any just reflection of that piety and those exalted christian graces, which can only be truly estimated in the balance of eternal wisdom. Goodness, the fruit of divine grace, demands no profound intellectual powers to ripen or sustain it, nor is it adequately to be described in those gaudy tints which decorate the painted show of earthly vanities; but Taylor's genius was itself cast in a spiritual mould, and all his splendid and varied gifts were harmonized together, and exalted, by the one pervading and characteristic spirit. The angel temper seemed, for once at least, infused into a frame endowed with angelic capacities—such as not often are found separately, far more rarely together, in the composition of human character. A deep and spacious intellect, rapid, apprehensive, and vigorous—a fancy, alert, profuse, and ready—an imagination which seemed to wield and bring together at will, the world of life, form, and circumstance: with

these, the exhaustless command of all the resources and sympathies of taste, passion, and sentiment, and the copious and well-tuned elocution which is but a result of such endowments. In some, a combination of such powers might have its sphere in some immortal epic or dramatic work; in others, as circumstances led, they might be lost in the fruitless mazes of metaphysical speculation; but in him, they were aptly framed together by the one ever-presiding control of a pure and holy spirit. It would be difficult to find a succession of literary productions indicating throughout so much vivacity of impulse, and exuberance of fancy, with so uniform a sobriety of reason and steadiness of purpose. Something of all this seems to have been equally manifested in the entire of his conduct, manner, and deportment. It might indeed be anticipated, but the sermon of Rust contains many expressions of it. The following seems to be the language of lively rhetorical exaggeration, but is, doubtless, merely descriptive:—"To sum up all, this great prelate had the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a schoolman, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a counsellor, the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety of a saint; he had devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough for a university, and wit enough for a college of virtuosi; and had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his clergy whom he left behind him, it would perhaps have made one of the best dioceses in the world. But alas! our Father! our Father! the horses of Israel and the chariots thereof! he is gone, and has carried his mantle and his spirit along with him up to heaven," &c. By the way—from this specimen of a discourse, which offers no bad imitation of Taylor's own style, some small fragment of the orator's mantle must have fallen to his successor. We select some further passages, which may serve to give more precise ideas of this illustrious christian scholar than the above strain, which, though far from being inappropriate, yet carries the form of rhetorical enumeration into some strangely assorted combinations. "Nature," says Bishop Rust, "had befriended him much in his constitution; for he was a person of a most sweet and obliging humour, of great candour and ingenuousness; and there was so much soul and fineness in his wit, and prettiness of address in his familiar discourses, as made his conversation have all the pleasantness of a comedy, and all the usefulness of a sermon. His soul was made up of harmony, and he never spake but he charmed his hearer, not only with the clearness of his reason, but all his words; and his very tone and cadences were unusually musical." After some further commemoration of these and other striking and great endowments, the bishop proceeds: "To these advantages of nature, and excellence of his spirit, he added an indefatigable industry, and God gave a plentiful benediction; for there were few kinds of learning but he was a *mystes* and a great master in them. He was an excellent humanist, and highly versed in all the polite parts of learning; and had thoroughly digested all the ancient moralists, Greek and Roman, poets and orators; and was not unacquainted with the refined wits of the later ages, whether French or Italian."

Among other accomplishments of learning, Rust mentions his

thorough acquaintance with "the fathers and ecclesiastical writers, and the doctors of the first and purest ages both of the Greek and Latin church." After dwelling on the eminence of his Christian attainments, and that exemplary devotion which rendered all other distinctions comparatively nothing in his own estimation, the orator proceeds: "He was a person of great humility; and notwithstanding his stupendous parts, learning, and eminence of place, he had nothing in him of pride and honour, but was courteous, affable, and of easy access, and would lend a ready ear to the complaints, even to the impertinences of the meanest people. His humility was coupled with extraordinary piety; and I believe he spent the greatest part of his time in heaven; his solemn hours of prayer took up a considerable portion of his life.*" His charity is inferred from the largeness of his income, compared with the little left to his family. On this it is mentioned by Ware, that having saved moderate portions for his daughters, he distributed all the rest to the poor.

Of the writings of Taylor we have made as much mention as our space admits. The subjects of many of the controversies in which he took an active part are such, in some cases, as to prescribe silence in a work designed for many classes, while in others we have briefly recorded our opinion. On the general character of his eloquence there is not much to be added: it was such as might be inferred as the result of such a combination of moral and intellectual characters as we have described: it is, indeed, chiefly from his writings that we have been enabled to reason out the features of his mind; and the peculiarities of his style must nearly suggest the repetition of the same language which we have used or extracted. The copious and somewhat exuberant play of allusion which appears to seize on every incident, or element of theory, or fancy, or recorded fact, or saying, which comes even remotely within reach of his line of march, is such as to display a boundless expansion of mind, and a spacious grasp of knowledge, as well as to indicate the warmth and intensity of spirit, which could excite so much activity of the whole mind. He seems to be involved in the peculiar atmosphere of his subject, and to write with a wholeness and sincerity of heart, not often attained by the orator or author. In most compositions, it is not easy for the experienced and critical reader to avoid the impression constantly produced by the perception of the artifices of style, and the too obvious exposure of the resources of art. There is nothing of this unpleasant qualification in the eloquence of Taylor: for, although he seems to disport with facility in the most striking and splendid, harmonious and most dexterous dispositions of language, yet these appear to be but the dictate of instinctive taste, and a portion of the rolling torrent of allusions, comparisons, and arguments, which seem unselected and unsought, and rather the result of impulse than volition. Such a character of style, so curiously adapted to the form of the intellect in which it had its origin, was, it should here be recollected, in a great degree favoured by the taste of Taylor's age,—a consideration necessary to redeem it from the charge of defects and excesses which are not tolerated in our more precise and succinct method of composi-

* Rust's Discourse, quoted here from Mr Bonney.

tion. To this point we shall have an opportunity of reverting, with the fulness which it demands: the precise trim of modern composition which rejects superfluity, and requires the utmost nicety of distinction the greatest exactness of application, and the most orderly array in the succession of thoughts, was then unconceived. The characteristic effort, by which the modern is compelled to govern and restrain the first cloud of conception which rushes upon the intellect, to weigh in a scrupulous balance, and to reject with rigid control all that too remotely, too slightly, or superfluously supports his main design, had then no existence in the rhetoric of the English tongue. There seemed no reason why the whole torrent of suggestion should not be admitted in those elastic sentences, and immeasurable periods, in which it was the pride and delight of eloquent speakers and writers, to sport freely, and tumble like leviathan in the vasty deep. To scatter free and liberal flowers, and pour forth the fulness of extensive reading, was in some degree also the criterion of genius: and though now rejected for finer tests, it then produced a vast and powerful effect not now to be measured without much reflection. Though a false analogy, or a grotesque allusion, may now excite a smile, it was then received without question; in part because it appealed to less disciplined imaginations, and partly because it displayed power, and partly because it gratified the taste. If it contained no argument, it was at least a striking manner of expressing what the argument was: and was not, as would be likely to happen now, a mere substitution. We have the more dwelt on this consideration as Taylor's writings are recently published in forms which give them a chance of again attracting the public. Many may be offended prematurely by peculiarities which are become faults, and conclude wrongfully, to the discredit of one of the most just and acute writers of our language: while still more may fall into an error, far more to be lamented, and mistake those faults for excellencies; an error the more likely, because it is among those readers who are most likely to be attracted by the spirit of Taylor, that many corruptions of language are yearly springing up, to the great diminution of their influence on society.

We mentioned the death of one of Taylor's sons to have occurred a little before his own: another, the last who remained, died soon after in England. His widow survived many years. He left three daughters: of whom the second, Mary, was married to Dr Francis Marsh, afterwards archbishop of Dublin. The third, Joanna, married a Mr Harrison, of Maraleve, &c. Heber gives some interesting accounts of their descendants.

So far as any judgment can be formed from his numerous portraits, Taylor appears to have been "above the middle size, strongly and handsomely proportioned, with his hair long and gracefully curling on his cheeks, large dark eyes full of sweetness, an aquiline nose, and an open and intelligent countenance."* There is yet an original portrait of him in All Souls' College, presented by Mrs Wray, of Ann's Vale, near Rosstrevor.

* Heber.

FRANCIS MARSH, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

BORN A. D. 1627.—DIED A. D. 1693.

FRANCIS MARSH, the subject of the present memoir, was a native of Gloucestershire, and was early distinguished for his classical attainments. He was elected a fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he remained during the protectorate, seeking neither for employment or promotion from a government to whose views he was politically and conscientiously opposed. Among the loyalists, however, his talents, virtues, and learning, were duly appreciated; and, on the restoration, he had the distinguished honour of being selected and sought for by Jeremy Taylor, on his promotion to the see of Down and Connor, who, after admitting him successively into deacon's and priest's orders, presented him to the deanery of that diocese. In the following year, through the instrumentality of the lord Chancellor Hyde, he was advanced to the deanery of Armagh, with which was combined the archdeaconry of Dromore. These offices he held until 1667, when he was promoted to the sees of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe. In about five years from this period, he was translated to those of Kilmore and Ardagh, and in 1681 he was advanced to the dignity of archbishop of Dublin. These high and rapidly succeeding promotions were alluded to by the bishop of Meath, when preaching his funeral sermon, as tests of his merit, for he says, "this archbishop has been rather courted by preferments, than a solicitor of them, which ought therefore to give a due value and esteem to his memory and reputation." It is, however, fair to state, that he brings forward less questionable grounds for praise, as he not only speaks of his great learning, but adds, that he was "affable, mild, grave, and of an unblamable life." Having been appointed treasurer to St Patrick's, he took the oath of canonical obedience to the dean, but he subsequently resigned this office in favour of his son. After the accession of James, and the unfortunate substitution of Tyrconnel for Clarendon in the government of Ireland, the latter resigned the sword of state to the new viceroy, in the archbishop's palace, where the council were assembled, and where he delivered an impressive and affecting speech, exhorting him to adopt the same course of impartial justice towards protestants, that he had himself practised towards the opposite party: this, his previous conduct, while lieutenant-general, made more than unlikely, and "never was a sword washed with so many tears as this," which Clarendon laid down. The worst fears of the protestants were quickly realized, and the reign of terror, of injustice, and of blood, which followed, obliged all of any eminence or virtue, to fly a country where these very qualities and attainments made them only the more prominently obnoxious to oppression or to death. The archbishop accordingly removed with his wife and family to England, and nominated the celebrated Dr William King to act as his commissary in his absence, and to superintend and protect the interests of that diocese over which he was subsequently destined to rule. King, probably

fearing that his unaided efforts would be insufficient to oppose the innovations and unjust interference of the popular party, declined the appointment, on the ground of its not having been legally executed. It was accordingly arranged that the chapters should elect Anthony Dopping, bishop of Meath, manager and superintendent of the diocese, in the arduous duties of which office he was ably assisted by Dr King.

On the abdication of James, the archbishop returned to Dublin, and at his own expense repaired, enlarged, and beautified the palace of St Sepulchre's. He did not however live long to enjoy the happy period that succeeded, when each could again "sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree," but, being attacked by apoplexy, died in 1693, and was buried in Christ's church, his funeral sermon being preached, as before mentioned, by the bishop of Meath. The vacant archbishopric was offered to Dr Tenison, subsequently archbishop of Canterbury, but some obstacles arising to this appointment, it was given in the year following to Dr Narcissus Marsh, a man of great prudence and learning, and though of the same name, apparently no relative to his predecessor.

NARCISSUS MARSH, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

BORN A. D. 1638.—DIED A. D. 1713.

THE family of Dr Narcissus Marsh was ancient, and of Saxon origin; and maternally he was descended from the Colburns of Dorsetshire. He was born at Hannington, near Highworth in Wiltshire, in December 1638, at which town he was educated, and removed from thence to Oxford in 1654. After taking the degrees of Master of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity, he took that of Dr of Divinity in 1671; and seven years after took the same degree in Dublin college. He was appointed chaplain to the bishop of Exeter, and also subsequently became chaplain to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, to which appointment many of his future preferments may be traced. He was early distinguished as a person of learning and sound understanding, and was selected by the duke of Ormonde, when chancellor of Oxford, as principal of St Alban's hall; and being a very accomplished preacher, he was generally chosen on public occasions to preach anniversary sermons, especially such as in those times required tact and judgment. In 1678 he was nominated by the duke to the provostship of Dublin college, which office he held for four years, and resigned it on being promoted to the bishopric of Ferns, where he lived in undisturbed retirement; "repairing churches, planting curates where wanting, and doing what good he could," until king James ascended the throne. His own very interesting manuscript diary, which is preserved in the library which he subsequently founded in Dublin, and which will cause his name to be long honoured and remembered, gives the details of his persecutions, vicissitudes, and escapes, at this period; and is also a painful record of the pecuniary aids he gratefully enumerates as having received in his flight, difficulties, and destitution. His house was beset at midnight by a party of

soldiers, from whom he with difficulty escaped; and having reached Dublin, obtained shelter from the provost, until he in his turn was compelled to fly with his family—when not having money to procure himself the common necessities of life, and being threatened with destruction if he attempted to return to his diocese, he fled to London, where he says, "I was kindly received by the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, the bishop of London and others; but especially by the bishop of St Asaph, who bestowed on me the parish of Gretford for my support under that calamity; and by the bishop of Salisbury, Dr Burnet, who earnestly invited me several times to be at his house until I might return to Ireland. The bishop of Lincoln also presented me with five guineas. The Lord remember them all for their kindness to the distressed." During his stay in London, notwithstanding all his own anxieties and difficulties, he exerted himself actively and successfully for his suffering brethren, who had to fly from the bloody persecution then raging in Ireland, and who were less fortunate, being unknown and unprotected. After spending some months in London, he received an invitation from his old friend, Dr Bury, rector of Exeter college, of which he had been himself a probationer fellow. He remained with him for nine months, during which time he says he was "furnished with all necessities both by the Doctor and his wife, and by Mrs Guise, their daughter;" and when he was at length leaving these faithful friends, Mrs Bury offered him twenty guineas, which he says he refused, as "having no present occasion," the bishop of London having just sent him the same sum.

Upon the happy event of the abdication of king James, the bishop returned to Ireland, and was shortly afterwards promoted to the archbishopric of Cashel. In his new character of metropolitan, he consecrated Dr Nathaniel Foy, bishop of Waterford,—he being one of those dignitaries who had incurred both risk, contumely, and imprisonment, for his firm and uncompromising adherence to the protestant faith; and in the archbishop's diary, he expresses his "great hopes," which were ultimately realized, that this newly consecrated prelate might be "made an instrument of God's great glory." In his first visitation sermon, this truly christian archbishop pressed upon his clergy their plain and practical duties, charging them in those dark and unawakened times, not to wait until they were formally summoned by the sick and dying, but to seek for and anticipate such calls: for he adds, "besides the necessity of doing so in that extreme exigence for the direction of a parting soul in the right way to heaven, how incongruous is it that the sick persons should put you in mind of your duty; whereas you ought to put them in mind of theirs." He further says, "I shall only add hereto, that you should be very cautious how you behave yourselves towards men on their death-beds; that you neither run them into despair, that you do not send some to hell with false hopes, and let others go to heaven without any."

In 1694, he was advanced to the see of Dublin, and in his diary he thus notices this event.

"April 20. The news came to Cork, while I was there (on his triennial visitation), that their majesties were pleased to declare I should be translated to the see of Dublin; and accordingly the king's

letter was sent over for that purpose. and all this without my knowledge, or any means used by me for obtaining it. O Lord, thy ways are wonderful: and as this is thy sole doing, so I beseech thee to grant me sufficient assistance of thy Holy Spirit, to enable me to perform the work which thou hast assigned me. Amen."

He was accordingly enthroned in St Patrick's cathedral the following month, and applied himself, with conscientious earnestness, to the performance of the more extended duties and responsibilities which then devolved upon him. He directed his clergy scrupulously to attend to the instruction of the young, and enlarged upon and enforced their various practical duties, with the same zeal and primitive simplicity he had done at Cashel. His own efforts were laboriously and judiciously directed to the correction of abuses on a large scale; and the extreme age of the primate, incapacitating him from giving any assistance in the affairs of the church made the labour more oppressive. This is alluded to in a letter quoted by Bishop Mant, from a correspondence between him and Dr J. Smith, preserved in the Bodleian library, of which the following are extracts:—

"We having parliaments but seldom in Ireland, it might be supposed that here is occasion for many acts to be passed when we do meet; all which are prepared in this council, and sent to that in England before they can be brought into our parliament to be passed into laws; and my lord primate being above eighty-seven years old, and almost deprived of his sight and hearing, you cannot imagine but the weight of business to prepare bills to be passed into acts of parliament; for the church which nobody but churchmen will mind, hath lain and still doth lie heavy upon me; insomuch that for some months past I have not been able to command almost a minute's time from many bills prepared for the good of our church; whereof some are already passed, and the others I hope will suddenly be passed into laws, for the better establishment of this poor distressed church." In another letter, he states that he is occupied from ten to eleven hours every day, preparing in conjunction with some other bishops and privy councillors, those bills for parliament; and in a third, dated May 4th, 1700, about a year after holding the office of lord justice, he says, "it must be a great goodness in you to pardon my neglects, which I do still confess, promise amendment, and then do worse. But all arises from an unhappy circumstance that I do usually labour under. Worldly business is that which above all things I do hate; and that the more, because the affairs of the church, as things now stand, and during my lord primate's inability to act in his station, create me as much business as I can conveniently turn under. When I was dismissed last summer from the charge of the government, I hoped to be ever hereafter free from things of that nature. But Providence disposed of me out of one trouble into another; for our lord chancellor was no sooner summoned by the parliament in England, but I was appointed first commissioner for keeping the broad seal, which hath found me employment; that I hope will be over in a few weeks, that so I may be at some liberty to write to my friends."

Among his numerous efforts for the benefit of this country, there is one which must claim precedence of all the rest, not only from its last-

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ing utility, but from the peculiar sacrifices that it involved. This was the building, endowing, and furnishing, a noble library for the express benefit of the public, in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace. The account of the origin, progress, and completion of this great design, along with the unexpected obstacles encountered and combated by the archbishop, are given with much interest and simplicity by his own pen, in Bishop Mant's work. The conception of this scheme appears to date almost from his accession to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, but was not effectively carried out until some ten years afterwards; nor even until some two or three years after he had been translated from that see to the primacy of Ireland and see of Armagh. It appears that the house assigned to the archbishop in Dublin, otherwise sufficiently spacious, had neither a chapel nor library assigned to it, and it was the design of His Grace to build a chapel for the family and a larger library for the use of the public.

To secure the perpetuity of this institution, the primate determined to have some bills prepared and passed through parliament for the purpose, but in doing so, met most unexpected and vexatious opposition from some of the members of his own profession;* notwithstanding this, he says, in a letter to Dr Smith, "It passed the House of Lords, and was sent down to the House of Commons, where it was very kindly and favourably received. Amongst other clauses, this statute declares the premises for ever discharged of and free from all manner of taxes already imposed, or thereafter to be imposed, by act of parliament, unless the same shall thereon be charged expressly and by name. In the mean time, the dissenting lords entered their protestation against it, with such reasons as the House of Lords thought to be very reflective on them, and therefore, at the next session immediately voted those dissenting lords should be sent prisoners to the castle, unless they would withdraw their reasons, which accordingly they did, and all was quiet.

"In the mean time, the House of Commons passed my bill, without any man's opposing it, or, as they say, *nemine contradicente*, and presently voted that a committee of eight of their members should be appointed, to give me the thanks of the house for my benefactions, which was accordingly done out of hand. The lords, knowing this, presently voted the same, and pitched upon the dissenting lords to do it, for their mortification. But only one of them being at the time in the house, a temporal lord was joined with him. * * *

"By this you will perceive how difficult a matter it is for a man to do any kindness to the people of this country. If he will be a publick benefactor, he must resolve to fight his way through all opposition of it; it being a new and unheard-of thing here, that certainly hath some secret design in it to subvert the church, though they cannot tell what; and the reason of it is, "*Quia omnes, quæ sua sunt, querunt.*"

"This library, with the books, hath cost me near five thousand pounds Irish money; and I designed to expend so much more about it, as soon as God should enable me. But I confess this opposition has struck a

* Bishops of Killala, Ossory, Killaloe, and Raphoe, especially the two last.

great damp upon my spirits. I beg your prayers, that God would please to strengthen and encourage me in my former resolutions, without whose assistance, yea, and enlivening grace, I can do nothing more. Rev. Sir,—Thus far I had written near a month ago, and have laid by my letter to cool upon it thus long, and finding no exaggeration of the truth in what is before said, I now proceed to tell you, that since that time I have placed all bishop Stillingfleet's books in the said library, which I retained in my own house before the library was by act of parliament appropriate to publick use, and I do find that they do very near fill up all the space that is yet prepared in it for the reception of the books."

In the ensuing year, he again writes upon the same subject as follows:—

"Until this matter be settled, and an additional building be raised, or the present be carried on, as is designed, I fear that I shall not find room in it to place in it any more books, which does no more discourage me from prosecuting my design of rendering the library as beneficial to this kingdom as may be, than the opposition made to the bill hath done; which hath only made me more zealous in the business, since it hath received the general approbation. But I must beg your pardon, if I cannot consent to leaving any marks behind me of the opposition made to the passing of that bill, more than what of necessity must be entered on the journals of the House of Lords here. The opponents, some of them are worthy men:

* * * * * sed
Nescio quo fato, nec qua vertigine rapti, &c.

"I forgive them, and I pray God every man else may; at least nothing under my hand shall ever rise up against them." Amongst his many difficulties and discouragements, he had the gratification of receiving testimonies and congratulations upon the completion of his noble undertaking, from the best and highest in the land. The subjoined is from Archbishop King, and is of a previous date:—

"I understand with great satisfaction, that your Grace has concluded with Mr Stillingfleet for his father's library. 'Tis a noble gift to the church; and as it will perpetuate your Grace's memory here, so it will, I hope, be plentifully rewarded by our common Master. I could not on this occasion forbear expressing the sense I have of it, and rendering my thanks to God on behalf of your Grace, as well as acknowledgments to your Grace. I am further to assure your Grace that I am ready to join in an act of parliament to settle the library and gallery as we agreed, and I hope it will be ready to pass next session."

Both a librarian and a sub-librarian were appointed by the primate, who appropriated a charge of £250 per annum on certain lands in the county of Meath for the purpose of their endowment. He also directed, that the library, which then contained about 10,000 volumes, should remain open during the hours most suitable to the convenience of the citizens, and that all strangers should be freely admitted. About fifty years after, this library received a very important addition, by a bequest of valuable books and manuscripts from Dr Stearne, bishop of Clogher.

The primate now turned his active mind to the reform, and in many instances, remodelling of the diocese over which he was called upon to preside. At his own expense he repaired many of the deserted and dilapidated churches, and supplied them with proper ministers; and also purchased many alienated impropriations, and restored them to the church. The lamentable ignorance into which the Irish papists had at that time sunk, awakened the commiseration of many among the most zealous and conscientious of the Irish prelates, who forwarded a petition to the queen, through the duke of Ormonde, then lord-lieutenant, that active and efficient means might be resorted to for their instruction and conversion. While this petition was under consideration, the primate and his clergy joined in a subscription for the purpose of maintaining two missionaries, to preach to the Roman Catholics in their native language; and, at the same time, through the exertions of Archbishop King, Mr Richardson, and others, the Scriptures were printed in Irish and disseminated.

In 1707, the primate was seized with an alarming illness, which he describes to his friend Dr Smith in the following manner:—"As to the present, a lazy indisposition seized me that day at dinner whereon my lord-lieutenant landed, which was June 24th, which rendered me unable to walk or stand without help. 'Twas a benumbness in my limbs, that is not yet quite worn off, nor can it be until I have liberty to ride and walk and stir about, which the business of parliament, convocation, and council, hath hitherto denied me, especially the council, which, since the recess of parliament, which is to meet again, September 20th, hath seldom sate, either itself or in a committee, less than eight or ten hours every day to prepare, adjust, and dispatch bills to the council in England for their approbation, that they may be returned hither in time enough to be passed in our parliament when it shall meet. This is our method. So that when I returned home at night, I have been still more inclined *ad dormiendum quam ad scribendum*. But God be thanked, my distemper, as the doctors tell me, is only the scurvies, not a touch of the palsy, as I at first apprehended. And the fore-mentioned business being now for a few days over, I have time to think of my friends and books."

From this period the health of the primate appears to have gradually declined, though his mental energies continued sound; and he continued to transact business almost to the close of his life, which did not terminate until 1713. Although in 1710 the duke of Ormonde told Swift, that "he was hardly able to sign a paper," when Swift answered, "he wondered they would put him in the government, when every one knew he was a dying man this twelvemonths past."

On the 2d of November he was attacked by apoplexy, and died in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was buried in the church-yard of St Patrick's, adjoining his library, where a stately white marble monument was erected, which has since been removed into the cathedral, and is placed at the south side of the west aisle: while a mural plate marks the spot in the church-yard where his mortal remains were laid. He never married, and he does not appear to have had any very near relatives. His charities were unbounded—the amount

ri them being calculated at not less than £30,000. In Drogheda he built an alms-house for the reception of twelve widows of clergymen, and allowed to each of them £20 per annum. He also gave his aid and sanction to the missions in the East, and was himself a highly accomplished Oriental scholar. He excelled both in vocal and instrumental music, and understood thoroughly and scientifically the principles of harmony. He wrote an essay on sounds, with proposals for the improvement of acoustics, which was presented to the Royal Society, and printed in the Philosophical Transactions, and on which Guido Grandi, a philosopher of Cremona, has largely commented. When provost, he published "*Institutiones Logicæ*," and also edited Philip de Trieu's "*Manuductio ad Logicam*," to which he added the original Greek text, and some notes on Gassendi's tract, *De Demonstratione*, printed at Oxford, 1678.

ANTHONY DOPPING, BISHOP OF MEATH.

BORN A. D. 1643—DIED A. D. 1697.

THIS illustrious prelate was the son of a Mr Anthony Dopping, an Englishman. He was born in Dublin, 28th March, 1643, and educated in the free school of St Patrick's. There he was early distinguished for the quickness with which he learned; and so rapid was his progress, that he was enabled to enter the university of Dublin in 1656, being then in his 13th year. In the university, his advance was no less extraordinary, and he obtained the fellowship in his 19th year. As a fellow, he is said to have won general respect and regard in the university, for the zeal and ability with which he discharged the arduous duties of that high and responsible station, as well as for the ready kindness and affability which made his conduct and demeanor attractive to the undergraduates. In 1669 he was appointed minister of St Andrew's, and on the death of Jones, bishop of Kildare, in 1678, he was with universal approbation chosen his successor in that see. From this he was, in 1681, translated to Meath. He was at the same time made a privy counsellor, and vice-chancellor of the university.

We have already stated in some detail, and cannot now repeat the disastrous efforts of king James II. and his counsellors, to effect a revolution in England in favour of the church of Rome: as was to be expected, Ireland, in which their party was already formidable, and where the intrigues and arbitrary interpositions of government were less under the control of the protestant sense of the kingdom, was selected as the stage of action. For a time every engine of arbitrary power, and a policy that went to its mark with a violence of zeal irrespective of all considerations of truth, mercy, or equity, were let loose against the protestants of Ireland. We must here add, that in our detail of this execrable conspiracy, we have guarded against the hasty imputation of these deeds to the really respectable portions of our countrymen of the papal church. In such times, there ever was and

must be a ragged regiment of the mere mob of any people, of any country, or creed, who will be at the disposal of all who are with impunity allowed to raise the popular outcry of public disorder, rapine, and murder. Such a fact, inherent in human nature, conveys no reproach when fairly understood, save that which must fall on those who avail themselves of such an instrumentality for evil ends. We are here only concerned with the fact that, when the lord-deputy, Tyrconnel, put in motion every engine of power for the subversion of the church in Ireland, Dopping, with other privy counsellors, was dismissed, for the purpose of forming a council of the Romish persuasion.

The effect of such a course was soon felt through the kingdom, but more especially in Dublin, where tyranny and violence kept their headquarters, and all opposition was suppressed by terror. There it was unsafe for protestants to be in any way noticed, and their clergy, when found in the discharge of their spiritual functions, were treated with the most harsh contumelies and interruptions by the brutal soldiery who had received their orders for such conduct. The archbishop of Dublin, having become the subject of special persecution, was compelled to fly; and still, anxious for the faithful discharge of his duties, he appointed Dr King as his commissary. But some doubt arising as to the legality of the instrument by which he was appointed, King prevailed on the chapters of Christ church and Patrick's to elect the bishop of Meath to the administration of the spiritualities. Dopping was thus brought forward into a post of dangerous responsibility; and never was such a post more worthily filled, or in a season of more trying adversity. Ably and courageously aided by Dr King, he exerted himself openly in the assertion of the rights and interests of the church; to protect its property; to enforce and preserve its ministerial offices and duties; and fill its churches with worthy and efficient pastors. In the parliament of 1689, he distinguished himself in his place by the courage and eloquence with which he denounced the outrages of king James' government: he also made several protests and petitions in favour of the persecuted protestants, their church, and clergy. In a word, his boldness and prompt zeal were at the time only tolerated in that destructive assembly, because, standing nearly alone, he could not offer any check to their proceedings, while his freedom seemed to give an appearance of fairness and liberality to their debates.

His noble courage and ability were indeed of no avail, though they probably obtained for him the involuntary respect of his opponents, as they won the regard and veneration of all just and honourable minds of every persuasion. King James, happily ejected from the kingdom, against the liberty and religion of which he had conspired with his enemies, came to exercise his duplicity and despotic temper in Ireland; and here, in no long time, freed as he was from the constraints of the English public, exposed the secrets of his policy, by acts of the most flagrant injustice and spoliation. Into these we shall not now enter: it may be enough to mention here that the repeal of the act of settlement followed by the most flagitious act that ever left immortal dishonour on

the memory of a legislative assembly, had the effect of opening the eyes of every respectable person in the kingdom who from whatever cause had adhered to him.

An act of the same parliament transferred the incumbencies of the protestant churches, with their emoluments and sacred edifices, to the priests of the papal communion. Through the country they obtained possession by violence, in which they were aided by the soldiery of James. In Dublin the churches were seized on different pretexts; and with the aid of the French soldiery, a system of extortion exercised against the protestant inhabitants.

At length, by the blessing of that overruling providence, which pleased to reserve this country—we trust for better times—the march of outrage and sacrilege was stayed by the battle of the Boyne. On this memorable occasion, Dopping, with Digby bishop of Limerick, and the clergy then remaining in Dublin, waited on the conqueror with an address, which was composed and delivered by Dopping, who had been their advocate and champion in their recent trials and sufferings, and had never once faltered through the whole of that perilous and disastrous time. To the church history of this period we must revert in the following memoir.

Dopping, restored to his dignities, enjoyed many years of peace and prosperity, and died in the year 1697 in Dublin. He was buried in his family vault in St Andrew's church.

WILLIAM KING, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

BORN A. D. 1650.—DIED A. D. 1729.

WILLIAM KING, who, whether we regard him as a prelate, a scholar, or a man of genius, is entitled to a place in the foremost rank of eminent Irishmen, was born in 1650 in Antrim. His father was a Scotch settler, who came over in the time of the civil wars to avoid taking the solemn league and covenant. William was sent to school at Dungannon, and in 1666, when he had nearly completed his 17th year, he entered as a sizer in the university of Dublin. There he obtained a scholarship, and graduated in 1670, and took master's degree in 1675, when he was ordained deacon by Dr Mossom, bishop of Derry. He had, at the provost's earnest desire, offered himself candidate at the fellowship examination, but not having read with this view, he did not succeed. But the effort was creditable, as he answered on such insufficient preparation, so as to manifest the possession of great ability and knowledge. He was thus recommended to Parker, archbishop of Tuam, who ordained him priest, and took him as chaplain into his family. During his residence with the archbishop he availed himself of the advantages thus afforded for the cultivation of his understanding, and the acquisition or improvement of such attainments as might be useful to his future views of duty or advancement; and in this prudent and laudable industry he was much encouraged by his patron, who had the sagacity to perceive that he was gifted with an intellect of no inferior order. The archbishop was not neglectful of

his other interests, and in the course of a few years promoted him to several benefices; so many that indeed they might seem to amount to a most reprehensible accumulation of pluralities, if we did not refer to the then poverty of church livings, and the state of learning in Ireland, which were such, that the promotion of piety and learning were objects of the most immediate importance. At the time of which we write, and indeed long after, the church livings were for the most part wholly inadequate to their purpose: and to this rather than to any more invidious cause, is to be attributed the abuse of pluralities. The far greater abuse of impropriations, and the poverty of the country made the parishes of so small and uncertain a value, that it was necessary to add five or six together to make an income of fifty pounds a-year. While to so many, perhaps, there was seldom more than one church in effective repair.*

In 1678 Parker was translated to Dublin. He collated King to the chancellorship of Patrick's, with the parish of Werburghs. Here King had the opportunity for which he must doubtless have been desirous, of labouring in his vocation as a christian minister. His great promptness and activity in the general interest of the chapter, and still more in the defence of religion, were during the same interval signalized by different efforts, and by controversial writings, not of sufficiently permanent interest to be here distinctly noticed. In 1688 he was further promoted by the chapter of St Patrick's, who elected him to the deanery.

Those troubled times to which we have so frequently been compelled to advert now came on, and for a moment seemed to shake the church and growing fortunes of this country to the foundation. In that dreadful crisis, King was among those who stood his ground, to brave and endure the dangers and sufferings of his church and fellow-citizens. When the repeal of the act of settlement was proposed, he justly concluded that such a dissolution of the actual constitution of the country amounted to a forfeiture of allegiance, and exerted himself to the utmost to persuade his fellow-countrymen to embrace the deliverance providentially offered by the prince of Orange; and it is admitted that he was memorably successful, so that under providence, he may be said first to have given a salutary direction to the public mind, bewildered as it was in the stormy collision of interests and passions, then prevalent in this distracted country.

Of these noble exertions a new sense was shown by the hostile party and their king in the following year, when they seized many protestant clergymen, among whom was King, on some absurd pretence, and imprisoned them in the castle. King committed his authority to his subdean, Mr Henry Price, with strong injunctions to keep the church in order to the utmost of his power. While thus imprisoned, he wrote the history of the events, of which he was himself the faithful and intelligent witness, and which, if the utmost allowance be made for the errors of human observation, contains beyond any fair comparison the most authentic and trustworthy narration of those events. We have had the advantage of its guidance in the political

* See Swift's memorial to Mr Harley about the first-fruits, in his works, vol. xii.

history of this interval, and have also diligently compared it with the counter-statements which have been opposed to it. The grounds of our preference we have fully stated. It may here be enough to state, that the utmost deductions to be made from King's accounts are not such as in any way to affect the substantial accuracy of the whole, either in detail or general truth. With respect to his adversaries, it would be painful to go to the full length of exposure; but there is throughout the entire of them, that prominent vein of misrepresentation which belongs to the lowest form of tortuous advocacy—evasion, equivocation—and above all, that ever ready resource of historical falsehood, the *suppressio veri*. The large allowances to be made for that adjustment of facts to certain false assumptions in political theory, which gave such writers plausibility among the ignorant and deluded party for which they have written, would be more difficult to advert to in any summary form; but we will venture to say that we have sufficiently exposed them already in the course of this work.

King's confinement was not of long duration: he was liberated by the exertions of Herbert, who was one of the many protestants who yet lay under an erroneous sense of loyalty to James, and who, for the sake of the respectability which they attached to his cause, were enabled to exercise a considerable influence over him. It was during this interval that archbishop Marsh had been driven from the country, by a series of persecutions already related. On his release, Dean King applied himself, with all his ability and assiduous zeal, to assist the bishop of Meath in the care of the archdiocese thus deprived of its proper head. But he was too distinguished to be long endured by the despotic intolerance of James, or by the rancorous faction which directed his apprehensions and jealousies; once more he was seized and incarcerated: but the battle of the Boyne which delivered the country again set free the brave assertor of her rights, and historian of her wrongs and sufferings. In a few days after, king William entered the capital and returned thanks in Patrick's cathedral, where King, as dean, preached before him: considering the occasion of such a discourse the topics were obvious; the dean had to dwell on the dangers to which the church and the country had been exposed, and to trace their great and providential deliverance.

His merits were among the highest, if not indeed the very highest, which demanded recognition from the justice of William; and the interest of the church, then to be repaired from its ruins, still more imperatively demanded the promotion of one whose virtues and abilities so distinctly marked him for a post of dignity and public trust. The see of Derry had been designed by the king, as a reward for the services of the Rev. George Walker; but the death of this heroic man at the Boyne left the vacancy free for a far more appropriate nomination; and Dean King was chosen. By permission of the primate, whose age and infirmities rendered him incapable of the office, King was consecrated by the archbishop of Dublin. He straightway repaired to his diocese, and found its condition no less wretched than was to be anticipated from the recent disorder which so universally impaired and confused all departments of civil order. In the diocese of Derry, civil war had exhausted its whole train of calamities; waste

and ruin overspread the country, and involved villages and pastures; the churches had been the subject of especial hostility, and were almost universally laid in ruin; flight alone had saved the clergy from massacre; and the state of the country which denied them the means of subsistence held out no spiritual motive for their return. All was desolation and dilapidation, confusion and waste. This unhappy state of things, from which a feebler spirit would have recoiled in despair, called forth the active beneficence and the efficient energy of the new bishop. Contributing largely from his private means, which he always seems to have used unsparingly for public uses, and obtaining by great exertion the disposal of the large arrears then due on the see estates, he immediately exerted himself to replace or repair the church which the army of James had destroyed; and in addition, he built several new churches.* The clergy he soon collected, and compelled either to settle in their parishes, or to allot a sufficient maintenance for good and sufficient curates: not content with this, he supported many at his own cost, until their incumbencies became adequate to their maintenance. He was not less careful in looking to the competency of his clergy than to the duties of their station: this was necessarily a matter of some delay; and as in former cases which we had to notice in this series, much opposition was to be encountered; for, as we have had to explain in our memoirs of Usher and Bedell, the constitution of the clerical body had been from necessity rather irregular. In his MS. correspondence he says, "I believe no bishop was ever more railed at for the first two years, than I was at Londonderry, by both clergy and laity; but by good offices, steadiness in my duty, and just management, I got the better of them, and they joined with me heartily in promoting these very things for which they opposed and condemned me at first."†

A large infusion of dissenting protestants, from Scotland, poured in at this time, and greatly increased the difficulties we have mentioned. To these, he opposed only kindness, the example of a christian spirit, and the superior gifts of reason, with which he was so highly endowed. From Harris we learn that his success was considerable. To promote the end for which he thus laboured, he composed a treatise, of which we extract the following description:—"A treatise, in which the argument in vindication of the church's forms of divine worship are exemplified from holy scripture, set forth in a perspicuous method, and enforced by conclusive reasoning, which is calm and affectionate in manner, free from all bitterness of spirit, and all harshness of language; and of which, while some opponents have commended the air of seriousness and gravity, becoming the weight of the subject, as well as the dignity of the writer's character, no one has been found to confute its positions, or to invalidate its truth."‡

A reply to this essay drew from the bishop an answer which is valuable for the precise statistic account which it gives of the several states of the church of Ireland, and dissenting congregations at that time. It was entitled "An admonition to the dissenting inhabitants

* Mant. Hist. of the Irish Church, ii.

† From the MS. letters of King; Mant.

‡ Mant.

of the diocese of Derry, concerning a book lately published by Mr J. Boyce."

Among other acts equally creditable to his activity and judgment, there is one which should not be omitted. Numerous families having deserted the barony of Inishowen and followed the army of king James into the south, a colony of Scottish Highlanders came over and occupied their room. These new settlers, not understanding the English language, petitioned the bishop for a minister to officiate for them in their own tongue: the bishop immediately provided two qualified clergymen, and authorized them to perform divine service in Irish, which was fully intelligible to the petitioners. One of these was a curate, paid by the bishop himself. They had at once a congregation of five hundred persons: the example spread, and it having been ascertained that numerous Highlanders had at different times gone over to the church of Rome, averring in answer to those who inquired their reasons, that, not understanding the English tongue, they considered it better to take such a step than to have no religion; means were adopted in the county of Antrim to remedy such a disadvantage, by the appointment of ministers fitly qualified. As authority for the particulars here but adverted to loosely, there may be cited a "History of the attempts to convert the popish natives of Ireland to the established religion," by the Rev. John Richardson, in 1712: the author says, "by these means many Highlanders and popish natives are added to our church: whereas, in other places, where such care is not taken of them, the natives do not only continue in popery, but many of the Highlanders are drawn off to separate meetings, or to the Romish superstition and idolatry."

The remaining particulars of any prominence in this interval of King's life demand, and mostly indeed admit, no lengthened detail. He was active in promoting the success of a contribution raised by queen Anne's permission, for the relief of the Scottish Episcopal clergy. He was one of the six bishops commissioned to determine upon the fitness of Dr Sheridan to be appointed to a vacant bishopric—an appointment, which, having been influenced by private favour, without adequate consideration, was opposed by an accusation at the bar of the House of Lords, and finally rejected by the decision of the bishops.

While bishop of Derry, King was also appointed in a commission of three bishops, to judge on the case of the bishop of Down and Connor. This prelate passed his entire time in England, and manifestly looked no further to the see than his own income demanded. One of these bishops, Wiseman of Dromore, fell sick, and the decision lay with Dopping and King, who, on the 13th of March, 1691, suspended him, and on the 21st, deprived him "for simony in conferring ecclesiastical benefices, and for other grievous enormities committed in the exercise of his jurisdiction." The same commission, according to their authority, proceeded to inquire into the disorders in the same diocese, which must have been the necessary consequence of so grievous a want of episcopal superintendence; and after much and vigilant inspection, they deprived the archdeacon of five out of nine parishes, and suspended him from his functions and benefices during the king's pleasure. They in like manner deprived or suspended several others,

on different grounds. These proceedings were acquiesced in by the accused parties, with the exception of the archdeacon, who appealed, petitioned, and published his case in a pamphlet of much talent and legal research; but all to no effect, as he was repeatedly condemned after fourteen different hearings in different courts.*

Among the several important bills and motions in the Irish parliament, affecting in different ways the constitution of the Irish church, at the close of this century, King exerted all the zeal and ability for which he remains distinguished. On these topics, we cannot enter here into the same detail that we have occasionally thought expedient in the merely political division of these memoirs. Fortunately the history of the Irish church is not, like our political history, yet to be written: Dr Mant's history, to the highly authentic character of which we are indebted for much comparative facility in the selection of our present materials, we feel, at the same time, to absolve us from the notice of much which would materially add to our very considerable difficulties, in endeavouring to produce a popular work on subjects so full of inflammatory material. It is indeed easy to state a fact, merely as such: but we have felt and feel such statements to be so often encumbered with fallacy and false impressions, that it is hard at times to make the simplest statement without a comment at far more length than its importance would otherwise merit. The change of times has, by a slow and long revolution, effected many great changes in those principles of expediency which are the essential elements of our social constitution; and consequently, in our notices of the past we have been compelled to guard against the comprehensive errors and prejudices arising from the misapplication of the elements of the present; and the difficulty has been increased by the partisan character of the numerous historians, and historical commentators, who have actually availed themselves (oftenest ignorantly we grant,) of this ambiguity of social events, to produce popular impressions.

For these reasons we shall avoid twenty pages of mere discussion, by not entering here upon the strife of parties respecting toleration, the general principle of which is plain enough: but which may be, and mostly has been, so interwoven with other objects and principles, as to demand much and nice consideration from any writer who pretends to form comprehensive judgments. At a further stage we shall have occasion to view these matters with that fulness which accurate discrimination requires.

Among other bills brought into the Irish parliament in 1695, one was for the union and division of parishes: it was rejected, for reasons probably of a nature discreditable to the parliament, as such a measure must have found considerable impediments in the vast preponderance of lay patronage and impropriations. Such objections were likely to have been noticed by King; and it is mentioned by Dr Mant, from archbishop Marsh's Diary, "the bishops of Derry, [King] and Waterford, protested against throwing out of the house a bill for union and division of parishes; and in their protestations, having reflected something on the house, (as was apprehended,) they were both ordered to withdraw;

and after some time, the bishop of Derry was brought in, and asked pardon of the house, and was ordered to take his place." King showed his good sense by declining a contest on a mere punctilio: as he was ready to brave and provoke the house, so far as his duty demanded, he was as ready to give way to wrath, when that duty ceased, and resistance would be but an ineffectual pertinacity. The bishop of Waterford, with a zeal not less praiseworthy, yet less governed, held out, and was sent prisoner to the castle, until he should beg pardon, and desire his enlargement by petition, which he did after an interval of three days' confinement.

A series of letters commencing at this period of his life, and throwing much valuable light upon church history, has been recently acquired by the university of Dublin: the learning and characteristic liberality of this eminent institution may ultimately lead to the publication of such interesting materials for history. Dr Mant, who has largely availed himself of them, mentions them as containing "transcripts of almost all his letters of that period, [from 1696, to 1729,] made in a contemporaneous handwriting for his own use," &c. Much of his correspondence is indeed scattered among the memoirs and letters of other eminent persons of the same period. Many very important letters on church affairs in the reign of queen Anne, have been published in Swift's correspondence. Among those at this earlier period, there are many which offer the clearest views of passing events, and of the condition of ecclesiastical affairs. One of September, 1696, strongly marks the neglect of the Irish church, which was so disgraceful to the government. "There is one thing I am much concerned at, because I have heard many take notice of it since I came to town, and it is the little care that is taken of the church in this kingdom at court, which between you and me, in policy ought not to be neglected, since it is surely and apparently the strongest interest in Ireland. We have several times petitioned for the forfeited impropriations, which are really worth little; and yet can by no means procure a letter for them, though such was never demurred on by any king before, and 'tis not one single farthing out of the king's pocket.

Notwithstanding the depression of the church in Ireland, and the evident indifference on the part of government; yet in the following year a bill was passed, which, in the course of time, has operated to amend some of its greatest deficiencies. By this enactment, ecclesiastical persons were empowered to build, improve or purchase houses and lands for their residence, with a right reserved to receive two-thirds of the sum so expended from their next successors, who in turn were entitled to one-third of the same entire sum, by a similar claim.

But there is altogether apparent, not only a neglect of the concerns of the church, but a strong disposition to usurp its rights, and encroach upon its authority. A letter from King to the bishop of Worcester, strongly complains of the disuse of the convocation, and the usurpation of its fiscal powers by the parliament. In the session of 1699, the clergy were assessed in the House of Commons for the first time; at which the bishops were allowed to protest. Another grievance was complained of by King, who expresses his strong fear that ecclesiastical preferment would be, for the future, entirely filled from England.

Extracts which Bishop Mant gives, from the correspondence of King about this time, speak more than volumes upon his personal character, on the actual state of the Irish church, and in some measure upon the condition and habits of society.

Queen Anne succeeded to the crown in March, 1702, on the death of king William. The change caused much anxious hope and fear in the breasts of the two great parties, who were divided by opposite views on many important interests, and on questions affecting the stability of the revolution. These agitations, however, belong to English history, and are worked too much below the surface to be considered as directly influential on the state of Irish affairs. In England, a deep game of intrigue renders the short ensuing reign memorable, as an exemplification of all the falsehood, baseness, and treachery which has been proverbially, but perhaps with some exaggeration, imputed to courts and courtiers. But we shall presently have to delineate this illustration on an ampler scale. King expressed, in one of his letters, his regrets for the death of his great benefactor, from whose wisdom so much was to be expected for Ireland.

In the following year, the death of primate Boyle occasioned a succession of removes and promotions; and King was promoted from Derry to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin. Connected with this translation, we find no particulars of memorable interest. The following letter, written a year after, to the bishop of Norwich, ascertains the fact of his unwillingness to change, with the reasons:—

“It is above a year since I was translated to this see. I was desirous to decline, if the commands of my superiors and importunity of my friends had not prevailed with me against my own opinion, to sacrifice both my ease and profit to their sentiments. My lord, it was not without reason I was unwilling to remove to this station; for I had known the diocese thirty years, had governed it for some time, and knew that it was in worse circumstances (both in respect to discipline and attendance of the cures,) than most others in the kingdom; the numerous appropriations and impropriations in it making the due service of cures and right order almost impracticable: however, I hoped that by the assistance of those whose interest and duty it was to help me, I should be able to do something towards a reformation, though I could not expect all that was to be desired. And I am heartily sorry to tell your lordship, that I find the greatest opposition from those that should in reason be most forward to promote my intentions.”

Of the several acts of the Irish parliament in Queen Anne's reign, we are precluded from treating here, as they more fitly pertain to the subsequent epoch. They will scarcely however even there be found of sufficient interest to the ordinary reader, except as accounting for the miscarriage of the Irish church as a great national institute.

King found the metropolitan see in a condition which afforded full exercise to his talent, liberality, and zeal. The protestant population had largely increased since the accession of William III., but there

was a deficiency of churches to accommodate its increasing numbers. He repaired fourteen, rebuilt seven, and built nineteen, in places till then destitute of any place for divine service. To effect this beneficial end, he availed himself of the forfeited impropriations, according to the provisions of an Act, 11 William III., aided by the contributions of the wealthy protestants of the diocese, to which he added largely from his own funds. These new churches he supplied with clergymen, by dividing the contiguous pluralities as any of them became vacant, and assigning glebes of twenty acres out of the see lands. In cases where there was no see land in the parish, he obtained it by purchase. By these and other means, he brought the parochial system of his diocese into an efficient condition. It is also to be mentioned, to the praise of his disinterested liberality, that having in the course of these arrangements trenched considerably upon the income of the see, he took just care to indemnify his successors, by the purchase of lands, with which he endowed the see.

Bishop Mant cites a letter from King to Ashe, bishop of Clogher, which displays in a very strong point of view the soundness of his judgment, as well as the earnestness of his concern for the welfare of the church. In this, he urges strongly on that prelate the error and pernicious effects of the course which he was about to adopt for the preferment of his brother; and points out, in terms no less clear and distinct than conclusive, the disadvantages attending pluralities; and explains the just and correct course to be adopted for the preferment of good clergymen—first placing them in such livings as first offered, and then promoting them to better as they fell vacant—a method to be praised, as evidently preserving the nearest possible proportion between merit and reward, efficiency and station.

The inefficiency of the convocation in the year 1705 was a subject of much anxious disquietude and strong complaint to the archbishop. The lower house of convocation appear to have proceeded with diligence, and proposed several useful laws, which were however rejected or not entertained by the upper house, to the great vexation of archbishop King, who, in several letters, complains in strong and often pathetic terms of the indifference, the want of energy, or the subserviency betrayed by many of his brethren.

Among the irregularities which still continued to prevail, in consequence of inadequate provision for the respectable support of the Irish church, was the difficulty of obtaining persons of perfect competency to fill the ministerial office. Such a want has always the necessary effect of bringing forward an inferior class of candidates for ordination; and thus various irregularities must creep in. The indolence and inattention of many prelates permitted such an evil at this period to rise to a dangerous extent; and among those who sought admission on easy terms into holy orders, these prelates became distinguished by the term of *ordainers*. Against this abuse the archbishop took an active part; and, from a letter which was occasioned by some incident in the course of his proceedings, he mentions the course pursued by himself toward candidates for orders. "The method I take, when I ordain any, is this:—First, he applies himself to me in private, and I

examine him. I never ordain any that I have not known personally for some time. If he give me satisfaction as to his life, title, and learning, then I summon four or five of the clergy, according to the canons, to assist me in the examination, which lasts publicly four days. Each takes such part as is agreed. The candidates exhibit all their testimonials, titles, &c., and the registrar enters a brief of it. If any come from another diocese, or be to be preferred in it, I do not admit him but at the request of the bishop; for I think it reasonable that every bishop should have the examination of those that are to serve in his diocese. By this method I have had some trouble, but have avoided all importunity and surprise about conferring orders, though I have been a bishop eighteen years."

The cause to which this disadvantage of the Irish church has been mainly attributed here, is well illustrated also by another statement which the archbishop makes. Of the fifty ministers in the country portion of his diocese, the five highest incomes amounted to no more than £100 a-year. About a dozen were less than £40: some had nothing certain, and others from £10 to £16. To have raised the clergy of Ireland from this hapless condition was indeed the most important of the archbishop's many great services to Ireland; and it may therefore not be too much to offer some further illustrations of this state of things, and of the sacrifices and exertions which they elicited from his zeal and liberality. "In Wicklow and Arklow," he mentions, in a letter to Mr Wentworth, "the one has ten, and the other eleven parishes, to make a competency; and 'tis generally so through this diocese. Each of those ministers has two churches to serve, and at a considerable distance." To the same gentleman he makes proposals for the purchase of his impropriations, mentions the heavy expenses to which he had already been induced, observing that he was yet unwilling to lose the opportunity for the purchase of the impropriations which Mr Wentworth was desirous to sell. The information given here is much extended in another letter to the bishop of Ferns, at whose diocese the archbishop had been, on his triennial visitation. In this letter, the pernicious anomaly of impropriation is strongly illustrated, as it appears from the archbishop's statement. Of one hundred and thirty-one parishes in Ferns, seventy-one were impropriated in lay hands; twenty-eight were appropriated to the bishop, dignitaries, and prebendaries of cathedrals, &c.; and thirty-two only in the possession of the working clergy,—these latter being the worst.

Among other proofs of the archbishop's industrious zeal in remedying the wants of the Irish church, was a form for the consecration of churches, there having been no authority for the form then in use in Ireland. It seems to have been considered a matter of much nicety, on which the English convocation had not been able to agree. The archbishop used his own form, of which he observes, that some of the numerous churches he had consecrated were "in a crowd of dissenters," to whom the form he used gave satisfaction. This he soon after published, under the title of "A Discourse concerning the Consecration of Churches; showing what is meant by Dedicating them, with the Grounds of that Office,"—this form "having been previously agreed

to at a synod and visitation of the diocese of Dublin, held in the cathedral church of St Patrick's" in the same year.*

In the year 1709, and the following year, great exertions were made for the instruction of the Irish peasantry, through the medium of their native tongue. The bishops, in their convocation, introduced the subject, referring its consideration to the lower assembly, where it was warmly entertained. A memoir also, from the nobility and gentry, was presented to the duke of Ormonde. Several of the bishops and clergy exerted themselves to the same end; but chiefly the primate, with archbishop King, bestirred themselves with efficacy and zeal. Under the archbishop's patronage, a professor was appointed to teach the Irish language in the university. He also engaged Mr Richardson, who had already been most effectually employed in the same good service, to "solicit the printing of Irish Bibles, the liturgy, and an exposition of the church catechism, for the people." On this interesting topic, the reader may find fuller information in our memoir of the Rev. John Richardson, of whose memoir it will form the material.

In the same interval of time, the archbishop took a leading part among the Irish bishops in the important solicitation for the remission of the first-fruits and twentieth-parts, taxes affecting the church livings, and payable to the crown. This affair had been previously brought forward seven years before, but let drop for want of proper solicitation. It was now committed to Swift, and by him carried to a successful issue. From his memorial to Mr Harley, we learn that the twentieth-parts were "twelve pence in the pound, paid annually out of all ecclesiastical benefices, as they were valued at the reformation. They amount to £500 per annum." The petition was, that these should be remitted to the clergy. From the same document, we learn that "the first-fruits, paid by all incumbents to her majesty on their promotion, amounted to £450 per annum." Of these it was proposed to make "a fund for purchasing glebes and impropriations, and rebuilding churches."

But Swift, not content with pressing merely these two points, which went to the full extent of his commission, drew up a second memorial, in which he also included the crown rents. These were payable by those parishes of which the queen was impropriator: they consisted of a half-yearly rent payable by the incumbent, and amounted to a third-part of the value of the tithes.

The two former imposts were remitted by the queen: the crown rents were not actually pressed for: Harley, to whom Swift communicated both memorials, advised the postponement of this part of his suit for the time, as likely to endanger his success. The patent was completed, February, 1711,—exonerating the Irish clergy from the twentieth-parts, and vesting the first-fruits in the archbishop of Armagh and others, for the purposes already mentioned.

As we are under the necessity of contracting this memoir, we shall not enter upon the account of the archbishop's earnest and judicious

* Mant's History, II.

exertions for an authorized and fit adaptation of the occasional forms of public prayer.*

For the same reason, we do not consider it expedient to notice the archbishop's well-directed patronage of some public men, of whom we must take some separate notice. He was the kind and efficient patron of Parnell and of Ambrose Philips. His correspondence with dean Swift is to be found in the collection of Swift's works; and though we have not largely availed ourselves of them in this memoir, as they principally relate to affairs on which it is our desire to be summary,† yet they have largely entered into our study of the writer, and will afford us some useful assistance farther on. Swift was at this time in the climax of his importance in the field of political party, and of his favour with Harley and St John; and the archbishop displays much anxiety for his interests, by frequent and urgent exhortations to use the favourable season for his own advantage. Swift was also in the full exertion of his extraordinary powers, in that way which may perhaps be considered their proper application; and it is sometimes amusing to read the sage counsels of the grave and powerful divine and metaphysician to the keen satirist and the adroit partisan, to produce some great work worthy of his learning and genius. This approaches sometimes nearly to the effect of an irony, when he appeals to the same correspondent on the malice of certain persons. "You see how malicious some are towards you, in printing a parcel of trifles, falsely, as your works. This makes it necessary that you should shame the varlets, by writing something that may enlighten the world; which I am sure your genius will reach, if you set yourself to it."

Upon the death of the primate, November, 1713, there was an expectation among the friends of the archbishop that he would be the person selected to fill that high station; and there can be no doubt that such a selection must have been the result of a fair and just regard to the character of the individual, or to the real interests of the church. Such indeed never was, or is likely to be, the primary ground of choice, though we believe it has been recognised as a subordinate rule to promote learning, talent, and even piety, when the main object of party interests might so permit.

If wisdom, piety, and a life of the most exemplary zeal and efficiency in the discharge of the episcopal duties, were primarily regarded, no one had a higher claim than archbishop King to the primacy. But, unfortunately for the occasion, he was looked on as belonging to "the other party," by a government which professed one set of principles, and privately acted on another. With their overt declaration, their pretended principles of action, their settled enactments, and avowed policy and design in favour of the protestant succession, the archbishop conscientiously agreed; but from men who followed a prevaricating system of dark and underworking manœuvres in order to counteract all these principles, unsurpassed by any who had ever wormed their way

* Full information on this subject will be found in Mant's *History of the Irish Church*, vol. ii. 251—259.

† They are at this period wholly on the first-fruits.

into royal courts, a man such as King had nothing to hope: as was said of another great man in after times, "he stood alone," too sagacious to be ignorant of the path to preferment, too true to pursue it, not expecting or desiring any favour of which he knew the dishonourable price: but steadily resisting and denouncing in the only safe or effectual way the evil practices of others. This is what appears to us to be the plain explanation, both of his silence as to his own claims, and his significant reproofs of the conduct of his mitre-hunting and steeple-chasing brethren.

He preached the primate's funeral sermon on Psalm cxii. v. 6. In a letter which he wrote on the occasion, he expresses the sense he entertained of the expediency of doing honour to the memory of one, whose example might be made effectual to incite others, in a time when acts of public beneficence were rare. He also incidentally mentions, as having occurred in the interval since his appointment, the munificent bequests of Dr Stephens and Sir Patrick Dun, which we shall have in our next division to notice more at large.

The primacy was filled by the appointment of Dr Lindsay, the son of a Scotch minister, and at the time bishop of Raphoe.

But the state of affairs which we have summarily explained here, as we shall be under the necessity of viewing them more distinctly in another memoir, had happily its termination. The ministerial intrigues of that disgraceful cabinet were suddenly paralyzed by the death of the queen, on the 1st of August 1714. The accession of the house of Hanover was soon felt in the administration of Irish affairs, but our immediate concern is with the history of the archbishop. He had retired for the summer months to a house near Dublin, belonging to the earl Fitzwilliam, and here he was surprised on the 15th of September by an express from the duke of Shrewsbury, acquainting him with his appointment as one of the lords justices. Joined with him in this commission were the earl of Kildare and the archbishop of Tuam. On the merits and result of this appointment, we should here quote some sentences from Mr Harris, but we shall in preference offer them with the comments of Dr Mant, whose paragraph we extract as it stands. "Archbishop King was uniformly conspicuous for his zealous attachment to the House of Hanover, and to the succession of the crown in that protestant family; as necessary, under divine Providence, to the security and welfare of the constitution in church and state:" and Mr Harris confidently attributes it "in a great measure to his seasonable counsel, and the weighty authority which his known wisdom, long experience, and confessed probity, had procured him, that the city of Dublin was preserved steady and united in an unshaken affection to the succession of the royal family of Hanover." Information of the archbishop's untainted loyalty and extraordinary merit being communicated to the king, caused him to be invested with the highest trust in the kingdom, which he discharged with such ability and integrity, and at the same time with so much prudence, moderation, and kindness, as to occasion the re-instatement or continuance in employment of many civil and military officers, who had been, or were in danger of being removed on a suspicion of disloyalty. "This," observes his contemporary biographer, "is attested by many now

diving, who gratefully own the truth of this fact. And it is notorious," he continues, "that by his and the other lords justices' prudent directions, and steady conduct, during their presiding in the public administration, the whole nation was in an even and calm temper, not the least tending to riots or insurrections, and at a season when our standing army was transported to suppress the rebellion in Great Britain."

The archbishop had difficulties to encounter, such as might well abate any satisfaction to be derived from this mark of favour from the new administration. The spirit of party had run so high; so many had in several ways committed themselves; the suspicions of the Whigs were so much on the alert, and their zeal so lively, that it was a matter of strong fear to the archbishop that some attempt would be made to make him instrumental to extreme and harsh proceedings, which he had ever deprecated and would still refuse to sanction. He was also sensible of the infirmities of ill health, and old age, which latterly had been growing upon him. He was yet glad to avail himself of an occasion which he hoped would increase his means of benefiting the great cause of religion. There were several vacancies in the church, and there had been hitherto a most scandalous disregard of every consideration which ought to have weight, in Irish preferments. The Irish church had been treated as a convenient receptacle for such claimants as could not be safely provided for in England—and was thus filled with the refuse and incapacity of the English clergy. It was also complained of by the archbishop, that the new lord-lieutenants, who were changed nearly every three years, brought over as chaplains whoever they wished to provide for. These evils, with others already noticed, offered a vast weight of discouragement to the archbishop. He was also strong in his representations of the unhappy consequences of the entire ignorance which prevailed in England as to the actual condition of the Irish church. The patronage of government was lavished with the most reckless disregard to circumstances,—the sixth of a diocese, amounting to perhaps twenty parishes, which required the service of, at least, twenty clergymen, was put together to make up the sum of two hundred a-year for some claimant, who, as a matter of course, would consider himself exempt from any residence or sacrifice of means to provide substitutes. These facts are, indeed, well worthy of attention, as affording materials for an explanation of the seeming permanency of the papal communion in Ireland. They could easily be authenticated and extended. They are here offered to the reader's attention, on the authority of the letters of archbishop King, which any one who desires to see, may find in Dr Mant's history. The lengthened space which they would occupy has made us sparing of such insertions. The life of archbishop King, indeed, demands a volume to itself: such a volume would not only contain the most important portion of our church history, but might be made the vehicle for the discussion, with regard to Ireland, of several of the most important questions in ecclesiastical polity.

The weight of the archbishop's influence, continued exertion, and uncompromising remonstrance and urgency, went far to abate this evil state of our church affairs. The sees were filled to his satisfaction, and he was enabled by securing the promotion of some of his

own friends to consult most effectually for the interests of religion. There prevailed for a time, some degree of irritation among the clergy here in common with those in England—Jacobite feelings could not fail to infect them largely, and the reputed Lutheranism of king George was an alarm to some, and a pretext to others. This absurd apprehension passed away too soon to be dwelt on here. The archbishop, by authority tempered by moderation, kindness, and the influential counsel of good sense, restrained and quieted the minds of many in his own diocese; and we learn from his letters to several bishops, that his efforts were as assiduously directed to set them right, and to urge those who might be remiss in their duty.

In 1716, we find the archbishop in England for the recovery of his health. At this time there was a renewal of his interrupted correspondence with Swift, who seems to have broken the ice on this occasion, by a letter containing some mention of diocesan affairs, but chiefly expressive of his sense of the detrimental effect of any estrangement between the dean of St Patrick's, and the archbishop of Dublin. The dean was not of a mettle to be complimentary to those from whom he expected nothing,—by temperament he was stern and sincere, though under circumstances his inordinate ambition counterbalanced or rather tempered and refined these coarse virtues; to the archbishop, he shows, however, a degree of veneration and respect, which could not be otherwise than sincere, from the justness of his praise and its entire disinterestedness.

The archbishop's bold and uncompromising character exposed him to much enmity from opponents, and some prejudice among those who were disappointed at not finding any partisanship in his adherence. To him, the truly able and good alone could be friends; for such alone could find in him a thorough alliance and co-operation. He was at this period the more loudly complained of in Ireland, because he was absent: and there is a letter extant which he wrote expressly in his own defence, which goes so fully into the detail of his conduct and motives of action; and conveys so strong an impression of his character, that we shall insert it here: though long beyond our established limits of quotation, it will enable us materially to abridge the subsequent portion of this memoir.

"Sir,—I received yours of the 19th of Feb., yesterday, and two before; but have had a long fit of gout in my right hand, which has disabled me to write, and it is with pain I handle my pen. I thank you for the account you give me; as to what concerns my lord primate, I have nothing to say; but as to my being an opinionative man, and wedded to my own way, it is no news to me.

"It was the constant clamour of Sir Constantine Phipps, and all that party, and no wonder, when I am almost single in opposition to their designs. And I believe I shall take the same way, if I should perceive anything carrying on to the prejudice of his majesty's prerogative, of the interest of religion, or the public. But I have had the fortune in everything where I was reckoned to be positive, to be justified by the event; and, when the mischiefs of the contrary management have appeared, then I have universally been acknowledged to

have been in the right: and I am sorry that I am able to give so many instances where it so happened. I never yet, that I remember, stood out against the current of common opinion, but I have, at long running, either gained my point or seen the repentance of those that blamed me.

"I hope the diocese of Derry, whilst I was in it, and the diocese of Dublin, since I came to it, have not been the worse for my steadiness: for so I call that virtue which others call positiveness, opinionative, and being wedded to my own way. The truth is, my ways are the ways prescribed by the common and by the ecclesiastical laws, and so ought not to be called my ways; but generally, the ways of those that censure me are truly their own ways, being contrary to laws, canons, and justice. It is easy for a few whisperers in London, whose designs and practices I have opposed, to tell ill stories, and prejudice people against any one: but I believe if it were put to the vote of the people of Ireland to judge of my conduct, I should have as many of all sorts approving it, protestants, dissenters, and papists, as any of my easy complying neighbours would have for justifying theirs. Though I am little concerned about that, my business not being to please men but God: and he is so good, that when a man's ways please him, he often makes his enemies at peace with him, and beyond all expectation his reputation is cleared. You say, the person who discoursed you acknowledged that I had been and was useful and serviceable to the church: assure yourself that if ever I was so in anything, it was by doing those very things that got me the censure of being opinionative and singular.

"I remember an understanding and sincere friend once ingenuously told me, that I was too rough and positive in my treating my clergy, and proposed to me the example of the late bishop of Meath, Doctor Dopping, a person who was in truth much better skilled in the laws and constitutions of the church than I was, had the good thereof as much at heart as any man could have, was of a meek and gentle spirit, and managed all things with mildness and gentle persuasion. I asked my friend whether he was well acquainted with the dioceses of Meath and Derry, and desired him to tell me whether of them he thought in best condition, as to the churches built and repaired, as to the progress of conformity, service of the cures, and flourishing of the clergy as to their temporals. He freely owned that Derry was in a much better condition as to all these, and that it was due to the care I had taken. To which I replied, that he knew the churches had been more destroyed in Derry, and the state of the clergy and conformity more disturbed and wasted than in any place of Ireland: and yet in five or six years that I had been there bishop, it was put in a better posture by the methods I took, than Meath was in fifteen by the bishops: and he might judge by that which of the two were best. I asked also if he had lately discoursed any of the Derry clergy: he said he had, and said he found them much altered as to their opinion of my proceedings: and they thought at first, when I began, that it was impossible to bring the discipline of the church, and conformity to the pass in which they were then; that they found themselves agreeably deceived, both as to their spiritual and temporal advantages: and thus ended all the loud

clamours raised at first against my positiveness, singularity, and tyranny: and I believe you may remember something of this.

"As to the other part that concerns charity, I have been sixteen years archbishop of Dublin, and can show visibly, besides what is private, that above £70,000 has been laid out and given to works of charity, such as building churches, poor houses, schools, and hospitals, and other pious uses in the diocese, which I think a great deal in so poor a country. I hope neither my example nor persuasions have given any discouragement to the good disposition of the donors.

"As to charity schools, I have perhaps more in this city than are in most of the kingdom; besides, what my opinion was of them seven years ago, you will see by the enclosed, which is a copy of a letter I wrote to Mr Nicholson at that time.

"I have only now to add to it, that I observed with great grief, that the management of many of these schools was got into the hands of persons disaffected to the revolution and government: and what the effect of that may be in time, it is easy to judge. I am sure I shall never encourage them, and will take the best care I can to put them into right hands in my own diocese.

"Another thing I apprehended, that the clergy, on account of these schools, may think themselves freed from the most excellent method proposed for teaching the principles of Christianity in the rubricks annexed to the Catechism and office of confirmation in our common Prayer Book, which if enforced and duly executed, would effectually propagate all the necessary knowledge for christians to all manner of persons; whereas the teaching six or seven hundred poor children, the number of those settled in Dublin, no ways answers the end of our rubricks which reaches all. I therefore endeavour to put the clergy on doing their duty, and this is one of my particular ways to which I am wedded, and which doth not please at all. I have good hope of these schools, whilst under a strict eye, and in well affected hands, and whilst they depend on the yearly contributions of well-disposed christians; for those will, I suppose, take care that their money be not misapplied: and schoolmasters and mistresses will take care to give a good account, for fear they should get no more. But if once they come to have legal and settled endowments, I doubt they will be managed as other charities that are on that foot.

"Of what moment I reckon the training up of youth in a right way, you may see from my printed charity sermon, preached at St Margaret's, Westminster, on Proverbs xxii. 6.

"I shall add no more, but my most hearty prayers for you: and that I am,

"Sir, yours, &c.

"W. D."

"John Spranger, Esq., at Henry Hoar's, Esq.
"in Fleet Street, London."

To the just and conclusive vindication contained in this most able and interesting letter, there is nothing to be added, but that—from all we have been enabled to discover in the history of his time, or in the accounts of his life—it contains nothing more than the most rigid and

allowed truth. It was not indeed for his faults that King at any time became unpopular or obnoxious to any party: his is in truth a very peculiar case of one who courted none, but took up his uncompromising stand on principle: a great and rare distinction in a public man. Though a staunch supporter of the protestant succession, for which he did more in Ireland than any other individual, his support stopped short at the bounds of constitutional expediency and the interests of the church: and the party which, ascribing to him only those low motives by which parties are actuated, counted upon him as an adherent, were irritated to find that when they would have sacrificed the church and trampled on the feelings of Ireland, they had a firm and able opponent in archbishop King.

The British government—in fact influenced by the struggle against Jacobitism, from which it had recently emerged—partly imposed on by the interested, and wholly ignorant of Ireland, soon lost sight of all consideration but the one: the strengthening of the English interest in this kingdom: an object, it is true, essential to the improvement of Ireland, but then pursued without regard to the only principles on which it should proceed. We cannot enter here into details, for most of which there will occur more appropriate space; but in addition to those acts of misgovernment, already so frequently noticed in this memoir, and on which the extracts we have given are so explicit, the criminal negligence of the English government was shown by the remissness of those appointed as lord-lieutenants, who absented themselves altogether, taking no further part in Irish affairs than an occasional visit to enforce some unconstitutional or oppressive and arbitrary measure, to over-awe parliament, and provide by church preferments for a train of needy dependents for the most part unqualified. At the same time, and in concert with the same system of neglect and contempt, the English parliament began to assert a jurisdiction of appeal, and a legislative superiority in Ireland: the first, in the suit between Sherlock and Annesly; and the second, in an act in which the British parliament was declared to have full power and authority “to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the *kingdom* of Ireland.” A curious blunder to occur in such a composition: such an act, if it could have any validity, was indeed equivalent to a “union.” On this occasion, as also on the question of the appellate jurisdiction, the archbishop was one of three or four peers, who openly expressed his dissent, and gave a strenuous opposition in his place in the house, as well as by the utmost exertion of his influence. On the last mentioned occasion he entered a spirited protest on the journals, in which he asserted the independence of Ireland.

Such irrespective courses of policy could not indeed fail to alienate the affections of those, whose support had been on any constitutional principle. Men who maintained the English interests for the good of Ireland, and the maintenance of the church, were little likely to sacrifice these interests for the support of government. And thus it came, that the archbishop was not without reason looked on about this time as one of the most influential leaders of the opposition in Ireland.

There occurred at the same time a considerable emigration of protes

'ants from Ireland: it was occasioned by a general rise in the rent of their farms, which was carried by the landlords so far, as to make it impossible for their tenantry to subsist: as on former occasions, when their farms were set up for the highest offer, the papists, who were less provident in their bargains, could live on less, and were also less precise as to the payment of their rents, easily outbid the previous occupants, who, being thus dispossessed, left the country in crowds. Advantage of this fact was taken by the dissenters, to represent it as mainly a consequence of the disabilities under which they lay; and, in compliance with their importunities, a toleration bill was proposed, and hurried through the Irish parliament. Against this archbishop King took an active part, and his letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, and others, contain the most full explanation of these facts and of the consequent proceedings in the Irish parliament. From his accounts* it will appear that the dissenters were in reality indifferent as to the toleration bill, which they had at former times refused, but that there was at that time some hope entertained among them to introduce the "solemn league and covenant" into Ireland: a hope for which, indeed, there was strong grounds, in the neglected condition of the established church, the consequence of insufficient endowments, an ill-appointed clergy, and a patronage most unduly appropriated and scandalously applied by the government. The Irish commons had no great leaning to the dissenters, but were alarmed by apprehensions of a bill projected by the government, to prevent which they brought in a bill of their own, hastily got up, and strenuously opposed in its course by King, and the other archbishops. It, nevertheless, passed, and was rendered still more objectionable in the privy council, where it was altered with a degree of inadvertence, which, in the archbishop's opinion, annulled the act of uniformity. With these general statements we must here be content, as we have already exceeded our limits: and endeavour to confine the remainder of this memoir to the more immediate history of the archbishop.

The English government had taken a warm interest in the measures to which we have adverted, and George I. had in various public ways expressed himself in their favour: it may therefore be well conceived, that the archbishop was not high in favour. The treatment he received on every occasion which brought him into contact with his opponents or with the members of the Irish government, seems to have been harsh. A man like King was not to be depressed by a corrupt and misguided faction; but the infirmities of age were growing fast upon him, and with his ardent zeal he must have frequently felt the mortification of being incapacitated from those arduous affairs in which there were so few to take his place.

Considering the temper of venality, selfishness, and subserviency, which (at all times, the tendencies of public life) were in a peculiar manner the features of that time, we should be inclined to infer, that a man so direct and uncompromising in the pursuit of right, and the observance of duty, and so frank in his remonstrances and suggestions, must have been to some extent unpopular, among the crowd of official

* These letters may be found in Mant's Hist.

or political persons. Among this large and honourable class, there are conventional notions, by which men may pursue their private interests to any convenient extent, without sacrificing the consciousness of honour and virtue, further than human pride will easily permit. To this accommodating virtue a plain speaker is insufferable, and the more so, because his urgency seldom admits of any reply. Among the letters already cited here, there are instances enough of this temper; and it would be easy, were it worth while, to pursue a point of character, to bring together a striking collection of specimens of this severe simplicity of remonstrances or reproof, urged with a strength of reason, or a knowledge of facts, such as to create a formidable sense of the writer's keen and stern rectitude of spirit. An amusing specimen may be offered from one of his letters to secretary Southwell:—"Consider you have received out of Ireland, at least sixty thousand pounds since the revolution, which is more than the tenth part of all the current coin of Ireland; and sure there ought to be some footstep of charitable work done to a kingdom, out of which you have drained so vast sums." In another letter, in answer to one in which the same gentleman complains of gouty ankles, the archbishop tells him that he wants money to build three or four churches, and suggests, that if Mr Southwell would contribute a large sum for the purpose, the discharge of the superfluous weight might relieve his infirm ankles: "I am now," he writes, "going on in my forty-third gouty year, and if I had not taken care to keep myself light that way, I had certainly been a cripple long ago: you see then your remedy, pray try it; a little assignment of a year's salary, though it may not cure your ankles, will certainly ease a toe." This is rather rude railing, and would now be inadmissible perhaps in friendly correspondence; but we think it indicates in a striking manner the peculiar temper of this great prelate.

It is about this period that he is alluded to by Swift, in his "proposal for the universal use of Irish manufacture," in a manner which shows the Archbishop's zeal for the promotion of this object. "I have, indeed, seen the present Archbishop of Dublin clad from head to foot in our own manufacture; and yet, under the rose, be it spoken, his Grace deserves as good a gown as if he had not been born among us."

We have already noticed the decision in the suit between the Archbishop and the Dean and Chapter of Christ's Church. With this body he seems to have had no less than four suits, which had every one of them been prosecuted through every court of competent jurisdiction in both kingdoms, by writs of error and appeals; and in all were decided against the Chapter. The Archbishop had throughout pressed his rights with all the earnest zeal of his character, not from the mere disposition to maintain his own personal authority; a reason, however, fully sufficient; but from his great anxiety to correct the flagitious irregularities which disgraced that Chapter, which was remiss in its proper offices, and regardless of the decent and orderly regulation and care of their cathedral. "They live in opposition to all mankind," writes King, "except their two lawyers Mr Rutley and Mr Burke; squander away their economy; have turned their chapter house into a toy-shop, their vaults into wine cellars; and allowed a

room in the body of their church, formerly for a grand jury room, and now for a robe room for the judges; and are greatly chagrined at my getting two or three churches built and consecrated in the parishes belonging to their body, which were formerly neglected as several others still are. Their cathedral is in a pitiful condition; and, in short, the dean and chapter, and all their members, seem to have little regard to the good of the church, or to the service of God. This consideration has made me zealous to settle my jurisdiction over them, and the same makes them unwilling to come under it."

From all we have stated, it may easily be anticipated that the death of primate Lindsay, which occurred in 1724, held out no real prospect of further promotion to the archbishop. He was evidently unsuited to the one sole purpose observed by the government in the appointments of the church:—the prelate who could venture to oppose any one of their measures, or to offer the slightest indication of an independent regard to his own duty,—the maintenance of the church, or the welfare of Ireland, was not the fit material for an archbishop of Armagh; and though his friends were zealous for his appointment, he entertained neither a hope nor desire to change. He knew what was expected; he also considered the enormous labour which he should have to encounter in reforming the northern see, and the strife unsuited to the fast increasing infirmities of his age. On these points, we may refer the student of ecclesiastical history to his correspondence with Dr Marmaduke Coghill, Dean Swift, and others.

On this occasion, the usual agitation of ecclesiastical expectations and speculations was terminated by the appointment of Dr Boulter, of whom we shall give some account in a separate memoir. In a notice on Swift's correspondence it is affirmed, that on Lindsay's death the archbishop "immediately laid claim to the primacy;" and that the reason alleged for a refusal was his advanced age. The annotator goes on to state that the archbishop found no other way of testifying his resentment, except by a rude reception of the new primate, whom he received at his own house, and in his dining parlour, without rising from his chair; and to whom he made an apology in his usual strain of wit, and with his usual sneering countenance; "My lord, I am sure your Grace will forgive me, because you know I am too old to rise." The language of this extract is evidently that of an enemy,—the description of his usual sneering countenance conveys a sentiment of bitterness. The grave, earnest, and kind, though strenuous, character of the archbishop is too amply testified by extant documents, and recorded facts, to leave any doubt as to the entire unsuitableness of such a description; but, considering the baseness of the times, it is not unlikely that such an expression of countenance may have been that most likely to be elicited by the author of such a note. This person has, we now know, certainly dealt in flippant assertions without any justifiable ground, as to the pretended claim of the primacy. As to the wit, it is very likely to be correctly stated, though falsely interpreted by one who could only comprehend some little purpose of a mean mind. The archbishop was, it is likely, unable to rise from his chair: the *mot* was but the frank wit which belonged to his character

and could never be mistaken unless by some petty malice, that outstrips its purpose, for a mark of resentment.

The archbishop's rapid decline into the physical infirmities of age, was such as to exclude him in a great measure from the more public concerns of Ireland. In the affairs of his diocese, he still took the same anxious and judicious interest; as his clear and sagacious intellect retained its vigour and soundness to the last. He was yet disabled for the discharge of those offices which required the smallest bodily exertion; and both in his visitations, and confirmations, received ready and kind assistance from his brother bishops. The gout by which he had been periodically visited for many years now began to return at such diminished intervals, and with such severe effects, that his death began to be an anxious subject of speculation, with the Irish government; and we find the primate taking constant precautions to secure a successor who might strengthen his hands in the virtual government of Irish affairs which was committed to him.

Still, we find the archbishop in the midst of sufferings and infirmities, and himself looking for the termination of his labours and anxieties; displaying on every occasion, the same alertness to resist what was wrong or prejudicial to the church and kingdom, and to remedy or reform what was defective or ill-ordered. He was strenuous in his remonstrances on the continued abuses of government patronage; and with the ordinary fortune of those who carry their notion of right beyond their time, he still experienced not much thanks, and a great deal of hostility.

He exerted himself with his ancient zeal, but diminished success, to obtain an increase of churches in Dublin; and the last letter, written with his own hand, was addressed to lady Carteret, on this subject. Through the whole correspondence of these later years of his life, there continues to run the same strength of understanding, firmness of principle, and characteristic freedom from narrow and self-reflecting indications. And from the considerable portions of his letters which we have seen in Swift's correspondence, as well as in the work of Bishop Mant, who has obtained them from MS. books in the possession of the university, and elsewhere, we should venture to say, that were they printed, as we trust they may be, there would be very few, if any, such collections, so valuable as an illustration of the history of his time, or of the wisdom, integrity, and singleness of the man. From several of these before us, we can now but transcribe a few sentences which we select for their peculiar bearing on his own view of his approaching death. A letter to Mr Southwell is terminated with this affecting retrospect. "This day requires my remembering it; for, thirty-nine years ago, I was imprisoned in the castle by king James; I pray God make me thankful to him, who preserved me then, and hath ever since protected and supported me, and hath given me a long and happy life." In a letter of the next month, to the Bishop of Killala, he says, "I don't complain of the approach of the night of death—for that, I thank God, I am not solicitous about; but, it is uneasy to me to observe, that though the duties of a bishop are incumbent upon me, yet I am not able to discharge them in person."

In another letter to the Bishop of Cloyne, written on the same day, he writes: "I can by no means be of opinion that I have done my work, or that I should sit down and rest from my labours. St. Paul has set me a better example, who, when he had laboured a thousand times more than I, and to much better purpose; yet did not reckon upon what was past, but prest forward to the obtaining the prize for which he laboured. There is no stopping in this course till God call us from it by death. I would have you to propose no other example but St. Paul himself, and compare the progress you make to his. I am ashamed every time that I think of the course he ran, when I compare it with my own. I was consecrated on the day we celebrate his conversion, and proposed him to myself for a pattern. But God knows, how short the copy comes of the original." And, in this slight effusion of confidence, we have little hesitation in saying, that it is our belief that the archbishop's character, and the conduct of his life, should find the key to its just understanding. Archbishop King died 7th May 1729, having lived seventy-nine years and seven days.

To the character of the archbishop there are many testimonies; the most eminent among which may be reckoned those of Swift and Harris. We shall here select that of Harris as being by far the most comprehensive and appropriate. As to Swift, we may confine ourselves to a remark of Mr. Nichol's quoted by Bishop Mant, as far more significant than anything the dean has written on the subject. "With no other correspondent are the extravagances of Swift's humour, and the virulence of his prejudices, half so much restrained as in his letters to Archbishop King. He certainly feared or respected this prelate more than any other person with whom he corresponded." Swift feared no man—of this there are proofs enough—but the salient levity of his character stood rebuked before the real dignity and power of a mind which his discernment could not fail to perceive. Harris writes as follows:—"He appears in the tendency of his actions and endeavours, to have had the advancement of religion, virtue, and learning, entirely at heart; and may deservedly be enrolled amongst the greatest, and most universally accomplished, and learned prelates of the age. His capacity and spirit to govern the church were visible in his avowed enmity to pluralities and non-residence. In his strict and regular visitations, both annual, triennial, and parochial; in his constant duty of confirmation and preaching; and in the many excellent admonitions and charges he gave his clergy upon these occasions; in his pastoral care and diligence in admitting none into the sacred ministry but persons well qualified for their learning and good morals, who were graduates regularly educated in the universities of England or Dublin; and who were, before their ordinations, publicly examined in the necessary points of divinity by him, his archdeacon, and some of his chapter,—'he may be counted worthy of double honour, who thus not only ruled well, but laboured in the word and doctrine.' His hospitality was suitable to the dignity of his station and character, and the whole course of his conversation innocent, cheerful, and improving; for he lived in the constant practice of every Christian virtue and grace that could adorn a public or private life."

The archbishop was buried in the churchyard of Donnybrook.

He left, by his will, £400, for the purchase of glebes in his diocese. He left £500, in addition to the same sum formerly given to the university for the foundation of a lecture in divinity. He also left £150 to the poor of the city; and he bequeathed the library which he had purchased from Dr Hopkins, for the use of the gentlemen and clergy of Derry.

REV. JOHN RICHARDSON.

DIED CIRC. A. D. 1740.

FROM the time of bishop Bedell, attempts had been made by several individuals, among the bishops and clergy, for the spiritual instruction of the Irish in their own tongue. In 1710, circumstances occurred which tended very much to favour such efforts. By refusing to take the oath of abjuration, most of the Romish clergy had incurred liabilities which amounted to a suspension of their functions. The people soon began to feel the want consequent upon such a condition of their clergy; and in the course of a little time were glad to have recourse to those of the English church. The effects were very considerable, and there arose among the people a very common expression of approbation of the prayers and services, and a great show of interest in the reading of the scriptures. Of this it is mentioned as an instance, that two middle aged men, actually learned to read, that they might themselves read the sacred writings.

From these beginnings the interest spread, subscriptions were made, and numbers of the Irish nobility and gentry joined in a representation to the duke of Ormonde, then lord-lieutenant, to desire his countenance and good offices; the duke referred it to the Irish bishops, who approved and referred it to the consideration of the convocation and parliament. A petition was also prepared and presented to queen Anne, who received it favourably. It is needless here to detail proceedings, which had no commensurate result: such undertakings as have the higher ends of religion for their aim will always be treated with ostensible respect by those who act in the public eye: it is when the preliminaries of formal respect are done, that they are shuffled aside in the long and tortuous labyrinth of party and official expedients and sideways.

Through this period, Mr Richardson, the historian of these efforts, a strenuous and effective labourer in the same service, was engaged in exertions of the most exemplary self-devotion, and unwearied toil for their success. He was patronized by the archbishop of Dublin, and in order to meet objections to the undertaking, wrote "A short history of the attempts to convert the popish natives of Ireland," of which 3000 copies were printed, by order of the Society for the promotion of Christian knowledge, of which he was a corresponding member: he also made repeated visits to London for the purpose of providing funds and obtaining support for the erection of charity schools; and subscriptions were opened at the Society's house, in Bartlett's buildings, and succeeded so far as to afford 6000 copies of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Church Catechism, with other translations of no

less utility for the same purpose. In the efforts which he made for this purpose, he is supposed to have received assistance from Swift, whose good offices were engaged by Archbishop King. He is two or three times alluded to by Swift, in his *Journal*, and his mission rather coldly and doubtfully mentioned. The archbishop, in a letter to Swift, states his opinion, that it was not desired very unanimously, that the native Irish should be converted. And this was, we cannot doubt, the main and only effectual obstacle to such a result. The protestant gentry of Ireland were then, as they have been since, far more zealous to act upon paltry and erroneous views of self-interest, than either for the welfare of the country, or the truths of religion. They saw, truly indeed, that a general conversion of the Irish would both add to the influence of the church, and that it would raise the people themselves to a condition of more real power (which is absolutely dependent on civilization,) by redeeming them from the tyranny of superstitions which bound them to the earth. But they did not see, that their own respectability must depend on that of the country, and that the value of their estates must sooner or later depend on the wealth of the community: they did not look to the consequence, now become so plain, that no country can advance to wealth, civilization, and civil liberty, with the gangrene of perpetual dissension in its bosom: and that the period must arrive when a dangerous inequality must be developed, between the popular power, and the popular civilization; for the one would flow in from the mere connexion with England, while the other would be dependent upon the dissemination and growth of the principles of truth and order. These things were not understood by a large and prevalent section of the Irish nobility and gentry, who were then willing to keep back the people lest their own church should be strengthened by their accession, as they have since shown themselves equally ready to oppress their own religion, by seconding undue and unconstitutional efforts, of which the pretence was to raise the condition of the people. In both cases have they been found warring against God, and in both the eventual record of history will be the mischief they have done, and the retribution they have suffered.

In our own times we are happy to say better prospects have in this respect arisen; not from the wisdom of parliament, or the care, patriotism, and piety, of the higher classes; but from the persevering energy of the church, the clear-headed sagacity of the Irish peasantry, and the blessing from above which never deserts the truth of God. Controversies of seemingly doubtful issue have had strange effects, even as yet imperfectly explained: the disputants for the papal creed adopted the dangerous artifice of comprehensive retractations and denials of the tenets which they found themselves unequal to defend: a retreat was covered by virtual concessions; but a people who had grown up at the feet of O'Connell were too sharp not to seize upon the consequences. A spirit of inquiry began; many falsities were rejected; the scriptures ceased to be the object of a superstitious prejudice; and at this moment, when there seems an authoritative and strong accession to the papal cause, popery is itself unconsciously losing its form, and stealing without recognition into the principles of the opposite side; so that there is no extravagance in surmising, that in the very season of triumph it will cease to exist.

To forward this desirable object should be now the main effort of every enlightened mind, of every protestant church. And happily no further obstruction is to be apprehended from either the ignorance of the peasantry, or the barrier presented by language. Nor are the people reluctant to hear, or slow to acknowledge, truths spoken in goodwill. But we must not be diverted further from our record.

The following letter from primate Boulter contains nearly all we have been able further to obtain of the life of this illustrious christian. It is written to the duke of Dorset.

"My Lord,

"The deanery of Duach or Kilmaeduaich, I know not which they call it, is now vacant by the death of Dr Northcote, worth about £120 or £140 per ann. I should be very much obliged to your Grace if you would be pleased to bestow it on Mr John Richardson, rector of Belturbet: he is a worthy person, and well affected to his majesty, and was many years ago concerned in a design to translate the Bible and Common Prayer into Irish, in order the better to bring about the conversion of the natives; but he met at that time with great opposition, not to say oppression here, instead of either thanks or assistance; and suffered the loss of several hundred pounds expended in printing the Common Prayer Book, and other necessary charges he was at in the undertaking.

"I should be very glad, I could contribute somewhat to make him a little easy in his circumstances, and procure him by your Grace's favour some dignity in the church.

"I am, my Lord, &c."

"DUBLIN, 8d Sept., 1780."

The duke of Dorset consented, and he obtained the deanery; a subsequent attempt to exchange it for the deanery of Kilmore, worth £300, a-year failed. A like effort to gain the appointment to be chaplain of a regiment, likewise failed from Mr Richardson's inability to raise a sum of money which it was customary to pay the colonel, on such appointments.

It appears from a passage in one of the primate's letters, that he contributed from his private means to Mr Richardson's maintenance.

Richardson was advanced in life at the period here alluded to, and the last notice we can find of him is in 1734. He is not likely to have long survived this period.

CHARLES LESLIE, CHANCELLOR OF CONNOR.

DIED A. D. 1722.

CHARLES LESLIE was the second son of Dr John Leslie, bishop of Clogher. He received the first rudiments of his education at Eniskillen, and in 1664 entered the university of Dublin as a fellow-commoner. He continued his studies in the college until he obtained his degree of A.M. after the regular period. He was perhaps designed

for holy orders by the bishop; but in 1671, on his father's death, he resolved on the study of the law, which to one of his uncommon powers of reasoning, must have offered strong attractions. But like many who are led from their course by such an impulse, he changed his mind after a few years, and entered upon the study of theology. We may be wrong in explaining his change of purpose by a very common succession of motives, of which we could adduce many living instances. The practice of the bar has a charm for the youthful, at that period when expertness and ingenuity seem to be the most important and elevated capabilities of the intellect, and the youthful mind, deeply engaged in acquiring the methods and principles of reasoning, has not yet obtained an adequate notion of their proper aim and end. The bar alone retains the ancient character of a system of dialectic antagonism, and thus appears to offer a fair field for the prowess of the young logician. There is, however, a wide chasm of probation to be passed, of which the youthful aspirant has seldom formed any notion: but, during his attendances at Inns of court,—while forming a first acquaintance with the true principles, the practice, and the members of his intended profession—he begins to perceive that a long course of duller and drier studies must be passed, and years of less ambitious drudgery must elapse before he can acquire the enviable privilege of chopping chancery logic. In the mean time, if he may chance to have, like Charles Leslie, an intellect bent for the higher applications of reason in the broader and loftier field of philosophic research, and the investigation of truth, his reflecting powers will often be drawn aside by the many profound questions, doubts, and speculations, which are in numberless forms presenting themselves to every thinking person. And there is no one path of professional study so various or so wide in the range of truths it offers, or so fertile in true and satisfactory solutions, as that of the theologian. The real aim and end of human existence—the history and destinies of man—the true grounds of motive and obligation—the mingled web of good and evil in moral and physical nature—the foundation in fact and probability of all these, while they offered a grasp to the comprehensive intellect not to be found in any other pursuit; at the same time appear in a sounder, more simple, and satisfactory form, in the writings of our great English divines, than in the confused and contradictory speculations of mere philosophy. Indeed, there is a result which not unfrequently has occurred, when the bar was less educated than in the present day; and therefore liable to admit the taint of that infidel tone which is the frequent result of shallow ingenuity combined with ignorance: in a circle thus constituted, a scholar like Leslie would be very likely to be thrown upon an anxious effort to recollect and keep in view the rational grounds of faith. Nor would it unfrequently occur, that he might be compelled to stand upon his defence and wield those powers, which were so happily displayed in his argument against the Deists, and which have made the world his debtor.

After nearly nine years spent in the study of law, he entered into holy orders in 1680, and in a few years more, was appointed chancellor of the cathedral church of Connor. About the same year, an occasion presented itself for the exercise of his controversial powers. The

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bishop of Clogher having died, the see was filled by the appointment of a bishop of the Romish church, by James II. This bishop, whose name was Patrick Tyrrel, brought several well-trained disputants along with him, and at his visitation had recourse to the singularly indiscreet step of proclaiming a challenge to the Protestant clergy: these, on their part, were then, as ever, willing to maintain their profession, and Leslie accepted the challenge. Of the result we have no distinct record; but, at a second meeting for the same purpose, he met two very eminent persons selected for the occasion, in the church of Tynan in Armagh, before a very crowded assembly; and his success is more distinctly indicated by the fact, that Mr John Stewart, a gentleman of respectability, was so convinced that he renounced the papal creed.

In the same troubled period, when there was a confusion of public authorities occasioned by the efforts of James II. and his party, to substitute papists for protestants in every post of authority, an incident occurred which manifests the influence which Leslie's reputation had gained by his talent and probity. A sheriff of the papal faith was appointed in Monaghan: the gentry of the country took the alarm, and flocked to Leslie for advice. His advice was given; but they requested his personal attendance on the bench at the approaching sessions, as a justice of peace; and promised faithfully to support him. He had the gout, and was carried with much severe suffering to court. There, a question was put to the sheriff, "whether he was legally qualified:" he answered that "he was of the king's own religion, and that it was his majesty's will that he should be sheriff;" Leslie then told him "that they were not inquiring into his majesty's religion, but whether he had qualified himself according to law, for acting as a proper officer. That the law was the king's will, and nothing else was to be deemed such, &c.:"—on this, the sheriff was committed for intrusion and contempt, by the bench.

This spirited conduct is, indeed, the more creditable to Leslie, because it stands separated from all party feelings, as his known political prepossessions lay entirely in the opposite direction. Though like every person of honest heart, and sound understanding, he condemned the treacherous and unconstitutional proceedings of James; yet, on the other hand, he refused to recognise the extreme case which had arrived. Like a few other honest and able men, his mind submitted to a prejudice which had grown up in the hotbed of absolute power, and under the shade of despotic thrones maintained by papal power. The notion of an indefeasible divine right had not yet been assailed by the writers of the revolution. And while the plain common sense of the practical part of the nation followed the suggestions of an apparent necessity; some who, like Leslie, had been trained within the pale of theories and systems, sternly adhered to the lessons they had learned in their school of constitutional theory. This, in our opinion, is the true account of this seeming absurdity in a man of Leslie's profound understanding. And we cannot help considering it important for the purpose of reconciling the able understanding in controversies and questions, with the seeming inconsistencies and practical errors of this truly able and good man, to remind the reader of the differ-

ence which occasionally offers itself in experience between the precise and deep thinker, and the prudent and practical man of the world. The several qualifications of such persons are both common enough, perhaps in their separate perfection; but it does not very frequently happen that they are found together. A large development of the powers of external perception, and a profound expansion of the faculties which can familiarly move in the depths of abstraction, include some opposing habits, and perhaps conditions of the understanding. There is, thus, a simplicity in the philosopher which sometimes exposes him to be the dupe of shallow knaves; and that such was characteristic of this illustrious divine, there is much evidence in his life, and even some in his writings. Of the first, we shall presently offer specimens enough: of the latter, we may adduce in evidence some facts which we would fain dismiss before we proceed further. We mean his strange contradiction of the statements of archbishop King's well-known history of those troubles of which he was an honest and sagacious witness, and which, from their nature, and the prominent character of the events which they relate, admit of little mistake. Now, it must be observed, that the whole history of the archbishop, and all his letters and other writings, plainly manifest all the indications which can be sought for of sagacity and integrity. During the troubles in question, he was not only an intelligent and watchful actor, but he was also placed in a position the very best for observation. Any one, however able, may be liable to err in his public sentiments, or in his deductions of political consequences; but, it is only a fool who can be persuaded that he is in the very midst of a scene of outrage, oppression, and flagrant crime, where there is all the time little or no ground for it. The writers who would impute such folly cannot have considered the numerous absurdities which it involves; and they who would suspect the whole to be a mere party statement, either have not reflected on the high character of the writer, or must themselves think truth and falsehood matters of entire indifference. Again, to apply similar considerations to Leslie—he was not a witness,—he was a zealous partisan—his temper was pre-eminently controversial—and though a reasoner of unequalled power, he was far from possessing either the knowledge of Irish affairs, the observant sagacity, or the neutral spirit of Archbishop King. Thus modified by circumstances and natural temper, the several courses pursued by these two eminent men are to be compared. King, when he had adopted the principles of the most eminent whigs, the same which time has approved, pursued them without manifesting the slightest tendency to party; and when the revolution was confirmed, applied himself to his own official duties with an active and uncompromising zeal which gave offence to the government, who were disappointed to find no subserviency in one who had given them a constitutional support, and was as ready to offer a constitutional opposition. And such is the person who has been accused of publishing in the face of a million of adverse witnesses, a collection of the most outrageous and monstrous lies. Such a charge demands better authority than has been yet found.

Now, on the other hand, let us look again at Leslie's course of conduct

Being infirm from disease, and obnoxious on account of his controversial achievements—on the first breaking out of the troubles, he retired with his family to England. There the contest being mainly one of political feeling, he entered, with zeal, into sympathy with the Jacobites; and, having adopted a mistaken principle of *irrespective* loyalty, he entered with all the spirit and ability of his character, into the controversy which was carried on by pamphlets on either side. His first Essay was the answer to King's statement; written, away from the scene, and without any authority whatever, but the strong and daring contradictions of angry and fugitive Jacobites,—the eye-witnesses whom he is said to have questioned. Of these, some were vindictive, some terrified; many careless of assertion, and willing to derive the importance attached to strong statements; and few had seen more than the local incidents connected with their own immediate apprehensions. Among these, the philosophic divine, honest and ready to trust in those with whom he had a common feeling, looked for information, and found such information as may now be found in rival newspapers.

Assuredly, it is not too much to say, that such a pamphlet as was written under such circumstances, and on such authority, would never be cited by any respectable historian, against the statements of King, which have all the authenticity of which history admits. And also, that confirmatory evidence which we have already explained in these pages;* that is to say, that which arises from a view of the *whole* history of the time, as well from the avowed designs as the express admissions of the parties. We must now revert to our history.

Though Leslie considered resistance to illegal proceedings, justifiable, it did not occur to him to follow out such an assumption to its extreme consequences; and, having refused to take the new oaths, he lost all his preferments. In 1689, he went with his family to live in England, where, as we have stated, he devoted his talents to the support of the cause which he conscientiously adopted; and there can be no doubt but, had that cause succeeded, his efforts must have found their reward. He quickly rose to such importance by this means, as to incur the suspicions of government, as well as to rise into high favour with the exiled court. It was soon observed that he made frequent visits to France, where he was received with distinction at St Germain. On the publication of a tract asserting the "Hereditary Right," he found himself an object of suspicion, and retired to Bar-le-duc, to the pretender's court, where he was received with distinction, and the favour which his zeal had earned.

While in the pretender's court, he is said to have exerted himself to convert him to the protestant faith. His influence was also proved by a permission to read the service of the church of England in the family. But the pretender never appeared on these occasions, though it is asserted that he promised to hear all that Leslie had to say upon the errors of the church of Rome,—a promise which he took care to break. Leslie's zeal seems to have been courageous, and perhaps importunate—as it was thought necessary to prohibit controversy among

* Life of the Earl of Tyrconnel.

the members of the household. These particulars we have here thrown together more briefly than their interest would seem to require, as we are anxious to do this illustrious divine the justice of devoting the rest of the little space which can be allotted to his memoir, to the statement of his claims upon our gratitude. On his character as a Jacobite, we need enter no further than to observe that it was strictly a sacrifice to conscience, though (very naturally perhaps,) misrepresented in his own time by party. His conduct was one of those cases which has often occurred, and will often occur, and always be misrepresented: when a person, in the strictest adherence to *his own* political theory, must change sides in merely following out his principles, it is on such occasions forgotten that party is not necessarily consistent, and that—considering that it is seldom the creature of pure theory—its system of action may involve both opposite courses, and inconsistent principles. In Leslie's instance, it is true that this was not precisely the fact; his own theory contained the inconsistencies, but he was himself consistent in adhering to it. Bishop Burnet, who mentions him as a violent whig, who suddenly changed to the Jacobites,* does him great injustice. He resisted unconstitutional efforts to subvert the laws and the protestant church; but maintained the allegiance which he considered as having as binding a claim upon him.

In 1721, he came over to England, from the natural desire to "die at home at last." His character, well known as a formidable writer on the tory side, quickly exposed him to notice; the whigs were then in office, and lord Sunderland received an intimation of his being in the country. This, it is almost needless to say, was disregarded, and Leslie was allowed to return unmolested to Ireland. He did not long survive, having died in the following year at his own house of Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan.

Besides those political tracts which were so important in their day, Leslie left works of great and permanent interest, which entitle him to a high place in the first rank of theological writers. In the hurry and vicissitudes of a life of unusual agitation and trial, he not only sustained a prominent character in the struggles of his time; but also left two folios replete with sound and able views upon all the leading controversies of the age. He maintained the Christian religion against the Jew—the protestant creed against that of Rome—he proved the divine institution of baptism against the Quakers—vindicated episcopacy against presbyterians—the divinity of our Lord against the Socinian—and the truth of the gospel against the Deists.

As the most generally important, and least connected with any class of opinions to which respect need be preserved, we select the last for the exemplification of the writer's powers. We shall first, however, quote a few general sentences of just and characteristic praise. "The members of the church in general, not only of his own but of succeeding ages, have acknowledged the debt; and the works of Charles Leslie still continue to be held in esteem; not indeed for the allurements of an elaborate style, but for their soundness of argument—their perspicuity of reasoning—their earnestness of sentiment

* *Own Time*, vol. ii. 323.—Ed. Dub. 1734.

—and withal, their substantial support of the Christian verity.” Of Leslie’s argumentative powers in particular, Dr Johnson had formed a high estimate. Having on a certain occasion, as Boswell tells, spoken slightly of the reasoning of the nonjuring divines, and made objections to the several claims advanced in favour of William Law, of Jeremy Collier, of Kenn, of Kettlewell, in answer to the question, “What do you think of Leslie?” he said, “Charles Leslie, I had forgotten; Leslie *was* a reasoner, and a *reasoner who was not to be reasoned against.*”*

Of the argument against the Deist, an interesting history is given by its editor, Mr Jones, who received the particulars from Dr Delany, dean of Down, on the authority of Captain Leslie, the author’s son; this we shall give in Mr Jones’ own words. “It was the fortune of Mr Leslie to be acquainted with the duke of Leeds of that time; who observed to him, that although he was a believer of the Christian religion, he was not satisfied with the common methods of proving it: that the argument was long and complicated, so that some had neither leisure nor patience to follow it, and others were not able to comprehend it: that as it was the nature of all truth to be plain and simple, if Christianity were a truth, there must be some short way of showing it to be so, and he wished Mr Leslie would think of it. Such a hint to such a man, in the space of three days, produced a rough draught of the Short and Easy Method with the Deists, which he presented to the Duke, who looked it over, and then said, ‘I thought I was a Christian before, but I am sure of it now—and as I am sure of it now—and as I am indebted to you for converting me, I shall, henceforth, look upon you as my spiritual father!’ And he acted accordingly; for he never came into his company afterwards without asking his blessing. Such is the story, very nearly as Dr Delany would himself tell it, if he were now alive.”

The proof of christianity offers by far the most perfect exemplification of the laws of probable reasoning through their whole extent: being in fact the only case which is complete in all its parts. And thus it happens that there is no other event in history, which admits of being proved by so many distinct arguments; and there is no method of applying either the rules of evidence, or the laws of moral reasoning which cannot be used with the most conclusive result. The superior intellect of Leslie is manifested in discovering the concurrent force of certain main arguments, which had been always separately understood by christian apologists. This combination offers a proof of such surpassing force, that there is no direct answer but the one which denies certain data, which, being facts beyond the reach of denial, has not, and will not, be attempted by the deist, who has thereby been forced to evade the argument in a manner which has only served to leave a most curious test of its validity. To understand this interesting fact, Leslie’s proposition must be stated. It is briefly this, that certain conditions are fulfilled in the history and present state of christianity, which are entirely irreconcilable with falsehood. Mr Leslie’s method consists in the statement of four conditions “of truth in matters of fact

* Mant’s History, 11—39. See also Boswell, by Croker, viii. 287.

in general, such that when they all meet, such matters of fact cannot be false." He then shows that they all meet in the several histories of the Mosaic and of the christian religions.

The rules are:—"1st. That the matters of fact be such as that men's outward senses, their eyes and ears, may be judges of it. 2d. That it be done publicly in the face of the world. 3d. That not only public monuments be kept up in memory of it, but some outward actions be performed. 4th. That such monuments, and such actions or observances, be instituted, and do commence from the time that the matter of fact was done." As Mr Leslie's method is a brief method, it would be impossible for us here to give a summary of the admirable statements and illustrations by which he applies these four rules. But as numerous readers may not from our statement see the *whole* force of the argument, on account of the *separate* insufficiency of the rules, it may not be amiss briefly to point out the connexion.

The first guards against the witnesses being deceived by any kind of sleight; the second, against their imposing on the public by a false story; the third secures the most authentic species of evidence to after times; and the fourth prevents the possibility of this evidence being spurious. Now the peculiarity of this combination is, that any three of these rules might be fulfilled consistently with *some* form of imposture, either at the time, or after, while the four amount to a clear and demonstrative exclusion of all the possibilities of falsehood. This is indeed at first sight so apparent to any practised reasoner, that we have always been inclined to feel some doubt on the story of the celebrated deist, Middleton, who is mentioned on very good authority to have for twenty years vainly exercised ingenuity of no inferior order, to find a case of undoubted imposture which would satisfy the four conditions.* He might assuredly have as well endeavoured to find a rectilinear triangle having the sum of its angles not equal to 180°. For if there are conclusive proofs that the witnesses of a fact were not deceived themselves, and could not have deceived others, there could have been no deception. The general proposition is an absolute demonstration, not dependent on the nature of the facts, but on the most strict assumptions that reason could propose as tests of evidence.

To this severe test, Leslie next proceeds in circumstantial detail to apply the evidences of the two great scriptural dispensations. This little volume we most earnestly recommend to the perusal of all our readers of every class. For those, whose faith is inclined to be unsteady, it will do as much as can be hoped for from mere human reason. For those who are confirmed, it will arm them with the most convenient and ready weapons against that infidel spirit which exists, and must exist, while human nature continues in its present state of sinful alienation; for, infidelity, quite unfounded in the legitimate use of reason, is but the development of the carnal temper of the heart—"deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked,—who shall know it?"

This one of Leslie's admirable tracts may serve as a specimen of

* "This," writes Mr Jones, "I learned from Dr Berkeley, son to the celebrated bishop of Cloyne." *Preface to Leslie's Short Method*, 1799.

the others : all of which evince the same clear and unencumbered vigour of intellectual power, though, from the nature of their subjects, they have not all the same interest at the present time.

FRANCIS KIRWAN, ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP OF KILLALA.

BORN A.D. 1589.—DIED A.D. 1671.

FRANCIS KIRWAN was born in Galway in 1589. By his mother he was descended from the Linches—a branch of the De Laeys—a family descended from the knight of that name, recorded in our biographies of the Conquest, of whom it is said that more members held the office of Mayor of Galway than of any other family in that city. His father is said to have claimed descent from Roderick, one of the early Irish kings. He received the first rudiments of education from an uncle who discharged the priestly office, and taught a school in that ancient city under difficulties and dangers arising from the persecutions then attendant on the discharge of these duties by the Roman Catholic clergy. From Galway Francis proceeded to Lisbon to study in the higher classics. Returned thence to Ireland, he was ordained priest in 1614, being then in his twenty-fifth year. In 1615 he proceeded to France, and studied in the congregation of the Oratory at Dieppe; where he taught philosophy some years after, and until he was removed, against his inclination, by another maternal uncle to the University of Louvain in Belgium, and to the presence of the then Archbishop of Tuam, Florence Conry, a learned and opulent Irish priest, who was then in search of a fit person to represent him in the office of Vicar-General in Ireland, and to succeed in that office the uncle referred to, banished from Ireland for complicity in the attempted rebellion of the last Earl of Tyrone. Young as Kirwan was, he was judged qualified, and accepted the office with alacrity, proceeding to Ireland in 1620 to discharge its onerous duties. So long as he held it, he travelled on foot once a-year over the entire district, including the Wilds of Conne-mara and the Arran Isles, satisfied with the humblest fare, reproving evil-doers, correcting the irregular lives of the clergy, and removing, until qualified by study, the ignorant and incompetent, and retaining them for that purpose under his own roof, as well as many of those who were preparing themselves for holy orders. Out of his limited revenues he exercised a generous hospitality; aided in fitting up and equipping the private residences acquired by the priests for religious services during the limited period of the reign of Charles I., when these were winked at, until the alarm of the Puritans constrained the authorities to seize and confiscate them; founded a lazaret-house for the lepers whom privations had afflicted with that malady, now happily unknown; refitted with chimneys, windows, and decent furniture the hospital of Galway; bestowed alms with discriminating liberality on the non-mendicant poor and prisoners; and urged to similar acts of charity those over whom he had any influence. As a peace-maker he exerted himself to compose differences and end law-suits. Many cases before the Courts having been settled by his solicited arbitrations, the legal

practitioners, being left without expected emoluments, obtained a warrant from Dublin for his apprehension ; but the Protestant governor of Galway Castle, to whom it was sent, admiring his virtues, not only warned him to keep out of the way when his house was searched, but was preparing to send another of the same name in his stead, until he learned the latter was the father of a large family, and let him go.

Although denied the open exercise of their religion, the Roman Catholic laymen were not then prevented from exercising civil offices, and when magistrates and peers in their exercise of such failed to do justice, or oppressed their suitors, or those accused before them, Kirwan did not fail to approach them and mildly warn them of the consequences in terms that rarely failed to keep them in the paths of rectitude. Against the evils of intemperance, which then prevailed among the craftsmen of Galway, especially in their guild meetings, he firmly set his face, and succeeded in establishing stated meetings, in which each craft assembled in turn, and which were by an ecclesiastic successfully exhorted to renounce taverns and drunkenness, and devote themselves to industry and frugality. Nor, when necessary, did he cease to confine himself to moral suasion. He was eminently master of the vernacular, and could produce great effects in it on the minds of his hearers. Having established monitors in each parish, who returned to him the names of those therein who lived in great immorality, when admonitions on his parochial visitations failed, he did not spare his authority, which he carried to an extent which only the disordered state of the country permitted to use. Magnifying the consequences of excommunication (as involving the loss of ordinances and recognition of friends), before proceeding to read the names of the guilty present, he struck such terror into all, and such shame in the delinquents, that these last hid themselves behind the crowd, and then, turning to the memorandum, he said he would desist for this time in the hope they would henceforth lead proper lives. He even caused to be publicly whipped by his order those who obstinately persevered in adultery, nor would he re-admit to the sacrament those whom he had cut off until they had made public penance with reparation for the evil done.

He also gave himself much to works of utility. He built bridges over brooks and rivers, and stone crossings over marshy places. On one occasion the Protestant Archbishop of Tuam was surprised to see men employed by him building a bridge over the stream near by the archiepiscopal palace of that city, which could often not be forded in winter, but when on inquiry he learned they were employed by Kirwan, he not only desisted from forbidding the work, although within his jurisdiction, but caused refreshments to be supplied from his palace to the workmen. This Protestant archbishop was William Daniel, a learned and good man, who translated the New Testament into Irish, with which language, being a native, he was familiar.

Kirwan administered the affairs of the archdiocese of Tuam for nine years, until the death of Archbishop Conry in 1629 ; declined all offers of his friends at Rome to procure his own appointment to the charge on the occasion of the vacancy ; discharged the duties of his former office until he was re-appointed by Malachy, the successor in the see ; and continued to exercise it for seven years longer, when he resolved to

resign it in order to conduct a number of young men to France, there to receive an education of the highest character, to qualify for the priesthood in Ireland, and especially in his diocese of Tuam. So greatly was he esteemed, that to avoid a vast concourse of all classes who assembled to witness his departure, he left Galway by another gate, yet about forty of them took horse and accompanied him, some of them as far as Dublin, and one even through England to France.

The seminary which, after some delay on account of illness, he set up in Caen was some years afterwards broken up by the interruption of communications with Ireland on account of the wars of the Great Rebellion; and therefore of the remissions of the funds for its support. Kirwan then proceeded to Paris, and occupied himself in preparing and forwarding supplies of various religious orders into Ireland. During this period he firmly resisted entreaties to be invested with the Episcopal order, until Archbishop Malachi, from whom they chiefly proceeded, obtained from the Pope, in 1645, not only a commission to appoint him Bishop of Killala, but instructions to the Nuncio at Paris, to whom the bull was sent, to join with others to press its acceptance upon him, in which, notwithstanding his modest reluctance, they ultimately succeeded, and Kirwan returned to Ireland and to his charge in 1646.

During his residence in Paris, Kirwan acquired the intimacy and favour of three men, more remarkable for their exalted piety than any to be found at this time in that metropolis, viz., St. Vincent de Paul, Father Geoffrey, and the Baron de Renty; the first the founder of the order of missionaries; the second, like another Howard, spent his life in alleviating the misery in, and of the jails; and the last, one who devoted his large fortune and his life to the relief and instruction of the poor. On the advice of these three friends Kirwan gathered together the Irish students then in Paris, with the object of instructing them, and then sending them back to Ireland as lay teachers and conservators there of the knowledge of the Roman Catholic faith, having been assured by them that ample means would be provided for the support of the scheme. No sooner, however, was the proposal announced by Kirwan than a storm arose; one of those present broke out into invectives against him as insincere, and a pretender to virtues which he did not possess. Francis bore this unexpected attack with patience, and even gave assistance to those who had been his disciples, for through his intimacy with Father Charles Taure, then appointed general of the order of the Canons Regular in France, he obtained admission of some of them into this order, which he held in high regard. And after he returned to Ireland, he caused one of his former pupils to repair to France from Seville in order to take the oversight of the rest of them. Through his intimacy with the foundress of the Ursuline Convent at Caen, he obtained, that a few talented Irish maidens might be received gratuitously in her establishment, in order that they might be instructed in her rule, so as afterwards to introduce at her expense, and advance, when circumstances permitted, that order in Ireland—an order which devotes itself exclusively to the education of females in a thorough fitness for all the duties of a refined and Christian life.

During the brief interval of tranquillity following his return, Kirwan

applied himself to the duties of his sacred office with self-denying assiduity, especially to those which concerned the indigent, and the inmates of jails and of hospitals. He was constant in his attendance at the General Assemblies of the kingdom, held in Kilkenny and Waterford, and for the sound judgment and perspicacity shown by him on the matters brought forward, as well as his great prudence, he was elected to the Supreme Council. He acquired through his great reputation the favour of the Marquis of Clanricarde, whose noble descent and princely fortune, as well as adornments of mind, led to his being appointed Lord-Lieutenant by Charles I., when his affairs in Ireland became desperate, greatly to the satisfaction of the Irish Catholics, being the first appointment of one of their faith to that office since the period of the Reformation. Both before and after this appointment, Kirwan was a frequent guest at the Castle of Portumna, the residence of the Marquis, on the occasion of his journeys, as it lay in his route to Kilkenny and Waterford. Gifts of large amount, offered to him by the Marchioness and other noble persons, on such occasions were invariably refused by him, nor would he even allow his servants to accept of them, on the alleged ground that their losses from the perilous times would not allow such customs, although common in past times; but it is probable he also wished to be free from obligations that might influence him in his public conduct during that critical epoch.

With a boldness consistent with his character, he did not hesitate to join with the moderate Catholic party in the supreme council, in opposition to, and notwithstanding of the decree of excommunication hurled against that party by the Papal Nuncio in 1648, on account of the articles of peace entered into by them with the Earl of Inchiquin on the part of the king. This conduct was the more praiseworthy, as the Nuncio had expressed extreme friendship towards him from his first appearance as a bishop in Ireland, and had invariably availed himself of the assistance of Kirwan in consecrating Irish prelates. But the aim of this ill-advised and intemperate ecclesiastic, an Italian named John Baptiste Rinuccini, being the total and forcible expulsion of the Protestant population, as well as the disruption of English connection and rule, was the opposite of the peace and tranquillity of Ireland on which the affections of Kirwan were set, as well as that of all but the few fanatics of the northern provinces, whose aim was rather to restore anarchy and barbaric power than even the predominance of their faith in that unhappy country, for the attainment of which end they did not hesitate, with the consent of the Nuncio himself, to form an alliance with one of the generals of the commonwealth, so as to embarrass the confederation in support of the king. Some time afterwards, when the royal authority was overthrown, Kirwan did not hesitate to submit to the authority of the Church by asking absolution from that excommunication, although it was doubtful, at least, whether bishops could be included in any formal excommunication unless actually named. But he acted, says his biographer, on the counsel of St. Jerome, who says, "We may seek forgiveness without a fault, when we deem it wiser to restore peace than to fight battles upon equality."

During these troublous times he was driven from his see by the forces of the northern Catholics of the party of Sir Phelim O'Neill, and forced

to take refuge in Galway, but returned in August 1649, when a brief ray of tranquillity had shone on Connaught—a severe pestilence having in the meantime broken out in that city—and remained there until July 1651, when he led as many of the forces of the district as he could raise to the relief of the city of his refuge, then laid siege to by the Parliamentarians, causing a priest to precede him with a cross raised, and calling on the people to fight for their king, altars, and country. His moderation was eminently shown during this period on an occasion when, having been asked to be present at a sermon to be preached by a friar of a certain convent within his diocese before a great multitude, the preacher, to the surprise of all, leaving the topics suited to the occasion, launched forth into invectives against his bishop for the part he had taken in these troubles with much contumely and many imprecations. The bishop, who showed no astonishment during the discourse, sent for the preacher after the sermon was ended, and before the brotherhood so clearly convinced him and them of the wrong done him, as to cast them all on their knees to ask his pardon. He also showed his accustomed skill in reconciling enemies and healing litigations, his liberality in assisting the poor, and his generosity by giving the shelter of his own house to many who had been expelled from their homes by the enemy. Even in the midst of civil war and general distress, he set about the repair of ecclesiastical edifices, and collected a great quantity of the necessary materials for the repair of his cathedral, while he surrounded his episcopal residence with a wall.

Galway having yielded to its besiegers on 12th April 1652, on conditions which were broken, the entire province of Connaught shortly after passed into the hands of the party of the Commonwealth, who took possession of his residence, and bestowed it on Walter S. ovolá de Burgo, a Catholic gentleman, whose castle had been seized by them some time previous without warrant, and in compensation of that violent act. In this they furnished a place of shelter to our bishop from their pursuit, for Scevola kept him concealed in a small dark room, much infested with rats. During eight months he only left it once, on the occasion of a search for arms, when he was carried out in a sheet, refusing to take a place at the family board, lest he should compromise his protector. A chest, which was all the furniture the room could accommodate, was daily converted into an altar, on which, with the assistance of his chaplain, mass was celebrated. Here, without fire, he passed an entire winter, preferring the hardships of a pent-up closet to less straitened residences, as it enabled him to keep up communication with his flock, and to minister counsels and consolation to them.

On one occasion the General of the Commonwealth commanding in the district, having contracted a friendship with the noble family of his host, made him a visit, accompanied by his wife, officers, and military friends. During an entertainment, the host having left, a conversation between the mistress of the house and his lady in reference to our bishop, in which it was stated he had gone away, being overheard by the General, he observed, "I can point with my finger to the window of the room in this house in which he lies concealed," to the great consternation of the hostess, who informed her husband on his return that some informer must have given intelligence against them to their ruin,

and at the same time that the guests were anxious to see the hidden one. On this being imparted by him to our bishop, he accepted the fact as the will of God, and accordingly next day, after religious services, he presented himself to the English party to their great wonderment, the General's wife declaring to him, "We have heard that many of your order have done much against us, but of you we have always heard good things spoken by every person." The conversation turned upon religion, when the bishop defended his own in a brief and dignified speech. After he retired, the General expressed his veneration for him, and said he would take no measures against, and would even reclaim him as his prisoner should he fall into hands within the limits of his jurisdiction of any not under his command. Having learned, however, that a body of Puritans more fierce and implacable in hostility to the priests were about to be marched into the district, the bishop, lest he should compromise his host or his host's friends, retired, surrounded by his friends, who wept at his departure, and directed his steps towards Galway, trusting to the stipulations of the recent treaty for his personal safety, which city, after being plundered and narrowly escaping being taken prisoner several times on the way, he reached safely in disguise, and there remained for some time protected by his well-wishers. On a rumour of his being sheltered, informers were at work to point out houses he was likely to frequent, but the search, although close and severe, generally took place after the bishop had left, although at times he was closely pressed, and obliged to escape along the roofs of the houses, and on one occasion they were turned away when within a short distance of the room in which he lay. On another occasion they got possession of all his ecclesiastical furniture, which they broke or tore to pieces and scattered. Having, however, contracted a malady from confinement and cold, he gave himself up to the governor, who, believing he would not long survive, took security for his appearance, and forbade his being further troubled. But he recovered, and applied himself to the work of a peacemaker, for which the spirit of litigation among even the persecuted and conquered party gave him abundant occasion.

In June 1663 all the clerics of the province were ordered to present themselves, as well those on bail as those as yet at large, and our bishop as well as the Archbishop of Tuam, also on bail, among the rest, and this summons was generally complied with. Instead of committing them to the common prisons, houses were hired at the prisoners' cost, where they were kept under a military guard. Even here, like the good Vicar of Wakefield, our bishop contrived to occupy himself in works of goodness. He reconciled enemies, and he confessed penitents visiting him with this object. Children were brought to the windows in the rear of the house to be confirmed, and with the priests he held edifying disputations and reasonings on religious subjects.

Suddenly, after fourteen months in this kind of imprisonment, the whole party were marched, without any notice, surrounded by a strong guard of musketeers, and embarked on a ship for Nantes, where with singular good fortune they landed on the fourth day. It was believed the reason for this hasty proceeding was that the impression made on their adherents, by the services under circumstances so peculiar, of their

hierarchy was more than all the efforts of the Protestant preachers could undo, in retaining them in their ancient faith. Now broken down by age and sufferings, the bishop found himself on landing in the face of want and destitution, and compelled to sell his books and personal effects. The States of Brittany soon relieved him so far, by a vote of fifty Louis d'or, as they had pensioned many Irish bishops before, some during fifteen years of exile, but the greater part of this sum he expended on articles for his poorer companions. By a committee of the same States he was consulted as to the conflicting claims of emigrant Irish nobles and priests upon a small fund placed at their disposal. With great magnanimity he advised that those of the nobles should be preferred, as having no other means of subsistence, while the priests could eke out a moderate subsistence by saying masses, and because the nobles had from the time of Elizabeth supported out of their means all orders of the clergy, then deprived of all ecclesiastical revenue. For this advice the bishop incurred ill-will at the hands of the exiled priests, being charged with acting against the clergy.

During his exile he received great kindness from various friends, who received him into their houses. Subsequently he resided constantly with the family of a M. de Bicqueneul, and after the death of that gentleman with his sons-in-law and daughters, who bestowed on him the most lavish hospitality, in compliance with their father's testament, which they were directed to continue to the latest moment of his life. He died on the 27th day of August 1671, after six years of exile, spending these as the earlier ones, in the constant practice of good works, and in the discharge of every devotional duty, private and public. This event took place at Rennes, at the house of M. de la Poliere, one of the sons-in-law of his friend De Bicqueneul, of a virulent malady by infection, while in the exercise of the priestly office administering the last rites to one of its victims. His obsequies attracted immense crowds, such as rarely occurs at the most solemn festivals; all the religious orders of the locality, the colleges of the parochial churches, and the canons of the cathedral taking part in the ceremony.

The memory of this gentle and devoted prelate has been preserved in a biographical memoir from the pen of Archdeacon Lynch, a work which long lay buried in its original Latin, but which in that form was so highly prized by Christians of all denominations that the copy belonging to the late Bishop Heber fetched the large sum of £18 10s. A reprint, with a parallel English version, by the Rev. C. P. Meehan, was published in Dublin in 1848. Such men as Francis Kirwan, who would do honour to any church, ought not to be forgotten in the catalogue of eminent and illustrious Irishmen.

JOHN LYNCH, ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHDEACON OF TUAM.

BORN CIRCA 1599. DIED ANTE 1674.

THE family of the Lynches, to which Dr. John Lynch belonged, claims descent from Hugh de Lacy of the first race of Norman invaders, a memoir of whom appears in our first volume. He was born in Galway, according to the more careful inferences from his own statements, about the year 1599. Tradition reports his father to have been one Alexander Lynch, a teacher in Galway, of whom Usher gives a high character, which carries the more probability, as in 1608 he had no less than 1200 scholars from all parts of Ireland, including even the Pale. The school was suppressed nominally in 1615; but the suppression was only temporary, for we find from Dr. Lynch's writings, that notwithstanding the enactment of a penal statute in 1634, there were dignitaries of the Romish communion in that town teaching schools down to its capture by Cromwell's forces in 1652. The Lynches appear to be frequently mentioned with honour in the records and monuments of that ancient town. They gave, with only one exception, a greater number of distinguished ecclesiastics to that communion than any other family in Ireland.

He was sent to France when entering his eighteenth year, and was engaged in the study of the humanities at Dieppe in 1618. He received his earlier education from the Jesuits, of whom he always speaks with respect. It is not known when he returned to Ireland, but it is inferred from his own statement that he was ordained priest about the year 1622. Like many of his predecessors in Galway he taught a school, and acquired a great reputation for classical learning. He was engaged also on the Irish mission, celebrating mass in private houses and secret places until 1642, when the Ulster insurrection opened the parish churches to the Catholics. He describes in glowing terms his emotions on first celebrating mass in a public consecrated building, yet never fails to stigmatise the rebellion of 1641 which procured this liberty for his Church in Ireland as "ill-omened, miserable, and fatal." Appointed Archdeacon of Tuam, he lived apart from the turbid politics of that epoch in an old castle. Being opposed on principle to the interference of the clergy in the crooked and unnatural politics of his times, his name does not appear in any of the voluminous contemporary documents on the wars and deliberations of the Irish Catholics from 1641 to 1652. Yet he held decided opinions on the distracting questions which these documents discussed. Born in the town of Galway, which had always been loyal, he could not approve of the rising of the Ulster Irish, nor the pretensions of any party irreconcilable with loyalty to the king of England. "His own brief experience," says his biographer, "had taught him to hope for the gradual and peaceful triumph of justice over the privileges of creed and race. From the close of the reign of James I., persecution on the score of religion had relaxed; the religion of Rome had been embraced by the sons of some of the most distinguished families planted under Elizabeth; the old Anglo-Irish families—the Butlers, the Burkes, Nugents, and Fitzgeralds

—still died in that religion, though the heads of these families sometimes temporised during life; the strong arm of Wentworth had compressed all the jarring elements of Irish society into something like unity, and consequently mutual toleration. The animosities that had hitherto obtained between the Anglo-Irish and the native Irish clergy of the communion were dying away. A society called 'The Peaceful Association,' founded in 1620 by David Roth, Bishop of Ossory, had been combining their energies for the common good, and the prejudices of some of the most intolerant of the ascendant party were gradually yielding before the softening influence of common literary tastes. Everything promised that that fond dream—the dream of the union of Irishmen on grounds of perfect equality in every respect, religious and political—would soon become a reality."—"These hopes, Dr. Lynch believed, were blasted by the rashness of the Ulster Irish, which precipitated the catastrophe of 1641."

Dr. Lynch defended the Catholic confederation of 1642 as the only means of self-defence against the rapacity and fanaticism of the extreme English party, which sought in the strong emotion created by the barbarities of that Ulster rising to involve the whole Catholic communion in odium, leading to severities provoking confiscation. He approved of the general policy of Ormonde as indispensable for the safety of the Irish Catholics, and condemned the Nuncio who opposed that policy. In these opinions he agreed with David Roth, Bishop of Ossory, who, it is commonly believed, drew up the plan of the supreme Council of the Confederates.

On the surrender of Galway in 1642, Dr. Lynch fled to France, and continued in exile till his death, which must have occurred prior to 1674. He outlived nearly all his distinguished literary contemporaries, who have had, in their own order, no successors. Like the unfinished cathedrals of the ages to which they devoted their labours, their works remain the admiration and the reproach of posterity.

His translation of Keating's *History of Ireland* into elegant Latin is supposed to have been his first production, and to have been composed before he left Ireland. The preface, to which we have already referred, presents that easy flow which characterises his subsequent writings.

His great work "*Cambresis Eversus*," was published in 1662 at St. Malo in France, under the pseudonyme of "Gratianus Lucius." The motives that led to the composition of this controversial disquisition are stated in his first chapter. It appears that from the time when the writer, best known by the name of "Giraldus Cambrensis," wrote shortly before 1190 his "*Topography*," and "*History of the Conquest*" of Ireland, a strong feeling was entertained by many of the natives of that country that many of the statements in these two works were unjust and injurious to the character of this people, but being in manuscript they remained in comparative obscurity. After their issue by Camden from the printing-press of Frankfort in 1602, this was no longer the case, and it was believed that the antipathy between England and Ireland, which began about the time of the wars of Elizabeth, was exaggerated by the adoption in the literature of the former of many of the objectionable statements contained in these two

works. It appears to have occurred to the Roman Catholic prelates to procure to be produced at the public expense a defence of the history of Ireland. Some work of this nature appears to have been written by one Stephen White, a learned Jesuit, of which it was believed all trace was lost, although a copy has recently (about 1831) been discovered in the library of the Dukes of Burgundy at Brussels, and allusion is made in a poem to a similar work by one Philip O'Sullivan. The resolution of the prelates does not seem to have been carried into effect, and Dr. Lynch appears to have alone, unaided, and in exile, taken it upon him to execute the task. Throughout the whole work, he proves himself to be superior to the animosities and prejudices which had so long divided the two branches into which the people of Ireland had resolved themselves, viz., the Scotch or Ulster nation of the north, and the Anglo-Norman of the south and west; the latter having under their wing the Firbolg or more ancient native races, with which, in a great many instances, they had joined by intermarriages. But while he was putting his hand to the last chapter of his work, and perhaps congratulating himself on having proved by an imposing array of precedents that the Anglo-Irish were really become Irish and entitled to be called such, a work was presented to the Propaganda in 1659, written by one of the Ulster or Scoto-Irish, impeaching the whole Anglo-Irish family, a kind of supplement to a work of a similar nature called the "Remonstrance," written by Domhnall O'Neill in the fourteenth century, but urging considerations far more momentous. There could be no peace, it declared, until the Anglo-Irish family had been corrected or expelled.

Upon this Dr. Lynch stood forth as the apologist of his race. In an exceedingly rare and valuable book, entitled "Alithonologia," he reviews Anglo-Irish history, indignantly rejects the name of *Anglo-Irishman*, extols the superiority of his race, their greater wealth, power, and civilization, their stately cities and fertile lowlands, their fidelity to their faith, which so many of them had defended by their writings, or sealed by their blood, and, what accords badly with modern theories, their numerical superiority. As a history of the Anglo-Irish race, especially of their anomalous position under Elizabeth, the "Alithonologia" has no rival. His loyalty, of course, is of the true Anglo-Irish type, but never descends to that erastian compliance which would secularise the Church without serving the country. In point of style, this work combines with the good qualities of his "Cambresis Eversus," the vigour and fire of animated controversy; while in moderation it presents a favourable contrast with most of the politico-religious literature of that age on both sides of the St. George's channel. In 1667 Dr. Lynch published a supplement to his "Alithonologia." By this time the contest had lost much of its interest. His antagonist had been ordered to quit Rome. His work had been disowned by the superior of the religious order to which he had associated himself in Italy. But in this addendum, Dr. Lynch gives full scope to his discursive humour, ranging over every period of Irish history, and indulging in his usual exuberance of classical allusion. It presents, however, a significant, and indeed unpardonable, trait of partizanship, in that while he condemns, and justly, the many fabulous and sometimes true atrocities of the Scoto-Irish, he altogether forgets the provocations, spoliations, and

cruelties which had goaded that noble race to desperate measures. The chief accusation of his adversary against the chiefs of Anglo-Norman descent was that they concurred in the Parliament of 1613 along with the newer English colonists in confiscating the nine counties of Ulster, but so far from denying this, Dr. Lynch hails it as the completion of the conquest commenced four hundred years before. Only it was not so much a conquest as the final reduction of the power of a still earlier race of conquerors.

But to do Dr. Lynch justice, he was proud of these earlier invaders the Scoto-Irish. In the year 1664 he addressed a brief and learned letter to Boileau, historian of the University of Paris, who, by an error not uncommon at the time, had confounded the Scoti and Scotia of the ancients with modern Scotland; pointing out his mistake and claiming for Ireland the fame of the scholars of that race and name who first taught in the University of Paris and Court of Charlemagne.

In 1667 he wrote a pathetic poem in answer to the question, Why do you not come home to Ireland? peculiarly interesting as showing forth the feelings of an exile, and as the only work in which we see himself. Although addressed to a friend, and without any view of future publication, he notices in the exordium the chronologies of his anonymous works as well as their titles, and thereby enables us to trace and to identify them. It is an apology of a noble-hearted priest for not in his old age encountering the perils of the Irish mission, after having laboured there during thirty years of his prime, and solicitous to avail himself of the leisure given to him in a foreign land by devoting the remainder of his days to the literature of his country. He considers also his life to be in danger from the anger of some person—supposed to be the Governor of Galway, whose father was Sir Charles Coote—to whom his writings had given offence; for Dr. Lynch had denounced in no measured terms the sanguinary deeds of Sir Charles and his accomplices.

In 1669 he published, and, like all his other works, in Latin, the life of his uncle Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killala. In his other works we see the scholar, patriot, and historian; in this we have a zealous Irish priest, sketching, but not with too partial a hand, his own ideas of ecclesiastical virtue, exhibited in the life of a beloved relative, under whose care he had been educated, and who, in every phase of his eventful life, in persecution as in prosperity, as a bishop and as a priest, had laboured to prove himself worthy of his vocation.

His great work "*Cambresis Eversus*," composed when he was nearly sixty years of age, was republished, with an English translation and notes, by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, in 1848 for the Irish Celtic Society. In his preface the translator justly states that it has been generally considered one of the most valuable works on the history of Ireland; that, viewed merely as a refutation of Giraldus de Barry, it is on some points unsuccessful; but that its comprehensive plan, embracing a great variety of undigested and accurate information on every period of Irish history, imparts to it a value entirely independent of the controversial character inscribed on its title-page. This Introduction embraces a short account of the life of the author, to which we are indebted for the facts in the present notice.

From the manner in which Dr. Lynch's name is introduced into the inquisition held in Galway, he appears to have been dead in 1674. In

his poem written seven years before, he declares that, as he was tottering on the brink of the grave, it would not be worth his trouble to go so far as Ireland for a little clay to cover him. From the following epitaph, composed by his friend and fellow-labourer, Dr. Flaherty, it would appear that he died, where his works were published, at St. Maloes.

"OCCIDIT ARMORICIS PIUS HEU! LYNCHÆUS IN ORIS,
LYNCHÆUS PATRIÆ LUX, COLUMENQUE SUM.
ASSERUIT FAMAM, COMMENTA REFELLIT IERNÆ;
ERUIT É TENEBRIS GESTA VETUSTA STYLO.
GALLIA HABET TUMULUM, CUNABULA GALVIA JACAT;
SCRIPTA VIGENT TERRIS, SPIRITUS ARCE POLI."

III. LITERARY SERIES.

MICHAEL CLEARY.

BORN A.D. ———.—DIED A.D. 1643.

OF MICHAEL CLEARY very little is satisfactorily known, and we should, for this reason, consider ourselves absolved from any notice of him, but for the place which he occupies in the history of our Irish literature. This topic, so far as relates to the commencement of the present division of these memoirs, must be regarded as rather belonging to the antiquarian than to the historical biographer. But it is necessary, as briefly as we may, to account for our neglect of the very numerous poets who lived in the earlier half of the 17th century, and whose writings are yet extant. For this there are sufficient reasons: there are no materials for their personal histories, and their writings are not extant in any published form. The great celebrity of a renowned author of unpublished poetry might impose it upon us to give some account of his works; but great indeed must be the importance of the writings to which such a tribute would be excusable here, and whatever may be the collective worth of the bards and historians of the period included in these remarks, there are, individually, few instances which demand the distinction of a memoir. We might, by the help of some very accessible authorities, easily continue in this period the barren list of unknown poets, which helped to fill the vacuity of our previous period; but, on looking very carefully over those materials, we are unable to perceive what purpose would be served by such a waste of our space, already contracting too fast for the important matter yet before us.*

In that portion of the introductory observations allotted to the gene-

* We should here apprise the reader that the seeming disproportion, between the space which we have given to the ecclesiastics and the literary persons belonging to this period, is to be explained by the fact, that the most respectable of our writers hold also a prominent rank among our ecclesiastical dignitaries of the same period.

ral consideration of Irish literature, we have endeavoured to give some general notices of the character and importance of this unknown but numerous class of writings, which lie concealed, though not inaccessible, in the archives of colleges, and in public and private libraries. The individual whose name affords us occasion for these remarks, was a native of Ulster, and a Franciscan friar. He was early in life known as learned in the antiquities of his country, and as having a critical acquaintance with the Irish tongue. These qualifications recommended him to Mr Hugh Ward as a fit person to collect information for his projected history of the Irish saints, for which purpose he was sent to the Irish college in Louvain. The materials which he collected in the course of fifteen years passed into the hands of Colgan, by the death of Ward.

Cleary at the same time collected materials, which he reduced into three volumes of Irish history, of which the letters are mentioned by Ware.

He was one of the compilers of the "Annals of Donegal"—a MS. of the greatest authority in the antiquities of Ireland. His last work was a Dictionary of the obsolete words in the Irish Language, published in 1643, the year of his death.

JOHN COLGAN.

BORN A.D. ————DIED A.D. 1658.

COLGAN was a Franciscan in the Irish convent of St Anthony of Padua, in Louvain, where he was professor of divinity. He collected and compiled a well-known work of great authority among antiquarians, and of considerable use in some of the earlier memoirs of this work.

His writings were numerous; and all, we believe, on the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland. His death, in 1658, prevented the publication of many of them.

GEOFFREY KEATING

BORN A.D. ————DIED A.D. 1650.

KEATING, well known as the writer of an antiquarian history of Ireland—of great authority for the general fulness with which it preserves the traditionary accounts of the earliest times, though liable to some rather hasty censures for the indiscriminate combination of the probable and improbable into one digested narrative, and in the language of implicit belief. Such a work is, nevertheless, the most certain and authentic record of the ancient belief of the learned and unlearned of the land; and if the facts be not true in themselves, they evidently characterize the mind of a period, while, generally speaking, there is every reason to give credit to the more important parts of the narrative; and, above all, to the genealogical traditions of the ancient families of chiefs and kings. It is by no means a just inference that

they who entertain superstitious notions, and believe the absurdest mythological fables and traditions, are, therefore, to be discredited in their statements of the ordinary facts of history; in the former, both the senses which observe, and the faithfulness which records, are wholly uninvolved—the facts belong to a different class of things, and a man may believe a fable, yet speak truth in the concerns of life. When a historian's authority, or the authorities on which he writes, are to be questioned, the question must be,—is the relation honest, and are the facts such as to admit of natural error? Now, in Keating's history, the line of demarcation between truth and error will, in the main, be easily seen. It will be at once observed, that the mere fact of the existence of a large body of ancient literature, with all the extant remains and traditions of Ireland, undeniably prove the existence of some old state of civil order different from anything now existing, and as far removed from the savage state. Such a state of things must needs have left some record stamped with the form, and having at least all the main outlines of the truth; and it may be asked where this record—of which the absence would be more improbable than any part of Irish history—can be found, if not in those very traditions which are the genuine remains of Irish literature, and the authorities of old Keating. The facts are, it is true, often strangely involved with fable; but there is no instance in which the discrimination of an unbiassed intellect cannot at once make the due allowance.

Keating studied for twenty-three years in the college of Salamanca. On his return to Ireland he was appointed to the parish of Tybrid, which he soon resigned. He is said to have been driven into concealment by the hostility of a person whose mistress he excommunicated. This person having threatened to murder him, he took refuge in a wood between the Galty mountains and the town of Tipperary; and in this retirement he wrote his history in the Irish language.

He was buried in the church of Tybrid, founded by himself and his successor, in 1644.

His history was translated into English by a Mr Dermot O'Connor, whose version is considered to have many inaccuracies. Another translation was since commenced by a Mr William Halliday, an Irish scholar of great reputation. His task was cut short by an early death. He had proceeded so far as the Christian era, and published a thin octavo, which has induced much regret among antiquarians that he did not live to complete his undertaking.

Keating's other writings are of slight importance—they are a few poems and professional treatises.

THE HON. ROBERT BOYLE.

BORN A.D. 1626.—DIED A.D. 1691.

THE account of the early infancy of this most illustrious Irishman has been written by himself under the title of *Philaethea*. This period of his life was subject to more casualties and changes than are often known to occur in the maturer age of the generality of men; and this,

indeed, in a manner and to an extent, which the character of our more civilized times can scarcely be conceived to admit of. At the age of three his mother died, and his intellect and moral temper were, at that early age, sufficiently mature to comprehend and feel this irreparable deprivation. The well-known activity of his ambitious father, the first earl of Cork—a man ever on the stretch in the pursuit of fortune and power—left his home often without a master, and his children without a parent. To these sources of casualty may be added the frequent necessity of removal and travelling through a wild and unsettled country, and under the charge of menials. On the road, the robber lurked among the rugged mountain-passes, and in the concealment of the bordering woods; on the British channel the pirate roamed without restraint; and the Turkish galley infested and defied the very coasts, which have now so long been sacred from such insults and dangers.

At three years of age he had a narrow escape from being drowned, by the fall of the horse on which he was carried, in crossing a deep and rapid brook which was swollen by the rains. At seven, he tells us that he had a still more remarkable escape from being crushed to death by the fall of the ceiling of the chamber in which he slept.

At three years of age he was sent to Eton, of which the provost was then Sir Henry Wotton, an intimate friend of his father's. Here he was placed under the immediate tuition of Mr Harrison, who, it is said, had the sagacity to discover the unusual capacity and the singular moral tendencies of his pupil, even at that early age, as well as the skill to adapt his moral and intellectual treatment to so promising a subject. Perceiving the indications of a mind unusually apprehensive and curious, he was careful that these happy inclinations should not want for exercise; and, as he had a willing mind to deal with, he avoided damping, in any degree, the voluntary spirit, by even the semblance of a constraint, which, in common cases, is of such primary necessity. By this method, so applicable in this peculiar instance, the ardour for information, which seems to have been so providentially implanted in the youthful philosopher's mind, became so intensely kindled, that it became necessary to employ some control, for the purpose of forcing him to those intermissions of rest and needful exercise for which boys are commonly so eager. Harrison meanwhile watched over the extraordinary youth with a zealous, intelligent, and assiduous care, ever ready to answer his questions, and to communicate knowledge in the form of entertaining discourse.

The main object of his studies at Eton was the acquisition of classical knowledge, and he soon attained a considerable intimacy with the best writers of antiquity. He himself has mentioned, that the accidental perusal of Quintus Curtius had the effect of awakening his imagination, in an extraordinary degree, and thus excited in his mind an increased thirst for historical knowledge.*

* It is curious to compare the impressions communicated by the same circumstance to different minds. We extract the following from a well-known periodical:—
"The effect which the same romantic historian is said to have produced on Charles XII., is, however, more direct and natural. In reading of the feats of

We must confess to some difficulty in distinctly appreciating such an impulse from such a cause, further than as the transient impression of an hour, which the next would dispel. The excitements of Quintus Curtius are scarcely to be expected in the page of regular history. A more natural impulse is attributed to the accident of his being initiated in the range of romantic fiction, which was, we are bound to say, a most grievous error, which cannot be too strenuously deprecated in these pages, and which we shall therefore pause to discuss more fully. The circumstances are these:—During his stay at Eton he was attacked by a fit of the tertian ague, of such severity and duration, that his constitution, naturally delicate, became very much debilitated, and a long time elapsed before he recovered his strength sufficiently for the purpose of his studies. In this condition it occurred to his tutor—who, after all, was more of the scholar than the philosopher—to indulge his craving and restless mind by the perusal of novels and romances. Some reflections in a contemporary memoir, on the same incident, convey our sentiments with so much truth that we shall here extract them,—“As might be presumed, the effect was to leave on his mind a distaste for less stimulative aliment, and to excite his mind to a state of undue activity. The sense of martial ardour,—the pride and stimulus of military emulation, ambition, and danger,—the physical sympathies of action, with all the vain glories of romance, were acted on and called forth. He became a castle-builder and a dreamer. He makes a remark on this subject, of which we have long since had occasion to learn the value—that it is unfortunate for those who have busy thoughts to be without timely employment for their activity. Such, indeed, is the misfortune which—worse than even the corruptions of passion—has consigned many a high and far-grasping intellect to a life of dreams. Gambling, and debauchery, and the seductions of sense, are not more sure in their fatal effects, so uninterruptible in their course, or so seductive, as this refined and intellectual fascination,—more sure and dangerous, because it operates in loneliness, and finds its good within itself. When the imagination is once fairly seized with this self-seeking desire, even the slightest thing that occurs, or that is seen, read, or heard of, is enough to give it impulse and direction, and the heart acts the hero or voluptuary’s part; the Augustus, or Nero, or Heliogabalus; the Paris, or Achilles; and, in its own secluded recess, rules or disposes of more worlds than Alexander could have conquered. There is an interest in finding our infirmities reflected in a mind like Boyle’s; but it is both instructive and encouraging to learn, by what timely resolution and prudence, in the

Alexander he was affected by a sympathy of a kindred mind, and became a warrior. Quintus Curtius wrote for a corrupt and luxurious age, when the nobles of the latter periods of the Roman empire were excluded from politics and war, and only alive to the stimulants of sense and taste. His invention and eloquence were of a high order, and he wrote for effect—his success was worthy of a better object. His descriptions and pictorial touches,—his dialogues and characteristic sayings and incidents,—and even his description of the private reflections of the persons of the narrative, while they materially diminish his credit as a historian, must still have produced on his ancient readers an effect, not greatly inferior to that produced on the readers of *Ivanhoe*.”—*Dublin University Magazine*, May, 1836.

application of means, he shook off this disease of the spirit. To recover his power of application he had recourse to the study of mathematics, and found in its precise relations and rigid conclusions that interest and necessity of *attention*, which was the remedy his case required.* There is indeed prevalent, in our own times, an error well worthy of the most serious consideration upon the subject of a very large class of works of fiction—we mean that most pernicious of all literary compositions, of which it is the real aim to tamper with passion and sentiment, and the pretence—no doubt sincere—to inculcate some good lesson in morality and prudence. Such lessons are not only useful, but necessary to young and old; but it is known that their operation is slow, and the result of much and repeated trial and experience: it is also known that the truths of experience are long known to the understanding before they have any very practical influence on the heart; while, on the contrary, passion and sentiment, the main impulses of conduct, operate with a spontaneous force in the fullest maturity of that head wisdom which is expected to constrain them. Reason may be called the helm, and experience the chart of prudence and principle; but passion and sentiment have pretty much the same relation to the tempest, the current, and the shoal, and it seems a curious inconsistency of purpose which would make the latter instrumental to the uses of the former. A lesson, for example, of the delicate embarrassments, cross-purposes, and misunderstandings of the tender passions, may be made the vehicle for noble sentiments and virtuous conduct; but the young and tender bosom which has thus been betrayed into those fearful and seductive sympathies, will be infected by their clinging influence, when the noblest maxims of virtue and its loftiest examples are forgotten. In vain the charms are spread which are to sweeten the lesson of virtue, if they have a far nearer connexion with infirmities, follies, and vices. The Minerva, with the naked bosom, may preach in vain on the charms of abstinence and heroic self-denial; human nature will seize the thoughts, and be attracted by the sense for which its affinity is nearest. Heroism, set off by beauty, and softened by the glow of the passions, will, for a moment, appear doubly heroic; but the enthusiasm of taste will subside, and the pupil or spectator will find some more interesting and congenial way of applying the lesson. As we do not here think it necessary to repeat the commonly urged objection to works of fiction—that they offer false views of society—we will say that it is not, certainly, from any want of concurrence in them; and we may observe, by the way, that it is the high praise of the Waverley novels that they avoid all these objections, neither giving false views, nor deriving interest from deleterious materials.

As to the effect of such influences upon the mind of Boyle, it must have been materially diminished by the great counteraction, if not entire preponderance of dispositions of an opposite tendency, which will show themselves plainly enough as we proceed. Without entering into any refinement upon intellectual powers and tendencies, the character of Robert Boyle was eminently practical, and his temper

* Dublin University Magazine, May, 1836.

conscientious in an unusual degree. The general tenor of his early life was in itself adapted to favour, and, in some measure, produce these dispositions: the unsettled character of the times in which he lived; the rude emergencies of even a change of place, attendant on such times; and the universal agitation and tempest of the period in which he came to man's estate, were, in no small degree, calculated to turn the attention of thoughtful spirits on the external scene, and to give development to the turn for observation and practical application. It is perhaps not improbable, that such was the general effect of the civil wars of that period upon the times and the public mind,—the fine-spun cobwebs of philosophy, and the gorgeous cloudwork of poetry, are probably deprived of their influence upon the mass of minds when so kept painfully on the stretch by startling realities. But with such considerations we are evidently unconcerned.

After having continued four years at Eton, Boyle was recalled by his father, who had at this time come to live at Stalbridge, in Dorsetshire. He, nevertheless, sedulously applied himself to the acquisition of classical knowledge, and also of ancient history. His father engaged a Mr Marcombes, a foreigner, to assist his studies. This gentleman had been first employed as travelling tutor to his brothers, the lords Broghill and Kinalmeaky.

In 1638, when he had attained his eleventh year, he was sent on his travels, under the charge of the same gentleman. His destination was Geneva, where he was to continue his studies,—a plan most probably originating with Marcombes, who was a native of the town, and, having a family resident in it, was evidently very much convenienceed by the arrangement. They took their route by London, where his brother, who was also to be the companion of his foreign sojourn, was to be married to Mrs Anne Killigrew, a maid of honour to the queen. From London they found their way to Paris, and from thence to Lyons, and on through Savoy to Geneva.

Boyle, in his autobiographical memoir, attributes much of the moral improvement of his mind to the care, and to the influence of some strong points in the character of Mr Marcombes, and we are strongly inclined to join in the opinion. He mentions his tutor as one who was an acute observer of the ways of men, who formed his opinions from life, not from books, and had not merely a contempt, but an aversion for pedantry, which he hated "as much as any of the seven deadly sins." It is also very evident that Mr Marcombes was by no mean an indulgent observer, but nice, critical, choleric; and to the quickness of his temper Mr Boyle ascribes the fortunate subjugation of his own. If, indeed, Mr Boyle's temper was as irritable as he himself represents it to have been, this is a fact not unimportant to the instructors of youth; for he is one of the most perfect models which biography affords, of patience and mildness. In this, however, other and far superior influences must claim a larger share, as Mr Boyle was pre-eminently a christian. To religion, we are inclined to think, there was in his mind a very peculiar tendency. Such tendencies, we are aware, do not, as a matter of course, lead to the actual adoption of any religion, still less of the christian religion. When the great truths of christianity are not instilled into the heart with

the first rudiments of education, they can only be afterwards received on evidence which claims the assent of the understanding, and this must be sought and studied with much careful attention. In Boyle's time, this evidence was easily overlooked for many reasons; and it is always listened to with strong reluctance,—the severe, simple, and practical requisitions of christian teaching being strongly opposed to the whole bent of human nature, and the entire spirit of social life. Butler, and Paley, and other eminent men, afterwards called up to crush the hydra of infidelity, had not yet placed the question within the easy reach of the public mind. Notwithstanding the able writings of Grotius, and those of the more ancient apologists, unhappily, during the middle ages, christianity had been displaced from its basis of evidence, and placed upon a foundation of quicksand, so as to present neither its genuine form nor its real credentials.

From these considerations, we lean to suspect that religious truths had no very strong hold of Mr Boyle's mind, at the period of which we speak. The incidents which had a decided effect to unsettle his belief, are such as to illustrate some of the foregoing remarks very strongly, while, at the same time, they indicate a very singular impressibility.* He himself mentions the solemn impression upon his mind of a tremendous thunderstorm in the dead of the night; it led him to reflect earnestly upon his state of mind, and to recollect his great deficiencies according to the standard by which he professed to walk. Some time after this, however, an impression of a very different nature was made upon him, in one of those excursions which he was accustomed to make from Geneva into the mountains that lay around. Visiting the ancient monastery of Chartreuse, in a wild alpine recess near Grenoble, his feelings were so powerfully wrought upon by the savage and gloomy scenery, the curious pictures, and mysterious traditions of the monastery, that his excited imagination called up and lent a momentary reality to the legendary superstition of the place. The powerful impressions thus made upon a mind, characteristically impressible, were such as to obscure and cast a dimness upon his far less vivid impressions of christianity, of which, it must be observed, he knew not any distinct proofs; and his reason, bewildered between the appeals of a strongly impressed and sensibly imbodied superstition, and of a vague and imperfectly conceived belief, became unsettled upon the momentous truths of religion, which, under the same common name, offered such opposite and irreconcilable demands on faith. The traditions of St Bruno, which were thus brought as a sensible reality to the imagination, stood, as it were, nearer to the eye than the remote and dimly apprehended truths of the gospel; and, while the fancy gave power to the one, reason ceased to discriminate with accuracy, and lost its inadequate hold of the other. The process is by no means one confined to a youthful fancy and a visionary turn, but, with some modification, can be distinctly traced to the pseudo-philosophy of the last century. The shallow but eloquent Vol-

* "Mr Boyle's mind was of that reflective and sensitive cast, on which slight influences had great effects; nor, without the full allowance for this, can the construction of his character be distinctly understood."—*Dublin University Magazine*.

ney has expanded the fallacy into a systematic argument; the imposing sophistry of Gibbon—so far as it can be extracted from the ambiguities of style—indicates a mind labouring under misconceptions of the same order.

With respect to Boyle, his own account of the result substantiates the important fact affirmed in the foregoing remarks. Like Gibbon, Paine, Volney, and other persons, the history of whose scepticism is known, he was ignorant of the actual evidences of the facts and authorities of christianity, and knew it only, as it is most commonly known to the multitude, through its moral and doctrinal rules and principles; and thus, when it became reduced into the mass of clashing creeds and dogmas, its hold upon mere reason was, as a matter of course, obscured. But it is to the praise of Mr Boyle, that with him to doubt was to inquire, and to inquire was to cast away the prepossessions, and resist the prejudices which obscure the shallow depths of human speculation. He was determined to “be seriously inquisitive of the very fundamentals of christianity, and to hear what both Jews and Greeks, and the chief sects of Christians, could allege for their opinions; that so, though he believed more than he could comprehend, he might not believe more than he could prove.” The intellectual soundness thus perceptible in a youth of fourteen is very remarkable; and the more so, because it shows a just discernment of the fallacy upon which so many clever, and sometimes profound reasoners, have been wrecked in all times. Some refuse to assent to that which cannot be explained, while others invent systems for the mere explanation of the same difficulties: both confounding explanation with proof, and overlooking the most elementary conditions of reason and the limits of human knowledge. Boyle proceeded with the characteristic sincerity of his temper to fulfil his wise resolution. A mind, so happily constituted for research, could not fail to receive ready satisfaction as to the evidences which offer the clearest and best examples of every proof within the compass of human knowledge. He is known as an eminent christian; and this part of his history may be said to have its illustrious monument in the foundation of a lecture for the defence of the Christian religion, which has been occupied by some of the most eminent names in christian theology.

In September, 1641, he left Geneva, and visited many of the principal towns in Italy. He made a more prolonged stay at Venice, then in its full splendour, a great centre of trade, and a concourse of nations, tongues, and manners. It was the age when the last and consummate finish of a polite education was sought in foreign travel,—foreign travelling, still an important advantage to the scholar, was then an indispensable requisite to the polite or learned. It supplied the deficiency of books by the actual observation of things—it opened the mind by extending the sphere of its intercourse; and, while it enlarged the conversation, it softened prejudices, and gave ease, affability, and freedom to the manners and address.

In Florence he passed the winter of the same year, and, during his stay, acquired the Italian language. Here also he became acquainted with the “new paradoxes” of Galileo, an acquisition, which, to the genius of Boyle, may well be supposed to have been important.

From Florence he went on to Rome, and was enabled to exercise his observing and inquiring spirit without interruption, by taking upon him the character of a Frenchman. He had, while in Geneva, acquired the most perfect ease and correctness in that language, and, in Rome, the acquisition became important. It was his aim to escape the penetrating espionage of the English jesuits, whose duty it would have been to denounce the prohibited presence of an English protestant. Mr Boyle attributed this prohibition to the reluctance which was felt by the Papal court and the ecclesiastical authorities to allow strangers, and particularly protestant strangers, to perceive the very low state of religion then prevalent, and the little reverence paid to the Pope in his own city. There was, indeed, enough to fix his attention upon the darkness and intellectual prostration of the place and time. He never, he declares, saw so small a respect for the Pope as in Rome, or met with infidelity so open and unshrinking as in Italy.

From Rome he returned to Florence, and from thence to Pisa, Leghorn, and by sea to Genoa. He then returned to France. On his journey he was exposed to no small danger in the streets of a frontier town, for refusing to take off his hat to a crucifix. At Marseilles he met with gloomy tidings, accompanied by a severe and unexpected disappointment. Having expected remittances, he only received letters from his father, giving deplorable accounts of the rebellion, and informing him that he had only had it in his power to raise £250, to bear their expenses home. This remittance miscarried, it is believed from the dishonesty of the banker in Paris to whom it was committed. Under these embarrassing circumstances, Mr Marcombes brought them back to Geneva, where they were compelled to remain for two years, in the vain expectation of supplies, and at last found it necessary to have recourse to an expedient, to enable them to find their way home. Mr Marcombes obtained a sufficient amount of jewellery on his own credit, and this enabled them to travel on to England, where they arrived in 1644.

In the mean time the earl of Cork had died. He left, by will, the manor of Stalbridge, and some other property in Ireland, to Robert Boyle. But though thus well provided for in the way of fortune, the unsettled condition of the country rendered it difficult for him to obtain money, so that he found it expedient to reside for several months with his sister, lady Ranelagh. This arrangement was fortunate, as it was the means of diverting him from a purpose which he had recently formed of entering the army.

As his brother, lord Broghill, had considerable interest, he obtained through his means a protection for his estates in England and Ireland, and was also permitted to return to France for the purpose of settling the debts which he had been forced to contract.

He soon returned and retired to his manor of Stalbridge, where he spent four years in the most intense pursuit of knowledge, occasionally, however, relaxing his mind, or diversifying his studies, by excursions to London and Oxford. During this interval he applied himself for a time to ethical investigations, upon which subject he composed a treatise. His favourite pursuit, however, was natural philosophy, in different departments of which he soon obtained as much knowledge

as the state of science at that period afforded. He mentions of him self, that, at this period of his life, his industry was so unremitting, that he continued to mix study with every pursuit, so as not to lose a moment which could be profitably applied. "If they were walking down a hill, or on a rough road, he would still be studying till supper, and frequently proposed such difficulties as he had met with to his governor."

Among the resources of learned men in that period for the attainment and interchange of knowledge, none was more cultivated or more effective for its end than epistolary correspondence; by means of which, the concert and stimulus which soon after began to be propagated by learned societies, was kept up by individual communications. For those, who like Boyle devoted themselves to knowledge, such a resource was then of primary consideration, and, to a great extent, also supplied the place of books: the lights of science were uncertain and rare, and the ardent student of nature was on the watch for every gleam. Boyle was not remiss in seeking the enlightening intercourse of those who were the most eminent for worth and learning.

In 1645, during the civil wars, a small company of persons of talent and learning were in the habit of meeting in London first, and afterwards, when London became too troubled for peaceful studies, in Oxford. The object of their meetings was to hold conversations and make communications in natural philosophy. This was the first beginning of that most illustrious institution the Royal Society, and consisted of many of those who were its most eminent members—Wallis, Wren, Ward, Wilkins, &c.,—men, among whom, at Mr Boyle's time of life, it was, in the highest degree, an honour to be included. They were the followers of Bacon, and the immediate precursors of Newton. The light of human reason had been long struggling, vainly, to break forth from the overpowering control of the spiritual despotism of the middle ages; and in Italy, a succession of minds of the first order, Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, with his contemporaries, had arisen, in vain, above the dim twilight of school and cloister—though not permitted to be the lights of science, yet condemned to leave indelible illustrations of the power of superstition and slavery, and of the importance of freedom of thought to the advancement of mankind. This vital element had found its place in England: the reformation of religion was also the rectification of reason, and the spirit of the venerable fathers of modern science was now to shine out in the daylight of freedom, unfettered by any impositions save those limits assigned by him from whom reason is the gift to man. The eminent men whom we have mentioned had agreed upon weekly meetings at each other's lodgings; they also sometimes met in Gresham College. Their meetings were interrupted after the death of Charles, when London, for a time, became the seat of crime and anarchy, and especially unsafe for those who did not wish to go the fullest lengths of compliance with the spirit of the hour. The principal portion of the members retired to Oxford. The result of the connexions thus formed was a more determinate direction to the philosophical taste, and, perhaps, an increased impulse to the extraordinary assiduity with which Mr Boyle devoted

himself to investigations which have conferred upon his name a distinguished place in the history of natural philosophy.

The close and sedentary habits, consequent on such assiduous study, were not without their debilitating effects upon Boyle's corporeal frame. Before he was yet of age he became subject to repeated attacks of that most afflicting disease, the stone.

In 1652, he came over to settle his affairs in Ireland, and remained for a considerable time, but complained very much of the great obstacles which baffled his efforts to make a progress in his favourite investigations in chemical science. Still his unrelaxing ardour found a congenial pursuit in anatomy, and he entered on a course of dissection, under the guidance of Dr William Petty, physician to the army. Of this, he says, "I satisfied myself of the circulation of the blood, and have seen more of the variety and contrivances of Nature, and the majesty and wisdom of her Author, than all the books I ever read in my life could give me convincing notions of."

In 1654, he executed an intention, which he had long meditated, of retiring to Oxford, where his chief associates in study still met; and where he could with more ease pursue his favourite inquiries in science. It was their custom to meet at each other's apartments or dwellings, in turn, to discuss the questions of principal interest at the time, mutually communicating to each other the result of their several labours. They called themselves the Philosophical College, and perhaps were not without some sense of the important results to which their studies were afterwards to lead. They principally applied themselves to mathematical, and, still more, to experimental inquiries in natural philosophy. Among this distinguished body, the nucleus of modern philosophy, Boyle was not the least active or efficient. Of his labours, we shall presently speak more in detail. He seems to have been early impressed by the discoveries and the opinions declared by the Florentine philosophers, and directed his investigations with a view to confirm and follow out their discoveries: the result was a very considerable improvement upon the air-pump, a machine invented very recently by Otto of Guericke, a burgomaster of Magdeburg. Endowed with faculties, in the very highest degree adapted to the purposes of experimental science, he pursued, confirmed, and extended the science of pneumatics, of which the foundations had been laid by Torricelli, Pascal, and Huygens.

During the same interval, while engaged with ardour essential to genius and natural to youth, in these captivating and absorbing pursuits, Boyle's just, comprehensive, and conscientious spirit was not turned aside from the still higher path which he had chosen for his walk through life. The same inquiring, docile, and cautious habits of mind, improved by the investigations of natural philosophy, were directed to the investigation of the sacred records. He made great progress in the acquisition of the Oriental tongues, and in the critical study of the Scriptures in their original languages. He composed an "Essay on the Scriptures," in which this proficiency is honourably illustrated. The exemplary zeal with which, amidst the multiplicity of his pursuits, and the distraction of severe disease, he gave his mind

to a pursuit, so apt to be overlooked by men intensely engaged in temporal pursuits, is very strongly expressed by himself. "For my part, reflecting often on David's generosity, who would not offer as a sacrifice to the Lord that which cost him nothing, I esteem no labour lavished that illustrates or endears to me that divine book, and think it no treacherous sign that God loves a man, when he inclines his heart to love the scriptures, where the truths are so precious and important that the purchase must at least deserve the price. And I confess myself to be none of those lazy persons who seem to expect to obtain from God a knowledge of the wonders of his book, upon as easy terms as Adam did a wife, by sleeping soundly." Of this spiritual frame of mind we shall find numerous and increasing proofs. During his residence at Oxford he was not less solicitous in his cultivation of, and intercourse with, the best preachers and ablest divines, than with those eminent philosophers who had associated themselves with him, and whose meetings were often held in his apartments. Pococke, Hyde, Clarke, and Barlow, were among his intimates and advisers in those studies, of which they were the lights and ornaments in their day. In common with the ablest and soundest of his literary associates, he warmly opposed the absurd scholastic method of philosophizing, which was the remains of the scholastic period, but was maintained under the abused name and sanction of Aristotle.

The reputation of his learning and sanctity was perhaps extended by his character as a philosopher, as well as by his illustrious birth. The lord chancellor Clarendon was among those who importuned him to enter upon holy orders; but Boyle, with the just and philosophical discernment, as well as the disinterestedness of his character, refused, upon the consideration that his writings in support of divine truth would come with more unmixed authority from one connected by no personal interest with its maintenance. So high at the same time was his reputation as a philosopher, that the grand duke of Tuscany requested of Mr Southwell, the English resident at his court, to convey to Mr Boyle his desire to be numbered among his correspondents.

In 1662, a grant of the forfeited impropriations in Ireland was obtained in his name, but without any previous communication with him. This he applied to the purposes of maintaining and extending the benefits of Christianity, by supporting active and efficient clergymen. In the same year he was appointed president of the Society for the propagation of the gospel in New England: a society which was, we believe, the origin of those societies for the same end, of which the results have been so diffusively connected with the more permanent and higher interests of the human race.

The philosophical works and investigations of Boyle, in the meanwhile, followed thick upon each other. The splendid progress of the physical sciences since his time have been, in every branch, such as to cast an undeserved oblivion over the able and intelligent inquirers who began the march of science in England. Though they were far in advance of their day, yet after all, their happiest advances were but ignorant conjectures, compared with the discoveries which may be said to have followed in their track. The fame of Hooke is lost in

the discoveries of Newton.* Boyle is said to have suggested to this great man the first ideas of his theory of light, in an Essay containing "Considerations and Experiments concerning Colours." This was published in 1663, when Newton was in his twentieth year, and three years before he commenced those experiments to which the theory of colours is due. But Boyle's researches, directed by a true theory of the principles of inquiry, were full of true and just suggestions, of which, nevertheless, it is not a fair way of thinking, to attribute to them the discoveries of any subsequent inquirer. The same suggestions are, to a marvellous extent, presented to various minds with a coincidence which may be called simultaneous: they are, in truth, the product of the age, and of the reality of things. One true notion received will be similarly applied by nearly all minds of a certain order; and as principles of investigation and facts become matured and accumulated, it is rather the wonder how so many can differ than that so many should agree.

Mr Boyle was, at this period of life, exposed to the ridicule of persons of profligate or worldly temper, by the publication of some moral essay, under the title of "Occasional Reflections on different Subjects," which had been written in his younger days, and which, as might be expected from one of Mr Boyle's simplicity of mind, went to the fullest length† in the truths of moral and spiritual reflection. That the soundest reason should on these, as on all other subjects of thought, keep nearest to truth, would seem to be a natural consequence. But the mind of society is, to a large extent, enlisted in behalf of the follies and corrupt conventions by which the spirit of the world is kept in conceit with itself; and one of the consequences is the tacit proscription of numerous plain truths, which no one denies, and few like to have forced upon their attention. The formal admission and practical contempt of many truths have thus converted them into solemn trifles, destitute of their proper meaning and afforded to satire the keenest of its shafts, which is directed against everything at which the world desires to laugh, and would gladly look upon as folly. It has, in effect, no very profound air to say gravely what every one knows and no one heeds, and it will become nearly burlesque, if such things are solemnly put forth in the tone and manner of deep reflection—the more so, too, as it is always very common to meet amiable shallow triflers, who deal in commonplaces, because, in fact, they can talk on no other conditions. But it is easy to see how, to a deep

* Newton probably took the thought of gravitation from Hooke. It is an interesting fact that Milton seems to have described the idea of solar attraction in the following lines :—

" What if the sun
Be centre to the world, and other stars
By his attractive virtue and their own
Incited, dance about him various rounds ?"

† Intense and serious minds seldom understand ridicule, and are, therefore, not unapt to walk unconsciously within its precincts. Ridicule is the great weapon of ignorance, shallowness, and vice; but it is wielded in the hands of wit and malice, and is, therefore, formidable.

thinker, whose mind is uncorrupted by the world, many great first truths, which are lost in the vague forms of proverbial commonplace, should start into an intense reality; and thus language, which has lost its sense to worldly wisdom, acquire a power beyond the conception of keen and shrewd deriders. Of this single-minded, earnest, and conscientious character was Mr Boyle, to whom the very title of the Supreme Being brought a sense of veneration, and a host of solemn and affecting truths, such as seldom in any way, and never very intensely, crossed the minds of those who exercised their wit upon his reflections. The author of *Hudibras* was one of these; he imitated Mr Boyle in "An occasional Reflection on Dr Charlton's feeling a Dog's Pulse, at Gresham College." Swift also wrote his "Pious Meditations on a Broomstick," in imitation of the same compositions.

The high reputation, both as a philosopher and a Christian, acquired by Mr Boyle, recommended him to the respect and favour of all that was high and honourable in the land. The provostship of Eton having become vacant, he was nominated by the king to that important station. This he declined, because he wanted no addition either to his rank or fortune. He had decided against taking holy orders, for a reason which we have always considered as having much weight: that the world, and still more the infidel portion of it, is more likely to be influenced by the more apparently disinterested Christianity of a layman, than by the professional zeal and testimony of a churchman. Mr Boyle had also a sense that his devotion to chemistry might be found inconsistent with the active duties of the college, as he would find it his duty to fulfil them.

He was, at the same period of his life, appealed to upon a controversy which then, and often since, has excited the attention of society. This was the question as to the supposed supernatural virtue of healing, which was supposed to reside in the person of a Mr Valentine Greatrakes. Both parties addressed their appeal to Mr Boyle, as the person of the age most fitted to give an authoritative opinion. We should enter here very fully into that curious subject, had we not to give a separate notice on it in the memoir of Mr Greatrakes, where we shall give it exclusive consideration. Suffice it here to say, that a letter was addressed to Mr Boyle, by a Mr Stubbe, in behalf of Greatrakes, and that he replied in another, which, deservedly, obtained great praise.

In 1667, when a severe attack was made upon the Royal Society, Mr Boyle took a prominent part in the defence. It was, in reality, the era of a great revolution in the intellectual world—when the contest between the darkness of the scholastic age and the light of the Newtonian day was at its maximum point of violence. The advocates of a master, who would have scornfully disclaimed them, supplied the want of reason in favour of the Aristotelian philosophy, by charging the new philosophy and its supporters with impiety. The charge was, indeed, unlucky; it appealed to prejudices, and placed truth itself in a false position. The sacred history, written in an early age of the world, and not designed for the chimerical and inconsistent purpose of teaching natural philosophy, used the language of mankind in its allusions to nature—the only medium by which it could continue in-

telligible through so many states of civilization. But as men theorized on nature, and came to various notions on the structure of the mundane system, it is evident that they would compare the language of holy writ with the conclusions of science. Hence difficulties would arise. To deal with these, or to prevent them, the jargon of the schools was a convenient, but most mischievous resource. It was virtually the means of arriving at any desired inference by verbal dexterity. Thus adopting as sacred revelations, the indispensable language of the Bible, it preserved an erroneous system of physics, by excluding the consideration of phenomena. The mistake of the ancient writers on this head was two-fold; for, the scripture was not only understood to declare an accurate system of the world, but its language was so interpreted as to convert the prevalent philosophy of the age into the intent and meaning of the sacred text. Thus, unhappily, arose the self-perpetuation of error: it perverted scripture; and erected the perversion into sacred authority. When the reason of mankind became more free, another evil result arose: the fallacies which were thus wedded to the Bible, by old and venerated error, could not be easily divorced, and became a fertile ground for the sophistry of the deist. And yet, in a philosophic age, it seems strange that sophisms so obvious should have been ventured. It ought, indeed, to be observed that even the latest works on astronomy are liable to the very same misinterpretations; for, from the difficulty and complication of the subject, it is found necessary to adopt a fictitious convention, founded on appearances, as an indispensable necessity of language. And that fiction is *the very same* which the philosophers and divines of ages imagined to be a system maintained on the authority of scripture—which contained no system, and disclosed not one single fact in nature. For the purpose, it should, indeed, have contained some other books, bigger than itself, of pure and unmixed mathematics. Nor would it be very possible to fix a limit where God should cease to reveal, and reason begin its queries, cavils, and senseless mistakes and superstitions. The language of Laplace, of the vulgar of all ages, founded on the common principles of human language, is precisely that which the sacred penmen have used; because there never was, or will be, any other. The secret that the truth of God needs no veil of consecrated error—and that his word stands aloof and undefiled by the rashness of theories, or the fanaticism of schools—was as far from being understood as the Baconian philosophy. As a theory of metaphysics, the inductive method might be suffered to pass among other subtle speculations: speculation had, indeed, so little connexion with practice, that there was nothing very formidable in any effort of this nature—it was simply a great book to swell the mass of academic lucubration. But it was a different thing when a new race of inquirers arose, and, throwing aside the endless and inconclusive resources of division, distinction, syllogism, and definition, stretched beyond, and mistaken in their use, and began to weigh and measure, compare, compound, and analyze, and seek for the constitution of nature by a diligent and searching examination of nature itself. Such a new and daring course would not only assail the learned repose of universities, and deprive grave

doctors of much cheap-won wisdom, but it also gave a violent shock to that factious zeal with which systems are so much upheld. Hence it was that where reason failed, it was an easy, though most unfortunate, resource of controversy, to call in the aid of an appeal such as that we have described, and bring holy writ to the aid of the Aristotelians. The error has been propagated down to our times, checking science, and abusing scripture. The Royal Society was its first object. Mr Boyle was personally treated with the respect of his antagonists—a remarkable testimony to his reputation for piety and worth. A friend of his, who was a leading writer in the controversy, notices him in this honourable manner: that he “alone had done enough to oblige all mankind, and to erect an eternal monument to his memory; so that had he lived in the days when men godded their benefactors, he could not have missed one of the first places among their deified mortals; and that in his writings are to be found the greatest strength and the sweetest modesty, the noblest discoveries and the most generous self-denial, the profoundest insight into philosophy and nature, and the most devout and affectionate sense of God and religion.”

In the following year he changed his residence from Oxford to London, where he took up his quarters with the lady Ranelagh his sister. The change facilitated his communication with the Royal Society, and with learned men. As was usual, he continued to produce and send forth essays on various branches of natural philosophy; chiefly, however, upon subjects connected with the properties of air and water. In 1670, he published a work containing a more detailed account of his philosophical speculations and discoveries. This work obtained very general notice, and we can have no hesitation in saying, that it gave a vast impulse to chemical inquiry.

In 1671, his health, ever very delicate, received a severe shock from a paralytic disease. He, nevertheless, recovered, it is said by the adoption of a strict regimen, with the help of medical treatment.

Among the very numerous tracts which he every year published, there was, in 1674, a paper read in the Royal Society on “quicksilver growing hot with gold,” which drew a letter from Newton to caution him against any premature disclosure on a fact apparently so favourable to Alchemy. Mr Boyle seems not altogether to have abandoned some of these notions more properly appertaining to that visionary science: this was, however, both natural, and even philosophically just, in the commencement of a science of which it was the origin. Alchemy had already produced a rich accumulation of facts, and it was impossible to decide where the true line was to be found between reality and conjecture. Though it is the spirit of inductive science to question nature, by means of experiment and observation, it is plain that there must be some previous process of conjecture to give the direction to inquiry. The true principle of conjecture is, that it should be directed by knowledge; as, out of ascertained facts, various probabilities arise to exercise the invention and sagacity of the inquirer. Laws of nature rise slowly to observation, and with them the law of observation and inference grows both stricter and surer. To venture to assume these limiting rules prematurely, would have been a fatal error; and even still it would be hard to fix the bounds of the unknown, and

therefore mysterious processes of nature. We cannot affirm that mankind may not, in the course of half a century, have ascertained not only numerous new and unknown properties, such as to give an entirely new aspect to the laws supposed to be those of nature, but have discovered results which must be concluded to indicate further elementary laws as yet unknown. But there is a sound rule, of which we shall have much occasion to speak further—it is this; that there is a certain perceptible analogy in the operations of nature, which it is chimerical and visionary to depart from, but within which the utmost latitude of conjecture may and even must be allowed, even to the apparent verge of extravagance. A known operation, working according to an ascertained law, may, according to this principle, be carried in experiment to any extreme length against which human ignorance has set up its canon of prejudice; because, in fact, there is nothing can be pronounced impossible, unless for some specific reason on the most rigidly ascertained grounds. On the other hand, to violate this analogy would be to take improbability for the guide of science; to neglect it would be to take chance, and drift upon the ocean of non-existence. The reader of these remarks cannot fail to keep in view, that their application is not to the grounds of strict inference, which, to have any value, must be derived by the strictest reasoning from the most rigid facts; but to the grounds of probable conjecture which is the guide of trial. In Mr Boyle's day, the founders of modern science might justly entertain a salutary terror against the visions of the empirical philosophy, founded as they were upon a mixture of superstition, lawless fancies, traditionary dogmas, crude hypotheses, and premature generalizations. And as human reason is ever oscillating to extremes, the new impulse would naturally lead the followers of Galileo and Bacon to take a narrow basis for their views in science; and in departing from the visionary fields of the old hermetic science, leave behind some solid and valuable truths. Looking on the subject with these reflections, we are rather led to admire the tempered and considerate spirit of Mr Boyle, than to qualify his character by the admission of an enthusiasm for the occult and mystical, which seems to have tinged his zeal and led him further into speculative inquiry than he would have gone in the next generation. With or without such a qualification—the extent, variety, and soundness, of his investigation, placed natural philosophy on a firm and broad foundation, and gave the great impulse, from which numerous inquiries of far less genius have since obtained higher celebrity.

The very titles of some of his works convey the sound election with which he observed the errors and obstructions of human inquiry, which impeded, and even still, in some measure, continue to impede natural science. Of this nature may be specified his "Free Inquiry into the vulgar notion of Nature;" and his "Disquisition into the final causes of natural things, and with what caution a naturalist should admit them."

It appears that several of his writings were lost by various causes, among which there occurs one not now very easy to apprehend. It is stated by himself, that he had lost numerous manuscripts by the surreptitious depredation of visitors. In 1686, he published some state-

ments of the various obstacles he had met with, and the difficulties which he had encountered in the publication of his writings. This is now chiefly important as one of the numerous indications of a state of literature altogether different from that of more recent times. It is now not very far from the truth to say, that the universal sense of literary men is one which would suggest an apology of an opposite purport from that of Mr Boyle's; and indeed, there are few prefaces which do not contain some implication of the kind. A modern writer may perhaps feel, with some reason, that he has to account for the public appearance, in which the public is but little or not at all interested; but Mr Boyle felt the solemn duty of one to whom it was committed to enlighten and instruct an age of great comparative ignorance. His apology indicates the entire absence of those sentiments of egotism and arrogance, of which such an apology might now be regarded as the language. But it is to be admitted that, in this respect, the claim of the scientific inquirer yet stands upon a peculiar ground; the successful prosecutor of discoveries must always possess a claim upon the mind of his age: he owes something to the world, and the world something to him—he stands apart, because he is in advance of his age—his appeal is the assertion of a duty, not the boast of a merit, or a demand for the admiration of the world. Such claims as Mr Boyle had to the respect and gratitude of his age, were then accompanied by much anxiety, and the sense of a jealous and earnest competition. The whole structure of science was to be built—and as the ignorance of nature had, till then, been occasioned by an entire perversion in the method and direction of the human mind—there was a wide waste of obvious phenomena which lay upon the surface, ready to offer themselves to the first glances of rightly directed inquiry. It was a consequence that, among the philosophers of the age, there was a jealous competition. In this was, then, first displayed that unscrupulous disregard to truth and justice, which has in so many instances disgraced foreign philosophers, who have shown an unpardonable readiness to appropriate the inventions and discoveries of English science. The reader will recollect the great controversy concerning the fluxionary or differential calculus, of which this was the period. Similarly, Mr Boyle had to complain of numerous instances in which he was the object of similar frauds. Many copied his writings without any citation of authority, or stated his experiments in their books as if they had made them themselves.

A life of indefatigable research and study could not fail to affect the extremely delicate constitution of Mr Boyle. Great temperance, and continual caution which is mostly enforced by so tender a frame, had perhaps made the most of his strength. But he at last felt it due to science, and essential to his ease and health, to restrict his labours, and to avoid all superfluous engagements. He seems to have been deeply impressed with that sense of the value of time which belongs to those who have great and permanent objects of pursuit, and an earnest desire to accomplish the truer and worthier ends of existence. The broad ocean of discovery, too vast for even the contemplation of the highest human reason, or for the mind of ages, lay yet untried in all its magnificent expanse before his mind's eye: he could anticipate

numerous tracts of research, and doubtless conceive numerous splendid results, which human life would be short to follow or attain. Such a sense is more penurious of its hours than the miser of his gold: the gold may be accumulated, but the measured moments can neither be increased nor recalled. As most men live, it is true that an hour gained or lost would be but a little more or less of a useless commodity; while to one like Boyle it was truly more than wealth could compensate: some such sentiment suggested the aphorism of Bacon, *ars longa, vita brevis*. Mr Boyle, whose labours were the practical illustration of Bacon's philosophy, left also an illustrious example of the strictest economy of time. Zealous in the pursuit of important truths, he saw that, with his diminished energies, and diminishing days, it was necessary to cut off all superfluities, and avoid all uncalled-for waste of time and labour. With this view he ceased drawing up those formal communications to the Royal Society, which but interrupted the business of investigation, led to premature discussion, and broke in upon the settled frame of his thoughts. With much regret he resigned his office of governor to the corporation for propagating the gospel in New England. He published an advertisement declining the numerous visits to which his great celebrity exposed him; and put up a board to indicate the hours when he could receive those whom he could not, or would not, refuse to see. For these he set apart two mornings and two evenings in each week.

He availed himself of the leisure thus obtained, not only to prosecute his important investigations, but to repair the loss of many valuable papers, and to put the whole in a more convenient and systematic order.

In 1691, Mr Boyle's health, which had never been strong, began to give way to such an extent, that he concluded it full time to prepare for his end, and executed his last will. The rapid indications of a failure of the powers of life increased through the summer, and in October were so far advanced that no hope remained of any very decided restoration. His decline was considered to have been accelerated by his extreme concern about the illness of his dear sister, the lady Ranelagh, with whom he had ever lived on terms of the tenderest attachment. And as they had been united through life, they were not to be painfully disunited by the grave. Lady Ranelagh died on the 23d of December, 1691; and on the 30th of the same month, she was followed by her brother: a man who, if regard be had to the combination of high philosophic genius, moral worth, and genuine Christian goodness, has not been equalled, in any known instance, in succeeding generations. Holding a foremost place among the philosophers of that age, he was equally prominent, and still more deserving of veneration and honour as a Christian. With a spirit too wise to desire the adventitious honours which had been showered, with a liberal hand, on all the members of his family, and were pressed by royal favour on his acceptance—he refused to obscure with a title that name which continues to be the grace and ornament of the records of a family which has produced many persons of worth and public distinction.

He was, in a high degree, instrumental in the propagation of the

gospel: for this purpose his influence and fortune were used with energy and perseverance. He spent £700 upon the Irish translation of the Bible—of which he sent 500 copies into Ireland, and 200 into the highlands of Scotland. He also had printed, at his own expense, 3000 catechisms and prayer-books, for the highlands—of which the spiritual welfare had been deplorably neglected. He gave £300 for spreading the gospel in America.

We have already mentioned his foundation of a lecture for the defence of revealed religion, of which the object was thus expressed: "To be ready to satisfy real scruples, and to answer such new objections and difficulties as might be stated, to which good answers had not been made," &c. The fruits of this noble institution have been rich: such men as Bentley, Harris, Clarke, Whiston, and Butler, form a constellation of bright lights in the train of the noble founder; and, doubtless, far more illustrious has been the result which lies beyond the estimate of human praise—"the turning of many to righteousness;" for, considering that such minds are endowed by heaven, and such efforts commanded to man, we cannot suppose them to be ineffectually employed. But we may here pause to dwell on the characteristic sagacity which planned such a lecture. In any other department of knowledge it might be presumed that one full statement of an argument, of which all the facts are so long and so fully known as those of Christianity, might be enough to put an end to all doubts and further arguments in one way or another. But the natural aversion of irreligious minds to the gospel has the very peculiar, though obviously natural effect, of leading men to find arguments to satisfy themselves with a perfect ignorance of its nature, facts, and evidences. There is a dislike to be convinced, peculiar to this one great argument: and hence the fertility of human invention in devising such arguments as may shut out all chance of disturbing the illusions of scepticism; that is, all such arguments as are independent of the question itself, and are, therefore, without limit. A curious consequence of this is, that every generation has brought forth its own peculiar form of infidelity; some argument of which the absurdity has become too manifest to be relied upon, even by the sceptics of the next. This curious illustration of the real elementary principle of scepticism, seems to have been contemplated in Mr Boyle's foundation.

As a philosopher, there is now some difficulty in doing strict justice to Boyle. His writings have been superseded by the completion, or the far advance which has been made in those branches of natural philosophy to which he mainly applied his attention. But it will be enough to say, that all the most eminent inquirers in the same track—such as, for instance, Priestley—have spoken of him as the founder of the important science of pneumatics. The testimonies of foreign philosophers are also numerous and important. He was, in England, the first follower of Bacon; and, though the branches of science which he cultivated by no means claim so high a rank, yet he may be called the predecessor of Newton, and that illustrious host of mathematicians who commenced and brought to perfection the noblest structure of knowledge that has been, or can be attained, by human powers. He must be viewed as the most eminent man in England, among those

who effected a great revolution in human knowledge; which was no less than a transition from the scholastic to the experimental schools—from mere words to facts. Of this great change the beginnings are, doubtless, to be traced to previous generations and other countries; but it would lead to wide digression to say more here upon a topic which we shall have frequent occasions to notice more at large.

We shall, therefore, conclude this sketch of Boyle, by a mere enumeration of his scientific writings. They are as follow:—

1. "New Experiments, Physico-Mechanical, touching the Spring of the Air, and its Effects, 1660." 2. "Sceptical Chemist, 1662;" reprinted in 1679; with the addition of *Divers Experiments*.
3. "Certain Physiological Essays and other Tracts, 1661."
4. "Considerations touching the Usefulness of Experimental Philosophy, 1663."
5. "Experiments and Considerations upon Colours, 1663."
6. "New Experiments upon Cold, 1665."
7. "Hydrostatical Paradoxes, 1666."
8. "Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to Corpuscular Philosophy, 1666."
9. "The Admirable Refractions of the Air, 1670."
10. "The Origin and Virtue of Gems, 1672."
11. "The Relation between Flame and Air, 1672."
12. "On the Strange Subtilty, Great Efficacy, &c., of Effluvia, 1673."
13. "The Saltness of the Sea, Moisture of the Air, &c., 1664."
14. "On the Hidden Qualities of the Air, 1674."
15. "The Excellence, &c., of the Mechanical Hypothesis, 1674."
16. "Porosity of Bodies, 1684."
17. "Natural History of Mineral Waters, 1684."
18. "Experimenta et Observationes Physicæ, 1691," which was the last work published during his life. But two posthumous works afterwards were published, viz., "Natural History of Air, 1692;" and "Medicinal Experiments, 1718."

VALENTINE GREATRAKES.

BORN A.D. 1628.—DIED CIRC. A.D. 1690.

THE claim of Mr Greatrakes to our notice is very peculiar, and such as, considering the very justifiable prepossessions of the reasonable class of men against all pretensions to which the term of quackery has been, or can be applied—it will, perhaps, be in some degree hazardous to notice with the equitable spirit of philosophic indifference. The great celebrity which he obtained in his day is, perhaps, characteristic of that day. It extended from the hut of the Irish peasant to the court of England, and furnished matter for wonder and discussion to philosophers and universities. But we are happy to seize the occasion which is thus offered of discussing an important topic which stands in some need of sober and impartial comment.

On the incidents of the life of Greatrakes we shall consult the utmost brevity. He is himself the authority for his early history. He was born in 1628, and was the son of William Greatrakes, of Affanche, in the county of Waterford. His mother was a daughter of Sir E. Harris, knight, and a judge in the king's bench. He was educated at the free school of Lismore, and designed for the university; but this destination was frustrated by the great rebellion which broke out

in his fourteenth year. He took refuge with his uncle, Mr E. Harris, who attended to the completion of his education with laudable diligence, and, as he says, "perfected him in humanity and divinity."

At the restoration, Mr Greatrakes was made clerk of the peace for the county of Cork, and a magistrate, and discharged the duties of these offices so as to obtain the respect of the district.

In the midst of such avocations, he became suddenly seized with an impression that he was personally endowed with some healing virtue: this incident must be related in his own words:—"About four years since I had an impulse which frequently suggested to me that there was bestowed on me the gift of curing the king's evil, which for the extraordinariness thereof, I thought fit to conceal for some time; but, at length, I told my wife; for whether sleeping or waking, I had this impulse; but her reply was, 'that it was an idle imagination.' But, to prove the contrary, one William Maher, of the parish of Lismore, brought his son to my wife—who used to distribute medicines in charity to the neighbours—and my wife came and told me that I had *now* an opportunity of trying my impulse, for there was one at hand that had the evil grievously in the eyes, throat, and cheeks; whereupon I laid my hands on the places affected, and prayed to God, for Jesus' sake, to heal him. In a few days afterwards the father brought his son so changed that the eye was almost quite whole; and to be brief (to God's glory I speak it), within a month he was perfectly healed—and so continues."

It is then stated that he proceeded to discover, and to display to the wonder of the whole surrounding country, a power of healing which was so great and so evident in its effects as to silence even the scepticism of physicians. And so great became his fame that crowds flocked around his dwelling, from all parts of the country, and filled his barns and out-houses with diseases of every kind. His fame soon spread to England, and he was invited over to cure lady Conway of an obstinate headache. In England, he was followed by multitudes: he failed to afford the desired relief to the lady Conway, but was successful in curing numbers of the poor people.

The practice of Mr Greatrakes was wholly gratuitous, and the power by which he effected his cures he attributed to a supernatural gift. In England, such pretensions soon led to public discussion—in which two parties took opposite views, both in a very high degree worthy of being noticed, as examples of two unphilosophical modes of solution which derive considerable importance from the frequency with which they may be observed to recur in the history of human opinion — one party at once attributing the cures to some supernatural gift, the other resolving the difficulty by some conjectural cause. Of these, the first assumes that all the operations and powers which are termed natural, are so thoroughly known that anything which cannot be accounted for, or resolved into an effect of some known cause, must be called supernatural. The other, still more absurd, escapes the difficulty by assigning some known but inadequate cause, which amounts to no more than giving a name to a thing, and then explaining it by that name. Thus, while Mr Stubbe wrote a pamphlet, in which he described the healing power of Greatrakes as a gift bestowed by God,

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and with curious inconsistency described the elementary operation of the supposed gift—his adversaries attributed it to the power of friction, neglecting to observe, that if friction had anything to do with the cures supposed, it must be as the means of setting in motion some other cause, without a knowledge of which nothing was explained.

Mr Boyle was appealed to, and he appears to have viewed the question with the temperate and impartial mind of a philosopher—which is to be neither hasty to affirm nor deny. He admitted the possibility of miraculous gifts, because he found no absolute reason to deny it: but, considering the description of the actual facts, he saw no reason to class them as miracles: he justly observed, and the observation is very important, that they were wholly dissimilar from the miracles related in Scripture. He did not deny that there might be some mechanical cause, or some healing virtue applicable by the touch of the hand, especially considering the known powers of the imagination. And he illustrated his reasoning by examples of cures performed by the immediate and direct effect of this influence.

As subsequent controversies have given very considerable importance to the principles involved in this question, we shall not leave it without making some general remarks; and in doing this we shall, to the utmost extent, avoid the slightest leaning to the controverted opinions of any class of persons. It may be unnecessary to mention, that the main form in which these considerations have been latterly involved, has been the great controversy concerning mesmerism; or as it has been recently termed, animal magnetism.

On the facts, concerning which these questions have arisen, we are no further acquainted than by hearsay. But as they are not authoritatively contradicted, their reality may for the present purpose be *assumed*. Both parties have, so far as we have had cognizance, joined issue on the facts, and are at variance upon the law. We only design to notice here, the errors in reason which they have committed—what may become of the question concerning mesmerism, is a matter of great comparative unimportance: it is our object to guard the integrity of reason which is so apt to suffer grievously in the heat of such disputes.

Against those who have been the assertors or practitioners of mesmerism, two objections are to be made, neither of which demand much comment,—that of imposture, and that of premature theorizing. On the first, we must be very brief: we have not personally had any experience of the facts commonly alleged; they have been affirmed on very strong authority, and submitted to every test of which they seem capable. Some of them appear to admit of no deception. And it ought to be observed that, among the most intelligent of their opponents admissions have been directly or indirectly made, which amount to the concession of all that can be contended for short of idle speculation. The other charge is, indeed, but too well warranted against both sides; it rests on that common infirmity of human reason, which has from the beginning of time loaded human knowledge with the encumbrance of idle speculations. The almost universal fallacy of assuming that every thing known is to be explained by the best conjecture that occurs. Accordingly, the magnetists have in their tracts upon the subject, so amply involved their very debatable facts in such idle reasonings as

very much to multiply their vulnerable points, and to raise questions on which they can be assailed beyond the power of effective defence. When the ridiculous reason, or the absurd pretence, is exposed, the multitude, equally shallow in its scepticism as in its credulity, will easily be induced to overlook the facts. The charge of *sleight*, or imposture, is as effective as any other explanation—it is at least as cheap as a miracle.

Against the adversaries of the magnetists, the charges to be made are the hasty denial of facts; and the opposition of these facts, so far as admitted, by fallacies and evasions.

Of those who deny facts, simply on the ground that they are impossible, or that they have not witnessed them, there is nothing to be said—they are unreasonable, and not to be met by reason. The most respectable opponents of mesmerism are those who, admitting the facts so far as they have been actually ascertained by competent trial and observation, have considered it as a sufficient argument to silence all further consideration of the subject, to find a name for them, or to refer them to some known natural cause; and then take it for granted that there is nothing further, and assert that the whole matter is undeserving of further notice.

In the reign of Louis XVI. of France, the question was referred to a committee of professional men, who completely put an end to the question for the time, by referring the phenomena to *imitation*. This was explained by the fact of that species of sympathy which is known in numerous cases to take place in the human mind and body. The argument has been since taken up, and received various improvements of the same character—nervous influence has been of some use, and the mere agency of the imagination has been of still more. And, finally, in our own times, it has been thought full sufficient reason against the magnetists to say that the phenomena are no more than disease.

Now, what renders all this deplorably fallacious is, that every one of these objections may be fully admitted; and still leave every question worthy of consideration untouched. Imitation, as an act of the will, to which it may be referred as a cause, is not the kind of imitation intended: involuntary imitation is but an effect to be accounted for, and which can explain nothing. If the phenomena are such as to be properly called imitative, it neither tells nor explains to say that they are the effects of imitation; this is still but the very fact to be explained. If, however, a further step is taken towards the discovery of an efficient cause, and that nervous sympathy, or the influence of imagination be considered as such; the first point would be to trace the indications of these several causes in the actual phenomena; when this is done, it will remain to be proved that anything is gained in the controversy. The same may be said with greater force of the objection, that the phenomena in question are nothing but disease. The answer to all these is, that the phenomena of mesmerism or magnetism, are altogether independent of any theory by which their explanation may be attempted: they may be nervous, or some form of disease; but, if it can be proved that such facts have real existence, there is nothing to justify the charge of imposture maintained by

an explanation, which, if it has any force, proves something different. Our objection to such a course is this, that a presumed imposture is resisted by a gross fallacy. Before we leave this part of the subject we must observe of the methods of solution to which we have here adverted, that many of the alleged facts are such as to exclude altogether both imitation and imagination, and every other known agency. That the same facts are justly referred to certain diseased states of the mind or body, of which they are the known symptoms, presents a different question on which we have some remarks to offer.

Now, supposing the charge of mere imposture abandoned (as we believe it to be), by the most reasonable opponents; and the far more just objection made, that the effects in question are disease—that the practice is dangerous—and, though not imposture in one sense, yet is a most pernicious resource in the hands of quacks and other impostors. This may be very true, and if so cannot be answered. But, in the meantime, it does not justify the course which has been followed with regard to magnetism. It was not, perhaps, so much amiss in the time of Louis XVI., when investigation was limited, and authority despotic, to put down a pernicious practice by any means. But neither conclave, college, nor court, can now exercise the smallest influence to arrest the expansive curiosity and intelligence of the human mind—the tricks of night are too visible in the full daylight of reason. Such ineffectual opposition can only awaken resistance from the multitudes who wonder at magnetism, and the few who respect reason. Let the really rational opponents of magnetic experiments take a more open and philosophic course.

If the practice of magnetism is really pernicious, this is surely the *practical* ground to take against it; but this cannot effectually be taken by those who treat it as a fiction. Surely they who should have the leading voice in such a question, have put themselves inadvertently in a position from which the sooner they extricate themselves the better.

But if the allegations of so many of the most authoritative witnesses are—as we are here taking for granted—really true, there is a wider view of the subject.

If in any one single case out of a thousand trials—for the number of failures is of no real importance—any one of the most remarkable phenomena of mesmerism is actually produced, as a natural phenomenon, it is not less worthy of notice and investigation, than if the trial should succeed in every instance. The small class of facts, thus observed—supposing no defect in the observation—would be the certain indications of some principle, or of some process in human nature, beyond the limit of that circle of cause and effect hitherto ascertained. Such an extension of our knowledge would be rejected by no true philosophy. In such a supposition it is vain and absurd to pretend that all further questions, concerning such facts, must end by referring them to disease, or imagination, or nerves. None of which causes even make a seeming approach towards the explanation of the facts. If, for instance, there is a state of disease in which the patient becomes cognizant of things existing and passing elsewhere, and not otherwise known, it may be catalepsy; but it is evident that the symptom indicates some process beyond the ordinary range of human faculties, as

yet otherwise known. It is at once evident that no mental or physical cause yet distinctly known, named, or classed, in any department of natural phenomena, can account for it. It cannot be sympathy or imagination, or nervous affection, in any sense yet intelligibly contained in these words.

But it may, perhaps, be inexplicable—so is every fact in nature beyond some point—but, it is enough that it is, if truly stated, a fact which extends our knowledge of our intellectual constitution, by proving that it contains capabilities and provisions which are developed in certain states of disorder, more powerful in action and range than any known in health, and wholly *different in kind*. It surely manifests the *existence* of a function, and a capability which extends our knowledge of the human mind. If disease can develop some new sense, the provision is probably designed for some use beyond disease by the great Creator, who can scarcely be presumed to have made so elaborate a provision for the information of a cataleptic patient.

There is an objection which we have heard with concern and surprise. Some good men have expressed their fear, that the miracles of the Scripture history might be attributed to animal magnetism. When we recall the reasonings of the deist, we cannot but admit that such a fallacy would not be too absurd. The first principle of scepticism is the confusion of distinctions; and this, though it would be a most egregious instance, would not be one of the worst. But such an oversight can only, for a moment, be indulged in by those who are in the habit of arguing on the sacred narrative without having taking the trouble to look into it; as the miracles of either the Old or New Testament are not such as to admit of explanation either by magnetism or any other natural means—and must be wholly fable, or wholly supernatural.

As for the cures practised, or supposed to be practised, by Great-rages, and others since his time—we believe that, in part, they may be safely attributed to the influence of the imagination. That they may also, to some extent, be attributable to the same influence as animal magnetism operating in some peculiar way, is not unreasonable to suspect. But, admitting the utmost as to the facts, we see no ground for the inference of any supernatural influence. It is easy to see why such a power, in the possession of an individual, should in certain circumstances be made available for imposture; but we cannot admit that imposture is to be best resisted by the weapons of fraud, or by that more comprehensive class of fallacies which from the beginning of time have retarded all knowledge. Any delusion which extensively affects the public mind must, in these days of opinion, be fairly examined; and when it becomes for any reason worth while to investigate, it ought to be such a fair investigation as alone can bear any decided conclusion. It should never be forgotten, on such occasions, that nothing can be called impossible but that which directly contradicts itself or some known truth.

We have been led into this discussion by a remark, in which we agree, made by one of the writers of Mr Boyle's life, in commenting on the same facts. "It may in the present age, perhaps, be thought that Mr Boyle ought to have laid more emphasis on the power of

imagination over organized matter, and the effects of animal magnetism or enthusiasm, and rejected altogether the notion of supernatural influences."

Greatrakes was himself under the firm, and we believe sincere, persuasion, that his power of healing was a supernatural gift. Some attacked him as an impostor, while others endeavoured to account for his cures, by the theory of a "sanative contagion in the body, which has an antipathy to some particular diseases and not to others." Among other opponents, St Evremond assailed him in a satirical novel. In the main, however, the most respectable physicians and philosophers of the time supported him with testimonies, which we should now find it hard to reject. Among these were Mr Boyle, Bishop Rust, the celebrated Cudworth, Dr Wilkins, Dr Patrick, &c. The writer of a brief, but full memoir of Greatrakes in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, cites a long letter from lord Conway to Sir George Rawdon, in which he gives an account of a cure to which he was an eyewitness. The subject was a leper who had for ten years been considered incurable. He was the son of a person of high respectability, and brought forward by the bishop of Gloucester, which makes fraudulent conclusion improbable—the cure was immediate. The case is, therefore, as strong and as well attested as any such case is likely to be.

The celebrity thus attained by Greatrakes in England was very great. And Charles II. who invited him to London, recommended him very strongly.

There is, however, no record of the latter part of his life. He is traced in Dublin, in 1681, when he was about fifty-three years of age.

WENTWORTH DILLON, EARL OF ROSCOMMON.

BORN A.D. 1633.—DIED A.D. 1684.

THE ancestry of this nobleman has been already noticed among these memoirs. He was son to the third earl of Roscommon, and by his mother, nephew to the illustrious earl of Strafford.

His father had been in the communion of the church of Rome, but was converted by Usher—so that he was educated as a protestant. His early years were wholly past in Ireland, and he first visited England when his uncle, the earl of Strafford, returned thither from his government, and carried him over to his seat in Yorkshire, where he placed him under the care of a Mr Hall, an eminent scholar. It is mentioned that, from this gentleman, he learned Latin without any previous instruction in grammar, of which it was found impossible to make him recollect the rules. The difficulty is, indeed, one of such frequent occurrence, that it is satisfactory to learn that his lordship was distinguished for the ease and purity of his Latin—in which he maintained a considerable correspondence.

The beginning of the civil wars made it unsafe to remain under the protection of the earl of Strafford, and, by the advice of archbishop Usher, he was sent to France. There was a Protestant university in Caen—here he studied for some time under the tuition of Bochart.

Having completed his course of study, he travelled through Italy, where he attained considerable skill in medals, and a perfect mastery of the language. He did not return to England till the restoration—he was favourably received by king Charles II., and made captain of the band of pensioners.

His intercourse with the dissolute court of Charles was productive of a hurtful effect upon his morals, and he abandoned himself for a time to excesses from which not many recover. He injured his estate by gambling, and is said to have fought many duels.

Some questions having arisen about a part of his property, he was compelled to visit Ireland, and resigned his post at court. The duke of Ormonde, soon after his arrival, made him captain of the guards. This post he soon resigned under the following circumstances,—as he was one night returning home from a gaming-house, he was suddenly set upon by three men, who, it is said, were hired for the purpose. He slew one of them, and a gentleman who was passing at the instant came to his assistance and disarmed another, on which the third ran away. The gentleman who thus seasonably had come to his aid, was a disbanded officer of excellent reputation, but in a condition of utter want. The earl, entertaining a strong sense of the important service to which he probably owed his life, determined to resign his own post in his favour, and solicited the duke for his permission. The duke consented, and the gentleman was appointed captain in his place.

He returned to England as soon as the arrangement of his affairs permitted. There he was appointed master of the horse to the duchess of York. He soon after married a daughter of lord Burlington.

From the time of his marriage he gave himself to literature, and became, as the reader is probably aware, one of the distinguished poets of that time. He was associated with all that was gifted and brilliant among the wits and poets of the town and court, and was joined with Dryden in a project for fixing the standard of the English tongue. The growing interruption of those ecclesiastical disturbances which had begun to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and, doubtless, brought serious alarm to a generation which yet retained the memory of the preaching soldiers of Cromwell—damped the ardour of literary projects, and made his lordship doubt the safety of England. He resolved to pass the remainder of his life in Rome, and told his friends, that “it would be best to sit next to the chimney when it smoked.” Dr Johnson has observed that the meaning of the sentence is obscure. We do not think many of our readers will join in this opinion: if any one should, he has but to call to mind the religious opinions of the king and his brother, and the projects which the duke was then well known to entertain for the restoration of the pope’s supremacy in England and Ireland.

The earl’s departure was obstructed by a fit of the gout. In his anxiety to travel, he employed some quack, who drove the disorder into some vital part; and his lordship died in January, 1684. He was interred in Westminster Abbey.

The poetry of the earl of Roscommon is no longer known. He seems, however, to have been the first who conceived any idea of that correct versification, and that precise and neatly turned line which was

brought afterwards to a state of perfection by Pope and his followers. As Johnson has justly said, "He is elegant, but not great; he never labours after exquisite beauties; and he seldom falls into gross faults. His versification is smooth, but rarely vigorous; and his rhymes are remarkably exact. He improved taste, if he did not enlarge knowledge, and may be remembered among the benefactors to English literature." He is also said, by the same great authority, to have been "the only correct writer of verse before Addison;" and cites a couplet from Pope, which pays him the higher tribute of having been the only moral writer in the licentious court of Charles. His great work was a Metrical Essay on Translated Verse. He also translated the *Arte Poetica*, from Horace. His translation of *Dies Iræ* is among the happiest attempts which have been made upon that untranslatable hymn. Many of his lesser productions have been mentioned with applause.

HENRY DODWELL.

BORN A.D. 1642. DIED A.D. 1711.

HENRY DODWELL was born in Dublin in 1642. His father, who had been in the army, possessed some property in Ireland, but having lost it in the rebellion, he brought over his family to England, and settled in York in 1648. Young Dodwell was sent to the York Free School, where he remained five years. In the meantime both his father and mother had died, and he was reduced to great distress from the want of all pecuniary means, till, in 1654, he was taken under the protection of a brother of his mother, at whose expense he was sent, in 1656, to Trinity College, Dublin. There he eventually obtained a fellowship, which, however, he relinquished in 1666, owing to some conscientious scruples against taking holy orders. In 1672, on his return to Ireland, after having resided some years at Oxford, he made his first appearance as an author by a learned preface, with which he introduced to the public a theological tract of the late Dr. Hearn, who had been his college tutor. It was entitled "De obsidatione," and published at Dublin. Dodwell's next publication was a volume entitled "Two Letters of Advice—1. For the supception of Holy Orders; 2. For Studies Theological, especially such as are Rational." It appeared in a second edition in 1681, accompanied with a "Discourse of the Phœnician Theology of Sanconeathon," the fragments of which, found in Porphyry and Eusebius, he contends to be spurious. Meanwhile, in 1674, Dodwell had settled in London, and from this time till his death he led a life of busy authorship. Many of his publications were on the Popish and Nonconformist controversies; they have the reputation of showing, like everything else he wrote, extensive and minute learning, and great skill in the application of his scholarship, but little judgment of a larger kind. Few, if any, of the champions of the Church or

England have showed the pretensions of that Establishment so far as Dodwell seems to have done; but his whole life attests the perfect conscientiousness and disregard of personal consequences under which he wrote and acted. In 1688 he was elected Camden Professor of Theology in the University of Oxford, but he was deprived of his office after he had held it about five years, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. He then retired to the village of Cobham, in Berkshire, and soon after to Shottesbrook, in the same neighbourhood, where he spent the rest of his days. He possessed, it appears, an estate in Ireland, but he allowed a relation to enjoy the principal part of the rent, only receiving such a moderate maintenance for himself as sufficed for his simple and inexpensive habits of life. It is said, however, that his relation at length began to grumble at the subtraction even of this pittance, and on that Dodwell resumed his property and married. He took this step in 1694, in his fifty-third year, and he lived to see himself the father of ten children. The works for which he is now chiefly remembered were also all produced in the latter part of his life.

SIR WILLIAM BROUNKER, VISCOUNT CASTLELYONS.

BORN A.D. 1620.—DIED A.D. 1684.

THIS eminent mathematician should have appeared at a somewhat earlier period of our labours. The particulars of his life, on record, are few. He was born in 1620—of his education we can only ascertain that it was irregular, but that, following the bent of his genius, he applied himself with zeal to mathematical science, and early obtained a high reputation among the most eminent philosophers of his day. On the incorporation of the Royal Society, he was elected *pro tempore*, the first president, and continued, by successive election, to fill this exalted station for fifteen years. During this period he contributed some important papers to the Transactions. To him is due the honour of the first idea of continued fractions. He also first solved some ingenious problems in the Indeterminate Analysis. Among his papers, in the "Transactions," the most remarkable are "Experiments concerning the recoiling of Guns; and a series for the quadrature of the Hyperbola."

He was appointed chancellor to the queen, and keeper of her seal—was one of the commissioners for executing the duties of lord high admiral. In 1681, he obtained the mastership of St Katherine's Hospital, near the Tower. He died at his house, in St James' Street, April 5, 1684, and was buried in a vault which he had built for himself in the choir of the hospital.

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WILLIAM MOLYNEUX.

BORN A.D. 1656—DIED A.D. 1698.

WILLIAM MOLYNEUX was descended from a line distinguished by literary and scientific talent. His grandfather was Ulster king-at-arms, and is mentioned by Sir James Ware with eulogy, as "*veneranda antiquitatis cultor*." He wrote a continuation of Hammer's Chronicle of Ireland, which was not however published entire. His father, Samuel, was Master Gunner of Ireland, and wrote a practical treatise on Projectiles; he held a lucrative office also in the Court of Exchequer, and was much respected by the better classes of society in Dublin.

William was born in Dublin, April 17th, 1656. His health was weak; and, as he grew up, he appeared to have so tender a frame, that it was judged inexpedient to send him to a public school. A private tutor was therefore retained, and he was educated at his father's house till his 15th year, when he entered the university of Dublin, under the tuition of Mr Palliser, then a fellow, and afterwards Archbishop of Cashel. In the university, he obtained all the distinction then to be acquired by proficiency in the branches of learning then taught; and, having taken his Bachelor's degree, he proceeded to London, where he entered his name in the Middle Temple in 1675. At the Temple he continued for three years in the diligent study of the law. He did not, however, neglect his academic acquirements; and the mathematical and physical sciences, which were at that time beginning to advance, and had received a mighty impulse from the discoveries of the day, and the labours of several members of the Royal Society, among whom Newton, then in the commencement of his illustrious career, so won upon his philosophical and inquiring temper, that he was led to abandon his first selection of a profession, which, however attractive to the intellectual taste, is yet unfavourable to scientific pursuit. With this view, he returned to live in his native city in 1678, and soon after married Miss Lucy Domville, daughter of Sir William Domville, the attorney-general for Ireland. He quickly entered upon a course of scientific inquiry; and, feeling the strong attraction of astronomy, in which the most important branches yet remained as questions to exercise the ingenuity and anxious research of the ablest heads in Europe, he devoted himself for a time to this attractive science with the whole ardour of his mind. On this subject, in 1681, he commenced a correspondence with Flamsted, which was kept up for many years.

In 1683, he exerted himself for the establishment in Dublin of a Philosophical Society, on the plan of the Royal Society, of which he had witnessed the admirable effects in London. This society had been created in 1645, by the influence and efforts of Wren, Wallis, and other

eminent men, and afterwards became a centre to the efforts of experimental inquiry, to which the genius of Galileo had given an impulse, and Bacon a direction; and which was in this period so largely advanced by our countryman Boyle, under whose name we shall have to detail at length the history of this institution, and of those branches of human knowledge, to the cultivation of which it was mainly instrumental. To establish such an institution in Dublin, was to advance indeed a wide step upon the obscure domains of intellectual night; nor, since the foundation of the university of Dublin, had there been attempted a project which, if duly encouraged, would have been so widely beneficial to Ireland. Such was the enlightened and patriotic design of Molyneux, who was zealously joined by Sir William Petty and other eminent persons. Sir William Petty accepted the office of president, and Molyneux himself that of secretary. This institution, which in Dublin may, perhaps, at that period, be considered as premature, was not, in the strong collision of party, and the absorption of political passion, likely to be allowed a very distinguished or enduring existence; yet it became, like all such laudable efforts, the parent of others. It was productive of less doubtful benefit to the fortune of Molyneux, whose reputation it largely extended, and thus became the means of his introduction to that great man, the patron of every person or institution likely to promote the good of his country—James the first duke of Ormonde. By this illustrious nobleman, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Molyneux was, with Sir William Robinson, appointed surveyor of the king's buildings and works, and chief engineer.

In 1685, he had the honour of being elected a fellow of the Royal Society, to the transactions of which he became largely a contributor: many papers of his are to be found in the several volumes from the fourteenth to the twenty-ninth. The same year he also obtained an appointment to survey the fortresses on the Flemish coast, with a view to perfect his knowledge of the art of engineering. He took occasion to extend his travels through Holland and Germany; and, as he carried letters from his friend Flamsted to Cassini and other distinguished professors, he had the happiness to meet and converse with the most distinguished astronomers in Europe.

From these incidents, it may be imagined that his earliest productions were likely to be decided by the prevailing taste of his mind and character of his studies. On his return to Dublin, in 1686, he published an account of a telescope dial invented by himself. This account was republished in London in 1700.

On the publication of Newton's "Principia," in the following year, Molyneux received the sheets as they were printed, from Halley. He expressed his admiration and astonishment at that wonderful production of intellectual power, till then perhaps unequalled in the progress of human knowledge. He at the same time confessed the difficulty which, in common with many eminent mathematicians of that period, he found in the perfect understanding of its contents.

The calm pursuits of philosophy were not likely to continue long in the turbulent atmosphere of an Irish metropolis. The storms of civil dissension, never long dormant, in 1688 began with fresh fury to dis-

turb the unquiet population, and agitate the timid and peaceful with well-grounded terrors. The desolating series of events which we have related under the head of Tyrconnel, set fully in, and continued until terminated by a reaction still more deadly and fearful. The Philosophical Society was thus dispersed, and its members mostly compelled to escape from the fiery and terrible persecution which raged against the protestants. Molyneux removed to Chester, where he occupied himself in the composition of a work on Dioptrics, for which he had been for some time collecting facts, and perhaps making experiments. We have not seen this work, but think it most probably rather an attempt to embody, in a systematic form, the knowledge then existing, than containing any addition of his own. Mathematical historians at least make no mention of the labours of Mr Molyneux. The mention of such works may therefore be regarded merely as indications of the habits and intellectual character of the author. The skill and knowledge, however, thus exerted, must then have been very considerable, and the publication of such a work must have been thought important, as Flamsted gave his assistance in the arrangement of the matter, and Halley revised the proofs, and, at the author's request, inserted a well-known theorem of his own.*

During this residence at Chester, he had the affliction of losing his wife, who died there, leaving him one son. After the Revolution of 1689, he returned to Dublin, and was soon after elected member of parliament for Dublin. In 1695, he was again elected for the university, where he received the degree of Doctor of Laws. He continued to represent the same distinguished constituency, the first perhaps existing in any representative government, during the rest of his life; a fact which might alone entitle him to the reputation of worth, ability, and learning.

He was soon after nominated by the lord-lieutenant as one of the commissioners for forfeited estates, with a salary of £500 a-year. But the task was neither suited to his tastes nor feelings: he was indifferent about money, and quickly resigned a laborious and highly invidious and unpopular office.

But the event of his life which has conferred an historical interest upon his name, and which forms our reason for bringing him forward at this period of our writing, was the publication of his pamphlet, published in 1698, and entitled, "The Case of Ireland, being bound by acts of parliament in England, stated."† This essay was occasioned by a discussion then in progress in the English parliament, to prohibit the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures. It derives much historical importance from the consideration, that it was the beginning of a struggle for the independence of the Irish legislature, renewed at several periods, and leading eventually to interesting consequences.

The argument of Molyneux contains no main point on which we have

* Dr Halley invented a general algebraical theorem, to find the foci of optic glasses; but we believe the theorem adverted to here, is a geometrical construction for finding the foci of rays diverging from, or converging to, a given point in the axis of a spherical lens, under certain conditions.

† Title of the edition published in 1773.

not already had to express some opinion. With the inference of Mr Molyneux we concur; but we take this occasion to express, and this argument to illustrate our strong dislike to the mischievous fallacy of that sort of political metaphysics to which he thinks it necessary to resort, for the proof of a plain matter of fact. We freely admit, that there are certain abstract principles involved in the history and general facts of the social state, to investigate which would demand the genius of a philosopher, and to apply them truly, the sagacity of a statesman. But it is to the inverse method of *a priori* reasoning, which begins by assumptions of states of society which never had existence, and first principles, which though they *may be true* in fact, are, *as assumptions*, quite gratuitous, that we must object as the fertile resources of the political sophist on every side of every question that can be raised. In the perfection of the Eternal Mind, we freely grant there may be certain immutable first principles, independent of the constitution of things, from which, if once known, all truth might be inferentially evolved; but we deny the competence of the authority by which a large class of writers have affirmed such principles, moral or social, independently of positive laws. Human rights are never, *in fact*, established in such assumptions, having in every real instance, a twofold basis fully adequate to their support; those positive laws and defined principles of right clearly promulgated in the express law of God, together with that expediency which has essentially governed social institutions: when we hear of original "rights," not derived from these, we ask for the charter. But to proceed to our author: the intent and principal heads of this argument may be best stated in his own words. They are as follows:—

"First, How Ireland became a kingdom *annexed* to the crown of England. And here we shall at large give a faithful narrative of the first expedition of the Britons into this country, and king Henry II.'s arrival here, such as our best historians give us.

"Secondly, We shall inquire, whether this expedition, and the English settlement that afterwards followed thereon, can properly be called a *conquest*? or whether any victories obtained by the English in any succeeding ages in this kingdom, upon any rebellion, may be called a *conquest* thereof?

"Thirdly, Granting that it were a *conquest*, we shall inquire what *title* a conquest gives.

"Fourthly, We shall inquire what *concessions* have been from time to time made to Ireland, to take off what even the most rigorous asserters of a conqueror's title do pretend to. And herein we shall show by what degrees the English form of government, and the English statute-laws, came to be received among us; and this shall appear to be wholly by the *consent* of the people and Parliament of Ireland.

"Fifthly, We shall inquire into the precedents and opinions of the learned in the laws relating to this matter, with observations thereon.

"Sixthly, We shall consider the reasons and arguments that may be farther offered on one side and t'other; and we shall draw some general conclusions from the whole."

Before making any comment on the conduct of this argument by Molyneux, it is necessary to prevent any mistake respecting our de-

sign by anticipating an ulterior step, so far as to say, that in our simple judgment, the first point—"how Ireland became a kingdom annexed to the crown of England"—is, for the present view, of no importance whatever. In the interpretation of a verbal document, it may be most essentially necessary to discover the intent by such a reference to causes and previous acts: but we do not think that the method by which any political power has been primitively derived, can affect any question as to its extent, beyond the first *consequent settlement which defines and converts that power into a civil system of government*, to which all subsequent questions of right and authority must be referred. Until this takes place, the law of *force* prevails—a law which involves no other;—so long as *mere conquest* is the power, unwilling subjection to control is implied, and resistance a right. It is a question of strength, and admits of the natural balance of action and reaction; but so soon as a settled order of civil government is fixed with the consent of the conquered, (for without consent, they cannot refer to the settlement for rights,) the rights and wrongs of conquests are from that moment at an end. We shall quickly revert to this point. But thus far we consider a necessary preface to the affirmation, that we consider the argument altogether fallacious, by which Molyneux attempts to prove the point that Ireland was not conquered.

Ireland became first subject to England, by that species of armed occupation by which other nations have, in different periods of time, changed their population and government. This occupation was attended by all the ordinary circumstances of such invasions; but limited by the facts, that—1st, The political situation of Henry II. compelled him to proceed for a time by simply giving license to the military spirit of his barons: 2d, By the *cession* of the native chiefs, which necessarily terminated the progress of hostilities. These conditions, *so far as they go*, are conquest to all intents; that part of the author's definition which affirms that there must be resistance, is an unwarranted *assumption*. The question then becomes, first, how far the combined circumstances of force and cession went at *the same time*? Beyond this point—that is, if any still held out by force—the question would arise, by what means or under what conditions they yielded?

Mr Molyneux states, and we see no reason to dissent from his statement—"I doubt not but the barbarous people of Ireland at that time were struck with fear and terror of king Henry's powerful force which he brought with him; but still their easy and voluntary submissions *exempt them from the consequences of a hostile conquest, whatever they are: where there is no opposition, such a conquest can take no place.*"

Now, in this paragraph, we must contend the entire essential part of conquest by force, is actually admitted; but of the words in italic character, part is nugatory and part absurd. It involves the absurd supposition, that a conquering expedition is like a cricket-match or a boat-race, for the mere trial of strength, and without any design of subjection or occupation. By yielding in time, bloodshed is averted; but before any further consequence is said to be prevented, it may be asked, in such case, what *can be said to be yielded*, and what is meant by "voluntary submission?" Surely nothing at all, if not that which the invader demands or is content to take. And this, whatever it

is, has been yielded to superior force. It is the submission of fear or conscious weakness, and can have no other source; for right is out of the question, until it has been established either by force or consent. We cannot see what additional right, bloodshed, and the slaughter and spoliation so often an attendant circumstance of conquest, would have given.

In his discussion of this case, Molyneux refers to that of England; it was (as he aimed it) an ingenious application of the *argumentum ad hominem*. "I believe," he says, "the people of England would take it very ill to be thought a conquered nation, in the sense that some impose it on Ireland; and yet we find the same argument in the one case as in the other, if the argument from the king's style of *conquestor* prevail." Considering the strong intellect of Molyneux, the comparison seems more like a jest than an argument. Unhappily for the argument, it must be admitted that England was conquered by William. Whether the manner or the immediate consequences be regarded, it is impossible for a conquest to be more complete. The country was invaded by a large force, and was taken possession of by the invader; the native government was set aside, the natives subjected, and the lands seized. The submission of the Saxons was allowed, for obvious reasons, to take the appearance of a voluntary submission; but the contrary was understood on both sides. The battle of Hastings was the conquest of England.

Turning from this nugatory question to the third and essential step of Molyneux, viz.:—"what title a conquest gives," it offers no difficulty. We have no objection to his conclusion, although we think it complicated with some considerations not of much importance to the argument;—as, for instance, the justice or injustice of the conquest, which we must observe in passing, cannot have any practical effect on the result, or be afterwards taken into account in any scale of right below that which weighs the strength of nations in the field of battle. Supposing a conquest to be made and completely terminated by the *formal* (for no more is essential to the argument) submission of the governing authorities and chief inhabitants, who have any power to resist, the practical question is then, what title is thus conveyed to the conqueror; and how this title is bounded by other considerations of right?

The title is nothing more or less than occupation by force. It would be a waste of time and space to inquire by what law or what jurisdiction such an occupation can be strictly declared illegal. It may, in the first act, according to certain general principles of equity, derived from the positive laws of God and man, be unjust, barbarous, and cruel, but these rules have no *direct* application, beyond the first acquisition; and the only jurisdiction which has any competency on the subject, is the opinion of civilized nations, which have, in our own civilized times, admitted certain conventional rules of conduct, which constitute the actual law of nations, and are, nevertheless, broken whenever it is found expedient. This is indeed, to be deprecated and deplored; but we must not be misled, even by our sense of right. Such laws of opinion had no existence in that primitive time, when, among other barbarous characteristics, the law of force was the law of right all over the world.

To constitute a LAW, there must be a sanction and a tribunal. But we waste our words; the right of all conquest is consent implied, the submission of the conquered. This rule is more for their benefit and protection than for the advantage of the conqueror; for without this saving condition, conquest would be compelled to proceed to extermination. Affirming, on these grounds, the full title of the conqueror, we may quote Molyneux for the point.

"First.—'Tis plain he gets by his conquest no power over those who *conquered with him*; they that fought on his side, whether as private soldiers or commanders, cannot suffer by the conquest, but must, at least, be as much freemen as they were before. If any lost their freedom by the Norman conquest, (supposing king William I. had right to invade England,) it was only the Saxons and Britons, and not the Normans, that conquered with him. In like manner, supposing Henry II. had a right to invade this island, and that he had been opposed therein by the inhabitants, it was only the *ancient race* of the Irish that could suffer by this subjugation; the English and Britons that came over and conquered with him, retained all the freedoms and immunities of *free-born* subjects; they nor their descendants could not in reason lose these for being successful and victorious; for so the state of both conquerors and conquered shall be equally slavish. Now, 'tis manifest that the great body of the present people of Ireland are the progeny of English and Britons, that from time to time have come over into this kingdom, and there remains but a mere handful of the ancient Irish at this day;—I may say not one in a thousand; so that if I, or any body else, claim the like freedoms with the natural born subjects of England, as being descended from them, it will be impossible to prove the contrary. I conclude, therefore, that a *just conqueror* gets no power, but only over those who have *actually assisted* in that *unjust* force that is used against him.

"And as those that joined with the conqueror in a just invasion, have lost no right by the conquest, so neither have those of the country who *opposed him not*. This seems so reasonable at first proposal, that it wants little proof. All that gives title in a *just* conquest, is the opposers using *brutal force*, and quitting the law of reason, and using the law of violence, whereby the conqueror is entitled to use him as a *beast*; that is, kill and enslave him." The argument of this paragraph is, in our view, wholly inconsequent.

"Secondly.—Let us consider what that power is which a *rightful conqueror* has over the subdued opposers, and this, we shall find, extends *little farther* than over their lives; for how far it extends to their estates, and that it extends not at all to deprive their *posterity* of the *freedoms* and *immunities* to which all mankind have a *right*, I shall show presently. That the *just conqueror* has an absolute power over the *lives* and *liberties* of the conquered, appears from hence,—because the conquered, by putting themselves in a *state of war*, by using an unjust force, have thereby *forfeited their lives*. For, quitting reason, (which is the rule between man and man,) and using force, (which is the way of beasts,) they become liable to be destroyed by him against whom they use *force*, as any savage wild beast that is dangerous to his being.

"And this is the case of rebels in a settled commonwealth, who forfeit their lives on this account; but as to forfeiting their estates, it depends on the municipal laws of the kingdom. But we are now inquiring what the consequents will be between two contesting nations."

To the facts and main reasonings of this extract there seems little to be objected; but it turns, in some measure, on a principle which is too vague and elementary for the question really in his view, and is encumbered with consequences of a more doubtful kind, which his actual intent did not require. The question can be put to a shorter issue.

The right of conquest being *merely* the right of force, is determined by the immediate settlement which is consequently established, and carries with it the implication of consent. The conqueror, who must always be supposed to carry his conquest to the full extent that his purpose requires, takes life and property, and institutes some kind of government. All this is by the *right of war* as then understood: he imposes subjection, and receives the pledge of allegiance. To this point, power alone is his title, and the equity of his own breast, or his respect for opinion, his rule. From this point, the character of a conqueror, with all its rights, absolutely cease; his title is the settlement; his power the constitution of government, settled and received. The only question about his power is, what is the law? not how he obtained it.

We grant that such a question may at any time be raised by a nation; but it never can be decided, unless on the original terms: it is a question for arms alone to decide. Thus, though we arrive at the same conclusion with our author, we must object to some of his assumptions, which vitiate an important argument. Perhaps the reader may consider it trifling to quarrel with an argument in the intent of which we concur; but the manner of reasoning is not so indifferent: there is danger in the admission of a fallacy, which seems to open questions that have no existence in fact. It is neither just nor safe to say, that any question of right, in after times, can depend on an event of six centuries back. Such a mode of inquiry goes to the origin of rights, and necessarily arrives at some source of violence or usurpation. It is a mistake in principle, and, when carried far enough, is opposed to all rights whatever. And this it is which makes prescription the very foundation of human rights.

Nor does Molyneux stop until he allows his argument to carry him beyond the limits of discretion as well as reason. But we will not further detain the reader with disquisitions upon slight misapplications of principle, which no discriminating reader can fail to detect. Mr Molyneux having admitted the practice of the world to be different from his theory, next concedes the point for argument, and with more justice and force of reasoning, takes the ground already stated, of "concessions granted by" the conqueror.

From this he proceeds to an inquiry, for the purpose of showing "what concessions and grants have been made from time to time to the people of Ireland, and by what steps the laws of England came to be introduced into this kingdom." The steps of his argument from this become disentangled from the fallacies of his philosophy, and he

states perspicuously and fairly, the several authoritative declarations, or grants and concessions, by which the kings of England, commencing with Henry II., established and authorized the parliaments in Ireland. These have been sufficiently detailed in the course of these memoirs, and demand no present comment. Mr Molyneux pursues his argument to show the uniform independence of Ireland as a distinct and separate kingdom, upon authorities which we consider to be fully sufficient for such an inference, but familiar to the reader. He proves the fact up to the demise of Richard I., when the kingdom was absolutely vested in prince John, who then succeeding to the English crown, the question arises, whether England could have then, or from that period, obtained any dominion over Ireland? As it is evident that there can be no ground in theory why one of the two islands should obtain such authority rather than the other, it remained to inquire whether there existed any ground in fact, or in the nature of positive institution. To set this in a very strong point of view, Mr Molyneux cites various charters and declarations of right, in which it is quite apparent, that at the several times of their execution or declaration, Ireland was separate by the admission of the English government. Some apparent exceptions occur, of which he easily disposes, and which hardly amount to fair ground for exception. The language of the English parliament occasionally seems to imply a jurisdiction, or a power to bind Ireland; but the cases are either proofs of a disposition to usurp that right at the several times of their occurrence, or are to be construed as simply declaratory of the sense of enactments which had become law in Ireland by the adoption of the Irish legislature: something, too, we imagine, should be allowed for pure inadvertence. From a variety of instances, he makes it manifest, that such laws as were passed in England with the design of comprising both kingdoms, were uniformly transmitted to Ireland, to be passed into law by the Irish parliament; and indeed the history of Poyning's law, with the various controversies of which it was to the latest times the subject, make that question clear enough. It would, with such a cumbrous system of legislative machinery as is evidenced by the entire parliamentary history of this island, be inconsistent and gratuitous to assume a superfluous, inoperative, and occasional capacity of legislation in the English Parliament. The three express cases, which had been commonly cited by lawyers to maintain the adverse view, are clearly replied to by Mr Molyneux;* but there is a class of cases to which he adverts, which we shall more particularly point out, as curious for the evidence they give of the absence of any very precise or systematic principle in the ancient boundaries and limitations of the several jurisdictions and authorities under discussion. "There have," says Molyneux, "been other statutes or ordinances made in England for Ireland, which may reasonably be of force here,

* These cases, as cited by Molyneux, are:—1. Statutum Hiberniæ, 14 Hen. III. 2. Ordinatio pro statu Hiberniæ, 17 Ed. I. 3. The Act that all staple commodities passing out of England or Ireland shall be carried to Calais as long as the staple is at Calais, 2 Hen. VI. c. 4.

because they were made and assented to by our own representatives. Thus we find in the white-book of the Exchequer in Dublin, in the 9th year of Edward I., a writ sent to his chancellor of Ireland, wherein he mentions: '*Quædam statuta per nos de assensu prelatorum comitum baronum et communitatis regni nostræ Hiberniæ, nuper apud Lincoln et quædam alia statuta postmodum apud Eboracum facta.*' These, it may be supposed, were either statutes made at the request of the states of Ireland, to explain to them the common law of England, or, if they were introductive of *new laws*; yet they might well be of force in Ireland, being enacted by the assent of our own representatives, the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of Ireland; and, indeed, these are instances so far from making against our claim, that I think nothing can be more plainly for us; for it manifestly shows that the king and Parliament of England would not enact laws to bind Ireland without the concurrence of the representatives of this kingdom."

"Formerly," he continues, "when Ireland was but thinly peopled, and the English laws not fully current in all parts of the kingdom, 'tis probable that then they could not frequently assemble with convenience or safety to make laws in their own parliament at home; and, therefore, during the heats of rebellions, or confusion of the times, they were forced to enact laws in England. But then this was always by proper representatives; for we find that, in the reign of Edward III., (and by what foregoes, 'tis plain that 'twas so in Edward I.'s time,) knights of the shires, citizens, and burgesses, were elected in the shires, cities, and burroughs of Ireland, to serve in Parliament in England, and have so served accordingly. For amongst the records of the Tower of London, Rot. 1, clause 50, Edw. III. par. 2, mem. 23, we find a writ from the king at Westminster, directed to James Butler, lord-justice of Ireland, and to R. archbishop of Dublin, his chancellor, requiring them to issue writs under the great seal of Ireland, to the several counties, cities, and burroughs, for satisfying the expenses of the men of that land who came over to serve in parliament in England. And in another roll, the 50th of Edw. III., mem. 19, on complaint to the king by John Draper, who was chosen burges of Cork, by writ, and served in the Parliament of England, and yet was denied his expenses by some of the citizens; care was taken to reimburse him.

"If, from these last-mentioned records, it be concluded that the parliament of England may bind Ireland, it must also be allowed that the people of Ireland ought to have their representatives in the parliament of England; and this, I believe, we should be willing enough to embrace; but this is a happiness we can hardly hope for."

Having thus disposed of the ancient precedents, Mr Molyneux observes of the more recent, "that they involve the very question under discussion, being the very grievances complained of as unwarranted innovation." He nevertheless proceeds to inquire into their history and force as precedents.

Having, in the previous argument, established the conclusion, that before 1641 there was "no statute made in England, introductory of

a new law, that interfered with the right which the people of Ireland have to make laws for themselves," he admits that in 1641, and after, some laws were "made in England to be of force in Ireland."

Of these he shows in some detail, that they were liable in most instances to some qualifying consideration, by means of which the precedent would be destroyed. They were repealed by the Irish Parliament, which, in such case, would show that they did not bind the Irish legislature, or they were made in times of such flagrant confusion and disorganization of Ireland, as to be justified by the *necessity* of the times; a point which involves a primary principle, which Molyneux does not appear to have contemplated;* or they were virtually English laws which had a secondary effect on Irish trade with or through England, but further had no force in Ireland. The Acts of Charles II., namely, the Navigation Act, and two prohibiting the exportation of Irish wool, he admits to be exceptions to his argument, but denies that they are rightful enactments.

Mr Molyneux next and last arrives at his own time. In the remainder of the discussion, there is little on which we have not had occasion to dilate.

Mr Molyneux cites several instances of acts in the reign of William III., of the English parliament comprehending Ireland in their provisions, and which met with unquestioning obedience. On the question, how far such instances might be regarded as precedent, involving a right, he meets the several cases with arguments mostly the same as those already adverted to in the more ancient instances. Either the necessity arising from the state of the kingdom, or the implied consent of Irish representations, or the consent, *sub silentio*, of the Irish legislature, to laws enacted seasonably in England for the evident benefit of Ireland. On these cases we may also repeat our observation, that in a state of the kingdom uniformly marked by the want of systematic precision in the definition of its legislative and executive departments, and of which the civil organization was so incomplete and immature, precedents must be viewed as of little or no authority. The authority of precedent involves the principle of a certain system of laws and authorities, of which they are assumed to be the true result in certain contingencies: without this a precedent is itself no better than an accident. The whole history of Ireland is, from the very beginning to the date of this memoir, a succession of irregular processes and workings. There was, properly speaking, no theory: the question always should have been simply, what was the existing law—what were the rights of the kingdom by concession, treaty, or authoritative declaration of an acknowledged power in the state? On this general principle, we agree with Mr Molyneux, that such cases do not in any way involve a right; and the more so, as a great and overwhelming preponderance of cases can be brought to confirm the ordinary recognition of an opposite right. So far as there was

* The political necessity thus admitted, appears to reopen the entire question, and place it on other grounds; such, indeed, as to make the entire of the preceding argument a mere exercise in special pleading. Such a necessity might be established from the conquest to the union.

a constitutional system, it excluded the right of the English parliament to legislate for Ireland.

The same conclusion may be made with regard to any inferences from certain analogous questions, which he entertains, so far as they can be admitted to have any bearing on the question. It is inferred by Molyneux, that Coke's opinion that an English act of parliament should be held binding in Ireland, was derived from his notion of the subordination of the king's bench in Ireland, to that in England; and this subordination seemed to be apparent, from the fact of a writ of error lying from the former to the latter. The practice is admitted, and its origin inquired into by Molyneux. He first notices the opinion of many Irish lawyers of his time, that these writs originated in an express act of the Irish parliament, "lost amongst a great many other acts which we want, for the space of 130 years at one time, and of 120 at another time;" to which he adds, "but it being only a general tradition, that there was such an act of our parliament, we only offer it as a surmise, the statute itself does not appear." Secondly, "When," says Mr Molyneux, "a judgment in Ireland is removed, to be reversed in England, the judges in England ought, and always do, judge according to the laws and customs of Ireland, and not according to the laws and customs of England, any otherwise than they may be of force in Ireland." Now, this is surely in itself conclusive; because it contains a direct exclusion of the right of the English parliament. The fact of a judgment being reversed, on the ground of English law, as such, would, it must be admitted, be a direct affirmation of the binding power of the English legislature. This important rule Molyneux confirms, by proper citations of cases, and concludes that the "jurisdiction of the king's bench in England, over a judgment of the king's bench in Ireland, does not proceed from any subordination of one kingdom to the other, but from some other reason." This reason he conjectures, and his conjecture is curious and interesting.

The want of skill in the interpretation of English laws, which had been largely adopted in Ireland, rendered the assistance of the English judges necessary from time to time, and "occasional messages to England, before judgment given in Ireland, to be performed of the law." The effect of such a custom would be obviously to lead the still more anxious reference of the litigants to the same source of authority, as well as afford a strong and warrantable ground to the losing party to question the soundness of the decision of an Irish judge. Accordingly, Mr Molyneux goes on to state that, "after decrees made, persons who thought themselves aggrieved by erroneous judgments applied themselves to the king of England for redress." And "thus," says Molyneux, "it must be, that writs of error (unless they had their sanction in parliament) became in use." The process is at least natural, and more likely than any other depending on conjecture. The objection to this, drawn from the previous conclusion, that the judgment was finally according to Irish, and not English law, is nugatory, for it admits the point in question; but it is enough to recollect that the common law of England was, with slight exceptions and modifications, law in Ireland, by various charters of ancient kings, as well as enactments of the Irish parlia-

ments. On this question Mr Molyneux also draws an argument, from the fact that in writs of error suit is made to the *king only*. We need not dilate on so obvious a point.

We may observe here, that in this inference from writs of error, two distinct arguments are involved;—first, the analogy whereby the subordination of the parliament is inferred from that of the court. This is clearly replied to by the affirmation that the appeal lies to the king. The other is, that the authority of the English court must needs involve that of the enactments of the English legislature, and is met by the reply, that the judgment was still according to Irish law, while the practice is accounted for by the fact, that numerous English laws had been at several times made law in Ireland, with the consent, or by the will of the Irish legislature.

Mr Molyneux concludes his argument by replying to several miscellaneous objections: into these it is unnecessary to proceed. Some of them are but repetitions of points already noticed; some are frivolous; some merely resting on, and resisted by, the absurdities of old political theories, as to the rights of nations or of mankind. We shall merely enumerate them here.—England's title, on the consideration of money spent in the reduction of the country; the right of England to bind by force any country which may injure its trade; the fact that Ireland is a colony from England. Such are the remaining objections; which contain no force, and admit, therefore, little reply. We shall only remark, that Mr Molyneux finally opposes to the doctrine of legislative dependence, the strict provisions of Poyning's act, which would be a "needless caution, if the king and parliament of England had power at any time to revoke or annul such proceedings."

In 1782, this subject was renewed in a spirited debate in the Irish house of commons—a debate in which Grattan, Flood, Langrishe, and other eminent Irishmen, whose names are yet on the tongues of living men, bore a remarkable part. We shall have, therefore, to look again on the subject, and, as well as we can, recall the circumstances in a more interesting aspect. Mr Molyneux was actuated by a pure sentiment of patriotism, and we believe his true feelings on the occasion are justly expressed in his preface, in which he tells the reader "how unconcerned I am in any of those particular inducements, which might seem at this juncture to have occasioned the following discourse." "I have not any concern in wool or the wool trade. I am no ways interested in the forfeitures or grants. I am not at all solicitous whether the bishop or the society of Derry recover the land they contest about."

The pamphlet excited a vast sensation on its appearance. The English house of commons was infuriated by an argument which seemed to be an attack on their authority, and in their inconsiderate heat passed a resolution, "that the book published by Mr Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland had, and ought to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of England." They presented an address to king William, who felt himself compelled to give

way to the impulse of the moment, and promise to enforce the laws which bound the Irish parliament. But the animosity of their excitement is more clearly indicated by the fact, that they ordered the offending pamphlet to be burned by the hangman.

That such proceedings were not altogether a surprise to the author, may be collected from a paragraph in his first preface, in which he writes, "I have heard it said, that perhaps I might run some hazard in attempting the argument; but I am not at all apprehensive of any such danger. We are in a miserable condition, indeed, if we may not be allowed to complain when we think we are hurt," &c.

The pamphlet received several replies, and was generally received with a strong sensation of favour or hostility by the Irish public. It was at the time not quite unseasonable. The violent effects of a long and destructive revolution had left a collapse upon the public mind, which in Ireland has often been the effect of over excitement, so that the calm was as likely to prove fatal as the storm. Insubordination is the precursor and parent of servility; and the sentiments of terror, and vindictive memory of suffering and wrongs, too naturally subside into the disposition to find safety and revenge in oppression.

There was a strong friendship between Molyneux and Locke, in whose essay on the human understanding his name has the honour to be mentioned as "that very ingenious and studious promoter of real knowledge," in a manner which shows the high and intimate correspondence on questions then of the utmost literary interest, which existed between him and that great and truly illustrious philosopher. The problem there mentioned as coming from Molyneux, is necessarily trite to every academical reader; but as our circle comprehends a larger compass, we shall extract it here, as giving a higher notion of intellectual power than can be conveyed on any political topic. The design of Mr Locke is to explain and illustrate his proposition, that the ideas of sensation are often changed by the judgment; or, in other words, that a large class of ideas, which are supposed to be pure sensations, are by habit compounded from our knowledge of the reality of things, and our sensations. The following is the illustration:—"Suppose a man born blind, and now adult, and taught by his touch to distinguish between a cube and a sphere of the same metal, and nighly of the same bigness, so as to tell when he felt the one and the other, which is the cube and which is the sphere. Suppose, then, the cube and sphere placed on a table, and the blind man to be made to see. Query, whether by his sight before he touched them, he could now distinguish and tell which is the globe, which the cube?" To which the acute and judicious proposer answers,—“Not; for though he has obtained the experience of how a globe, how a cube affects his touch, yet he has not yet attained the experience, that that which affects his touch so or so, must affect his sight so or so; or that a protuberant angle in the cube that pressed his hand unequally, shall appear to his eye as it does in the cube.” “I agree,” continues Locke, “with this thinking gentleman, whom I am proud to call my friend, in his answer to this, his problem.”* This problem involves the entire

* Locke's Essay, b. 11, c. 9, § 8.

theory of the chapter in which it occurs, and if there had been no previous communication on the subject, indicates an uncommon range of accurate thought. There appears to have indeed been a remarkable similarity of intellectual constitution between Molyneux and his illustrious friend. A fact, less to the honour of both, displays a striking coincidence. Speaking of Blackmore's poetry, in a letter to Locke, Molyneux writes, "All our English poets, except Milton, have been ballad-makers to him." To which Locke replies, "I find, with pleasure, a strange harmony throughout, between your thoughts and mine."

As was then usual in the world of letters, this correspondence originated and continued long without any meeting having taken place. On the occasion of his celebrated pamphlet, Molyneux expressed a great anxiety to meet and consult with Locke. He crossed over to England in the year 1698, and remained some months, when he had the happiness of becoming personally intimate with his honoured correspondent. On his departure, another meeting was concerted for the following spring. But his health was frail, and his constitution broken by one of the most terrible diseases to which the human frame is liable. Soon after his return, a fit of the stone led to the eruption of a blood-vessel, of which he died in two days, October 11th, 1698. His interment took place in St Andrew's church, where there is a monument and Latin inscription.

SIR RICHARD COX.

BORN A. D. 1650—DIED A. D. 1733.

SIR Richard Cox is one of the few eminent persons belonging to the period before us, whose rise in the state was independent of the fortune of wars and revolutions, or the accidents of birth. He was a man whose high moral and intellectual endowments, would in any age, under circumstances not peculiarly unfavourable, have attained the highest civil distinctions. He was born in Bandon, in the year 1650. His father was a captain of horse, and died while his son was yet but three years old; he was, in consequence, transferred to the care of his maternal grandfather. This gentleman having also died in a few years, the charge appears to have devolved to his son, Mr. John Bird, of Clonakilty. By his care, young Cox received the first rudiments of education, at a grammar-school in Clonakilty. His taste for the practice of the law was developed, perhaps, by the accident of his uncle holding the office of Seneschal in the manorial courts, under the appointment of one of the Boyle family. In this obscure court, young Cox began to practise as an attorney, in his eighteenth year; and, as a matter of course, his practice soon extended to the other court of session held by the civil authorities of that old borough, from which, until the Union, the earls of Shannon returned two members to parliament. The practice of these minor courts was (and is) such as to demand no very extended acquaintance with the law, and in the narrow range of cases which fell under their jurisdiction, a considerable discretion was assumed or vested in the officers. In these courts the line

of demarcation between the practice of the attorney and the advocate was but indistinct; and here, in the advocacy of such petty cases as demanded little more than a shrewd common sense, and a ready tongue, and the knowledge of the rules and equities of the petty dealings of a little obscure seaport, the forensic propensities of this eminent lawyer were developed and confirmed; though, we may presume, little instructed.

Such a range could not long continue to confine the ambition of a mind so alert and industrious. Finding his means sufficient, Cox entered his name, in 1661, as a law student, in Gray's Inn. Here his superior intelligence soon raised him into notice; and having completed his terms, and the course of legal attainment then considered necessary, he returned to his native country, and soon after contracted a marriage with a lady, who had, or was reputed to have, rights to a large property. For a young legal aspirant, a lawsuit seems to have been no inappropriate fortune; but he was destined to be less fortunate as a suitor than as a servant of the law, and failed in making good the claims of his wife. The circumstance appears to have given for some years an unfavourable turn to his views in life: his spirits may have been depressed by feeling himself hopelessly involved in a poor connexion, at a period of life which most demands the exertion of free and unencumbered powers. It is still more likely that his funds were exhausted, and that residence in town was become no longer practicable. He returned to Clonakilty, where he took a farm, and sunk gradually into that kind of indolence of pursuit, to which persons of intellectual temper are most liable, when deprived of their congenial and proper excitement in the atmosphere of ambition or studious conversation.

But while his talents lay unemployed, and the native impulses of his mind stood still, the progress of time was marked by the increase of his family. His lady, whose promise of wealth had dissolved into an unsubstantial disappointment, was fortunate in the production of a numerous gradation of youthful mouths, which demanded to be fed; and Richard Cox was roused from the quiet ease of his farm, to the anxious consideration of the ways and means of life.

By the kindness of Sir Robert Southwell, he was quickly restored to the high road of advancement. In 1685, being then in his thirtieth year, he was elected recorder of Kinsale, and removed with his young family to Cork, where he entered at once on the practice of his profession, with rapid and honourable success.

His professional progress was destined to be retarded by interruptions, which were afterwards in no small degree instrumental to his rise. He had attained considerable practice, when his natural sagacity enabled him to perceive the approach of that reverse to the protestant interests in Ireland, which we have already so fully traced in a former memoir. The succession of James II. to the throne was the commencement of a strenuous effort to restore the supremacy of the two kingdoms to the Pope; and though the settled principles, and advanced political maturity of England, made it necessary to proceed with a cautious and underhand progress; in Ireland, where very opposite conditions prevailed, the real intentions of the court were not to

be overlooked by any person of ordinary observation. In Ireland, the mass of the aristocracy, as well as of the commercial interests, were protestant, and the civil authorities and legal constitution had that conformity which such a predominance of interest demanded in that age. But the peasantry were of the communion of the church of Rome; and they had now, since the days of James I., been governed by their priesthood—a body of men against whom it is no accusation to say, that their whole political morality was then centred in an earnest and conscientious principle of devotion to the Roman See. To this statement is to be added, that there was a large intermixture of persons and families of broken fortune, from varied causes, who were of the popular persuasion, and who had never relinquished the prospect of a reinstatement in possessions, which justice, the fortune of war, or the vicissitudes of fortune, and the advance of commercial wealth, had long transferred into other hands. With such elements smouldering under the recollections of 1641, and though hidden by the ashes of a generation scarcely extinct, it needed no deep insight to perceive what was to be the effect of a new struggle, in which these elements of wreck and ruin were to be blown by the breath of royal power and influence. To calculate on the same reaction in favour of right and justice, was not beyond the compass of reason; but far too unsatisfactory and uncertain for the fears of the boldest, who, like Cox, looked practically on the course of events. He relinquished his advantages, and sacrificing a present income of £300 a-year, removed for security with his family to Bristol.

He had, however, by that time, fortunately attained considerable reputation as a sound lawyer and able advocate, and being well known, he was not long destitute of business, but contrived to obtain an income competent to the support of his family, which consisted of a wife and five children. It was during this interval that he compiled the greater part of his known historical work, entitled "*Hibernia Anglicana*," often referred to in these memoirs.

Thus engaged, Cox continued at Bristol till the landing of the prince of Orange in England. On this event, while all was yet doubt, embarrassment, and the confused clamour of party, he hastened to London, and took a decided, and, we believe, not ineffectual part, in favour of the revolution. He published a pamphlet, in which he insisted on the necessity of giving the crown to William, and of sending relief to Ireland. His merits were at once recognised, or his patrons were at least efficient in recommending them. He was made under-secretary of state; and soon after accompanied Sir Robert Southwell, as secretary, to Ireland. His eminent sagacity, and extensive acquirements, here became so conspicuous, that he rose in the royal regard with rapidity; and when Waterford was surrendered, he was at once appointed recorder to that city. This was but a step to further elevation; and few months elapsed when he was raised to the bench, as one of the justices of the common pleas, on the 13th of September, 1690.

At this period of our history, the several functions of administration had not yet received the separate and ascertained character which belongs to mature forms and states of government. There was a necessary indistinctness in the limits of the different departments; the restrictions of civil form and professional privilege were comparatively

slight. The circumstance was at least favourable to talent: the person whose skill, superior efficiency, knowledge, moral virtues, or perhaps vices, raised him to rank or station, seldom failed to obtain employment, and to be raised to authority, in whatever department his inclination prompted him to look for promotion, or his capability recommended him. Cox, who in addition to considerable acquirements in general and professional knowledge, possessed an active temper and great practical sagacity, was thus prepared to catch to the utmost every gale of favour and preferment. He had been hardly raised to a position which would now be considered to demand the full devotion of the entire available industry of the most competent lawyer, when he obtained a promotion of equal importance, which must have exacted equal activity and confidence in a different department, having, in about half a-year from the date of his judicial appointment, been made military governor of Cork.

For this latter station Cox was eminently fitted; at least if regard be had to the time. His firm temper of mind and sagacious understanding communicated to his entire conduct that decided and unbending line of duty which the condition of that province demanded; while a stern and high-minded integrity obtained for him the respect of those who had any regard for such qualities, and ensured him the cordial support of those who were the immediate witnesses of his actions, and whose support was most needful. But, as inevitably must happen, and always has happened, in the struggles of Ireland,—where the inveteracy of party feeling renders men incapable of estimating human actions on any general ground of obligation,—his conduct in this station has been loudly arraigned for the extreme rigour which he was compelled to have recourse to. Writers who have discussed the confused politics of that period have too much suffered their understanding and temper to be absorbed in its spirit, not only entering with an undue warmth into the passions of the parties, but absolutely putting on their colours, ranging under their banners, and seeing through the medium of their prejudices. But after having witnessed the flagrant realities of the long and calamitous struggle of the revolution, and seen the actual and fearful effects of an universal relaxation of all the bonds of order, he was too well taught, that tranquillity, general security, and the peaceable progress of social improvement and civilization, were only to be obtained by the powerful and summary suppression of turbulent spirits, —only to be secured by the rough and stern hand of force. It is always easy for those whose habits of mind have been warped by perpetual advocacy, and who are engaged in the partial endeavour to justify and palliate every act of the side they espouse, to persuade themselves to such an extent, in favour of fallacies which are habitually diffused throughout the very texture of their intellects; as to imagine, that while the popular mind was in a state of unnatural excitement, their leaders still alert to seize occasion, while the hope of returning confusion made men ready to defy the law, and a generation trained to crime and insubordination, was, like suppressed fire, ever starting at every air-hole,—to imagine that they were to be held in peaceable and orderly subjection by the calm and tempered routine of balanced equity and justice. Popular excitement, never at any time grounded on the

dictates of political wisdom or justice, never was, or will be calmed by the appeal to reason, or satisfied in any way but by an unreserved triumph; unless when reason and justice are fortunately sanctioned and enforced by such means as alone can be felt or comprehended by untrained intellects and undisciplined passions. But in that uncivilized generation, the salvation of the land depended entirely on a timely and vigorous application of the only resource which their moral and intellectual condition permitted to be even understood; and we therefore consider it to the praise of Cox, that he availed himself effectually of those means. During his government in the county of Cork, though the frontier of his province extended eighty miles, with twenty garrisons under his charge, he continued to preserve order, unknown elsewhere, and never allowed the Jacobites to gain an inch of ground.

We may mention one instance of firmness and vigorous promptitude, which happened in this period of his life, the political history of which we have sufficiently detailed. De Ginckle had written to governor Cox to request a thousand of the Cork militia, who, under his superintendence, are said to have arrived at a very high state of military discipline, though the fact does not appear from the following anecdote. Of the required force all had already marched but 160 men, who positively refused to stir from their country. The colonel, after a vain resort to every means of persuasion, repaired to Cox, who declared that he would soon make them march. Surrounded by a party of gentlemen and officers, he rode up to them, and in a commanding and firm tone, asked why they were not on their march. One of them stood forth, and began to reply; the governor interrupted and addressed them in a few words, in which he asserted his power over them; but added, that as he did not desire the company of cowards, he would not use it;—he said, that he was sure there were among them some who were not afraid to fight for a king and country they loved, and that such would follow him; the rest might return to their homes." They all felt, and answered the appeal to their pride by immediate submission to order.

His able and spirited discharge of duties, so apparently foreign from his previous habits, obtained for Cox great and universal reputation. His commission and the scope of his government were considerably enlarged; and he continued to display a degree of active prudence, and decision of conduct, which effected the happiest results. He not only received the thanks of the English government, for the successful vigilance by which he preserved the public tranquillity in Ireland, but also the warmest expressions of gratitude from the numerous persons whose property he saved from devastation and pillage. As the enlargement of his jurisdiction had been occasioned by the fear of a French invasion, he was under the necessity of taking some precautions, which were, in the then state of Ireland, indispensably necessary, but calculated to cast some unpopularity on his character: the disarming the papists was, nevertheless, effected with a mild forbearance, and a regard to circumstances, not often to be met in the history of the country. He carried this harsh necessity into effect without irritating those who were its object, or bringing them into suspicion; and, using a sane and temperate discretion, he managed to limit the

measure to the real urgency of the supposed danger, and to avoid leaving respectable persons, from whom nothing was to be really apprehended, in a defenceless condition. The threat of invasion was, however, soon dispelled, by the defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue, in May.

In the same year, 1692, after having gone the summer circuit in the southern districts, with judge Reynel, he returned to Dublin; where, on the 5th of November, he was knighted by the lord Sydney, at that time lord-lieutenant of the kingdom.

In 1693, he was elected as a member of the Philosophical Society, which, about ten years before, had been founded by the exertions of the well-known William Molyneux, who was then more known as a philosopher than he has subsequently become as the author of a political pamphlet, which is noticed in his life in the preceding pages. On this occasion he read an essay containing his geographical account of the counties of Derry and Antrim. In the same year he paid a visit to England, where he met with cordial attention and favour from lord-treasurer Godolphin, and the other ministers of government. On this occasion he obtained an order from the treasury for the abatement of one-half of his quitrent. He was also appointed on the commission for Irish forfeitures, with a salary of £900 a-year. This honourable testimony to his talent, and the known high integrity of his character, had the undesirable consequence of plunging him more immediately within the vortex of cabal and factious clamour, which had been the distinguishing affliction of Ireland at all times, but never more conspicuously than at that period.

In the meantime Cox was appointed on the commission for the management of the forfeited lands. The strict equity with which he resisted an oppressive partiality on one side, and the urgency of menace and corruption on the other, soon drew upon him the clamorous accusations of those by whom the just forfeitures of the recent struggle were looked on as a prey; and the no less dangerous resentment of the leaders of popular feeling. It was no hard matter to raise a powerful set against him, and when everything was decided by the movements of intrigue, his displacement was a matter of course. One occasion is honourably distinguished, in which an effort was made to seize on the estates of several gentlemen of the county of Galway, in defiance of the articles of the capitulation by which they were secured from forfeiture. Cox insisted with equal truth and force on the manifest injustice of such a violation of a solemn treaty, and to the great discontent of the jobbing pack which formed the executive government in the castle, he saved the Galway gentlemen from losing their estates by an arbitrary order of council. Such an interference with the views of the Irish administration was not to be endured, and he was presently superseded, on the gratuitous pretext that the council might become a court of judicature, by the presence of so many judges. They covered their real design by dismissing at the same time another judge, whose abilities were of little weight. But soon after an effort was made to complete the manœuvre to the destruction of Sir Richard Cox's credit with the king, by a vote that the forfeitures in Ireland were mismanaged. The effort failed, and only served to raise the reputation it

was designed to destroy. Sir Richard defended himself against a formidable string of accusations, by statements so full, so well vouched, and so forcibly put forward, that the vote was lost. And to make the vindictive spirit of the whole proceeding more apparent, another method of effecting their purpose was resorted to: the commission was objected to on the ground of economy, which demanded a strict and parsimonious management of the revenue, and the reduction of an expensive establishment. In defence of the private policy by which the official agency of the Irish council was at that time governed in the conduct of affairs, we have little to say. We have both in the course of this memoir, and throughout this work, taken every occasion to enforce the distinction to be drawn between the general policy of government, or professed principles of public men or parties, and the private motives by which individuals acting in a system necessarily lax and insufficient in control, may have been led to pursue their personal interests at the cost of their public trusts. We do believe that the occasion of this commission afforded a far surer field for corrupt gain or the iniquitous decisions of private favour or enmity, than for the public advantage of the revenue. The very first origin of the measure involved a most arbitrary and iniquitous usurpation on the part of the English Commons of a power to which they had no claim. For the liquidation of the expenses of the war, it was so wholly inadequate, that on a distinct return, which was afterwards found to have overrated the value of the lands, it was given up.

Sir Richard Cox availed himself of the leisure obtained from his dismissal from a troublesome and invidious office to prosecute some of those numerous pursuits of study and research with which his active mind was filled. An "Essay for the conversion of the Irish" was among the chief results. He is also said to have composed and presented a memorial upon the bill then pending in the house of lords, to prohibit the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures.

In 1701, the lord chief justice of the common pleas died, and Sir Richard was promoted to his place by the king, immediately after which he obtained a seat in the privy council.

On the death of king William, he was summoned to England by Lord Methuen to give his advice on Irish affairs, more especially with a view to the measures to be proposed for the consideration of the Irish parliament. The political views of Sir Richard were in most respects enlightened by the union of great natural sagacity, with the most extensive local and practical information. With respect to the remoter effects, and more indirect influence of civil or economical enactments or managements, he participated in the general obscurity of his time. But he had clear views of the enormous disadvantages, and obstacles to improvement and civil progress, then existing in his country,—the barbarism of a large portion of the inhabitants—the political tendency to an alien jurisdiction, consequent upon a difference of churches—the obstacles and impediments to Irish trade, originating in defective laws and commercial jealousies: with these and such facts strongly impressed on his mind, the advice of Sir

Richard was just, as might be inferred from such knowledge, if referred to the existing state of human opinion, and prudent with regard to the real wants and exigencies of the day. He presented an extensive and clear view of the national resources, local and general; he exposed the political workings among the people and the leaders of popular opinion; the state of trade, with its advantages, and the difficulties to which it was subject. It is also probable that he cautiously laid open the practice of official abuse, which then to a great extent neutralized the beneficent intentions of the government.

Several legislative measures, afterwards passed into law, may be considered as the result of his counsel. Some of these exhibit the fears and cautions which had their foundation in the events of the previous reigns, and marked the entire policy of the day. The fears of popery, as then connected with the claims of rival families to the crown, are exemplified in an act "to prevent popish priests from coming into the kingdom;" an act "to make it high treason in this kingdom (Ireland) to impeach the succession to the crown, as limited by several acts of parliament;" an act "to prevent the further growth of popery;" an act "for registering the popish clergy;" and several others in the same spirit, of which one or two of the preambles will give the most authentic view of the intent and spirit, as well as of the political tendencies of the time. The first-mentioned act commences thus:—"Whereas great numbers of popish bishops, deans, friars, Jesuits, and other regulars of the popish clergy, do daily come into this kingdom from France, Spain, and other foreign parts, under the disguise or pretence of being popish secular priests, with intent to stir up her majesty's popish subjects to rebellion." From this and another act, "for registering the popish clergy," in the same year,* it seems that a distinction was made between the regular and secular priesthood of the church of Rome, the former of whom were viewed by the legislature as purely political in their design and agency, while the ministrations of the latter having only reference to the ecclesiastical and spiritual interests of the Irish, were not further contemplated by the second of these acts, than so far as was necessary to guard against the other orders, which both in the early struggles of the country, and in the recent and then yet existing machinations of the exiled family and its adherents, were undoubtedly instrumental, in a high degree, to the communications which they maintained with Ireland. This view is confirmed by the language of an act in the following year, by which the registering act is explained, and which evidently looks no further than the danger of rebellion. It is, however, evident, that a sense of such a nature in that age, when a disputed succession, turning mainly on the religion of a large class of the Irish people, who had always manifested an unusual tendency to civil strife, at every call of every mover or excitement, could not fail to awaken an intense spirit of suspicion and jealousy, of which the papists themselves must needs have been the direct objects. Nor, if the facts be directly regarded, was the sense either unnatural or without its justification in the actual state of the time, or in the records of the past. And here let it be recollected

* Ir. Statutes. An. Sec. Reg. Ann.

by our readers of that communion, that we have asserted the conditions of the question to have been altered by time, and the changes of continental politics; yet then the case was too plain even for the most dexterous advocacy of modern times to gloss over, without the aid of direct misstatement. Not only was there a strong and unsuppressed devotion to the Pretender, and a sentiment of national animosity sedulously fostered against the English and the protestants, but there was also yet remaining a strong and ardent hope on the part of the descendants of the ancient chiefs and toparchs of the land to regain their old possessions and barbaric control. The Pope still possessed the then expiring remains of that sway which in the middle ages was equivalent to the monarchy of the civilized world, and the regular clergy were yet under the persuasion that Ireland, and indeed England, were to be brought again within the pale of his jurisdiction. To effect these objects, there was but one apparent course—rebellion, under whatever name, or for whatever pretext it was promoted, among a population ever prompt to rebel, and ever open to every persuasion, and credulous of every pretext. Such was the state of facts; a mass of illusions consistent with the ignorance of the people, the iniquitous and turbulent projects of their leaders, and the excusable but inadmissible policy of the Romish church, constituted a case which must be regarded now as entirely exempt from the common rules of political justice, which do not contemplate such a state of things. Political freedom or equality must presume an acquiescence in the fundamental principles of the civil constitution; the maintenance of tenets, civil or ecclesiastical, which have for their object the overthrow of either the state itself, or of the existing rights of any class, or of the peace and order of the whole, must unquestionably be placed under whatever degree of constraint may appear essential for the purpose of effectual control. To this, we presume, no answer will be attempted; and we must confess, the surprise with which we have sometimes contemplated the injudicious and supererogatory efforts of modern popular writers and speakers forcibly to bring the claims of the Irish papists of modern times under the range of arguments from fact and principle, which, however they may be overlooked by a journalist or popular speaker, must ever have weight with the thoughtful and informed. These reflections are the necessary introduction to the mention of a measure which has always been described as one of peculiar hardship—the bill passed in the second year of queen Anne, for “preventing the further growth of popery;” an act which, however it may be justified in principle, is still open to more than doubt as to the prudence of its policy; a doubt which we would suggest on the strong ground, that in point of fact its severer clauses were never to any extent enforced. The act already noticed for guarding the succession, has one of its clauses to this effect:—“And forasmuch as it most manifestly appears that the papists of this kingdom, and other disaffected persons, do still entertain hopes of disappointing the said succession, as the same stands limited, for prevention whereof,” &c., &c. The act in question, among other matters in the preamble, states, that “many persons professing the popish religion have it in their power to raise divisions among protestants, by voting at elections for members of parliament, and also

have it in their power to use other ways and means, tending to the destruction of the protestant interests in this kingdom," &c., &c. Now, if it be kept in mind how much was then known and felt to depend on the safety and integrity of the protestant interests, and if the spirit be recollected that governed the entire conduct of those members of the church of Rome, who had the ignorant populace wholly at their command, the following harsh provisions will be more moderately and fairly judged of. 1st, They were forbidden to attempt to persuade protestants to renounce their church and creed. 2d, Papists were forbidden to send their children beyond seas for education. 3d, A provision is made to secure a subsistence for such children of popish parents as should embrace the protestant religion, in such cases as the parents should fail to provide for them, and the right of inheritance is secured to the eldest son, if a protestant. 4th, The guardianship of orphans is transferred from the nearest relative of the Romish, to the next of the protestant communion. 5th, Protestants having *any estate or interest* in the kingdom are forbidden to intermarry with papists. 6th, Papists are forbidden to purchase and estate in land, exceeding a lease of thirty-one years. 7th, Limits the descent of the estates of protestants to the next protestant heirs, passing over any papist who might be entitled to succeed on the demise of such possessors, unless in case of conformity within a certain specified time. 8th, Provides that the estates of papists' parents shall descend in gavelkind to their children, except in case where the eldest son should be a protestant at his father's death. These provisions are followed by others, for the purpose of securing their effect, by oaths and declarations. Of these one is a declaration for the purpose of ascertaining the creed, followed by an abjuration which we shall give at length, as confirmatory of the view here taken of the real intent of these enactments:—

"I A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare, in my conscience, before God and the world, that our sovereign lady, queen Ann, is lawful and rightful queen of this realm, and of all other her majestie's dominions and countries thereunto belonging. And I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do believe in my conscience, that the person pretended to be the Prince of Wales, during the life of the late king James, and since his decease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the style and title of king of England, by the name of James III., hath not any right or title whatsoever to the crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereto belonging; and I do renounce, refuse, and abjure, any allegiance or obedience to him. And I do swear, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to her majesty queen Ann, and her will defend to the utmost of my power, against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against her person, crown, or dignity. And I will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to her majesty, and her successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know to be against her, or any of them. And I do faithfully promise to the utmost of my power, to support, maintain, and defend the limitation and succession of the crown, against him, the said James, and all other persons whatsoever, as the same is, and stands limited by an act, intituled, *An Act declaring the rights and liberties of*

the subject, and settling the succession of the crown, to her present majesty, and the heirs of her body, being protestants; and as the same by one other act, intituled, An Act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject, is and stands limited after the decease of her majesty, and for default of issue of her majesty, to the princess Sophia, electress and duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being protestants. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common understanding of the same words, without equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition, acknowledgment, adjuration, renunciation, and promise, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian.

"SO HELP ME GOD."

The next clause states the importance of the cities of Limerick and Galway as garrison towns—a fact well confirmed by the entire history of the recent struggle—and on this view provides for their security, in case of any future outbreak of the same formidable spirit which had been laid with so much bloodshed and difficulty, by prohibiting the settlement there of any persons of the Romish communion after the 25th of March, 1703. and by exacting a security for the peaceable demeanour of those who were actual residents. This clause is described by a very clever, and not generally uncandid historian of the present day, with a recklessness of assertion not easily accounted for, even by that writer's extreme party principles,—a violation of the treaties of Limerick and Galway. The assertion is mischievous, as well as unfounded upon any clause or stipulation in either of those treaties. We are of opinion that the fears of the loyalists of that day, and the still more warrantable fears of the English and the commercial inhabitants of this island, contained some exaggeration: such is human feeling. We also think that the consequences of legislation, founded on the prepossessions of fear, were unfortunate; but taking as the true, and only true ground of a just appreciation of the *equity* of that entire system of harsh enactment, we feel bound to insist that it was all unanswerably justified by the whole history of the previous century. If this indeed were not the case,—if our English ancestors, to whom Ireland owes whatever she possesses of prosperity, had really, as Mr Taylor would represent, first robbed and then enslaved,—there is now no wise or humane object in insisting on the fact, or endeavouring to keep alive resentment and vindictive recollection; the wisdom, if not the sincerity, may surely be doubted, which for the service of party, would thus appeal to the very passions which have been the efficient and proximate causes of all the sufferings of unhappy Ireland. To what purpose can it be to tell the Irish people, (were it not an unwarrantable falsehood,) that they have been the victims of every wrong, but to excite that spirit of mistaken retaliation, which has ever, and will ever, recoil upon themselves. If they really were plundered, will the descendants of the plunderer be so gratuitously generous as to make restitution now, in the tenth generation? If they were oppressed, are their descendants to stretch the prerogative of Divine vengeance. and visit the sins of the fathers beyond the

third or fourth generation? If this were justified, in fact, what would be the consequence? *Such* justice will never be obtained while a hand can be lifted to resist: and those who falsify history to preach vengeance, would soon become witnesses to the reality which they so heedlessly overlook in the zeal of their patriotism, and be forced to acknowledge the neglected truth, that it is to such patriots and such a spirit, that Ireland owes all her sufferings. If she is never to know peace, or to attain civil progress, until the results of seven or eight centuries (results ever forgotten in the history of other nations) shall be reversed: she is then alone among nations doomed to a perpetual reproach and curse. These reflections are not designed to vindicate anything, or, on the other hand, to depreciate anything practicable for the advantage even of a party; but we would suggest, that the claims of justice and policy may be better preferred on their actual grounds, either in equity or expediency, than on irritating and false statements of the past.

This severe enactment was plainly suggested by the fear and prudence of the time. It was the direct inference from the history of centuries, and then enforced by events and political workings, fresh in the memory of all. If these facts have happily now no existence, if the Pretender is no more, if the papal supremacy has expired, if the old insurgent temper of the Irish populace has yielded to the influence of growing civilization, if their priesthood has ceased to be a political instrument in the hands of foreign potentates, if the race of old families, once the despots of the soil, have melted into the pacific waters of industry and civilization—why, then, surely this island is mature for a full participation in every right and blessing that equal laws and regulated liberty can give. There is no need for the imprudent and calumnious assumption of a different state of things, which, if it still existed, would render their claims most doubtful. Is it not unjust to give up the whole force of advocacy, by confounding the people of to-day with those of a hundred years ago? Why will the writers of the radical press wrong the people, and stultify themselves by facts which can be contradicted, and reasons which have no force, but to irritate the passions, and endanger the peace and safety of the peasantry, who are the only persons deceived? We should advocate the cause of Ireland on other grounds, and in a different strain. But we are hurried out of our course, by the party representations of writers, into whose works we have been compelled or induced to look. It is more to the purpose, to observe here, that the provisions of the statute thus questioned, contain much to be deeply regretted, as being severe for a purpose not to be attained by severities. The object to be then legitimately pursued, was the effectual control of classes which were actuated by an unsafe spirit; and no means essential to the purpose were superfluous. But with this essential policy, there mingled a considerable and fatal error: it was judged by the inexperienced simplicity of our ancestors, that Romanism itself, to which so many disasters seemed traceable, might be gradually worn out and extinguished by legislative enactments, which were not in fact designed for oppression, but as imposing a motive for what Sir Richard Cox would call “the conversion of the Irish,” it was, they thought, free to every man

to exchange a church which they held to be erroneous, for one which they held to be founded in divine truth; and if their notion was just, none could suffer by the change. They had no ill will to papists as men, but erroneously fancied that popery could be put down by penalties. In this they betrayed some ignorance of human nature, as well as of ecclesiastical history; and we are free to admit that the great support of Romanism in Ireland, has been the strength derived from the political character, and scope of influence thus infused into it. It is one of the unhappy conditions of fallen human nature, to be cold enough about religion as referrible to its real and only just principles, as expressed in the "first and great commandment," and the second, which "is like unto it." But for one who will love God or man, there are ten thousand who will joyfully fight in his name: when a spiritual principle is lowered into a vehicle for discontent, adventure, anger, or mere excitement of any kind, it gathers fire fast enough. It is indeed easier to wield or bear the faggot and brand, than to bear the common humiliations of the Christian walk, or to serve in peace. Such is man in every age and nation. And looking thus on the very justifiable fear and precaution of our forefathers, we think that it was unfortunate to plant, so deeply as they did, the roots of such a tree. The most anxious care, we believe, should be preserved, so far as may be, to keep a clear line between politics and religious tenets; we say, so far as may be, for it is not possible to exclude the consideration when the political and religious tenets happen to be one: a difficulty,—in some degree lessened by the fact, that the individual is not altogether to be identified with the church to which he belongs; for, if no stronger tie than the spiritual tie shall have been forcibly woven, most laymen are held but feebly by the bonds of mere ecclesiastical control. It is also not nearly so light a matter as it may be thought at first view, to take up a ground liable to misrepresentations of so dangerous a character as the charge of religious oppression. Whatever the occasion may chance to be, the rallying point of popular clamour will be some venerable name: for in the whole scope of error there is no admitted plea but truth and right. The most stringent system of civil control, directed against acts or conduct, is less liable to resistance of a dangerous kind, and far more transitory in its after-workings, than the lightest, which places resistance under the sanction of a sacred pretext, and the guidance of spiritual policy.

The papists asked leave to be heard by their counsel against this bill; and the desired permission was granted. Sir Theobald Butler, Messrs Malone, and Rice, attended, and exerted considerable eloquence and ability. They pleaded the treaty of Limerick, which their hearers considered as mere advocacy. They also urged the meritorious conduct of the papists since their last submission; but the argument was surely rather premature—the bloody experiment of insurrection will seldom be tried twice in the same generation. With more truth Butler dwelt on the danger of sowing strife between parents and children; and the truth was felt as a dreadful necessity. It only remains to add here, that this law was from the commencement ineffective. The provisions of real hardship, which affected property, and in some measure tended to injure the authority of parents, were easily eluded

by conveyances and incumbrances, and the whole resources of legal fiction and contrivance. The magistrates, in most instances, refused to perform their part in enforcing a law revolting to the pride, and prejudicial to the interests of those gentlemen, with whom, in the intercourse of private life, they were wont to live on terms of friendship and respect. The Irish parliament, it is true, made repeated efforts to enforce its laws; and in March, 1705, they passed a vote, "that all magistrates, and other persons whatsoever, who neglected or omitted to put the penal laws into due execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom." In 1709, an act for the further enforcement of this was passed, which demands no additional comment here, save that, while it enforced its essential provisions, it also so regulated and limited its operation, as to lessen the pernicious effects. We shall have, unfortunately, other occasions to revert to this topic, which presents the great stumbling-block to Irish history. It still continues to separate into two irreconcilable systems, the opinions, and even the records of the two great sections into which the intelligence of this country is divided. We shall have conducted our own statements with little skill indeed, if those who think with either, unless with unusual moderation, will consent to reckon us among their parties. On party questions we have already stated truly, and more than once, our principle,—the nature of which is to exclude general reproach from all those great sections of society, who, acting sincerely on the principles they hold for true and just, or the interests by which they are connected, have looked on each other's opinions not only with rational dissent, but even with aversion and prejudice, and in the conflict of long contention and recrimination, have inculpated each other with more accusation and calumny, (true and false,) and obscured each other's whole history with more animosity than the ordinary powers of human reason can avail to remove, correct, and enlighten. In this we pledge ourselves to no particular view of any question; but simply mean to assert, and, so far as in us lies, maintain the assertion, that the public desires and demands of the great aggregate of all public bodies, are always honest, and founded on *their notions* of right and justice. These are, mostly on all sides, largely alloyed with fallacies of every kind; but the bad passions which such oppositions must on both sides call into being, are far the worst, because the most permanent of the evils they produce. And whatever may have been the wrongs, oppressions, or murders and robberies committed on either side, by those unprincipled individuals never wanting to any—their mischief would, like all the real results of this transitory world, die with the actors and sufferers, and produce no effect upon the aftertime, were they not kept alive by the advocacy of party; so that every generation is successively inflamed by the firebrand kindled in the pile of ancient animosities. The story of the phoenix rising regenerated from the ancestral nest, has no stronger type in reality than the hell-kite of dissension, which preys on the peace of this country. But once more, we must refrain: the time is not yet ripe for the one truth, deeply reproachful as it is to all who have sought the good of the country, loving her prosperity "not wisely, but too well." The whole of her sufferings are the result of *protracted dissension*: the combatants, when they pause to look at stained and tram-

pled ground, the broken walls, and the air surcharged with the dust of conflict, may point to the dismal scene, and accuse each other as authors of the ruin wrought by their mutual madness.*

It is more pleasing to the historian to turn from the gloom of such considerations, to the efforts of more enlightened policy for the facilitation of trade. A disordered state of public feeling, the vast uncertainty of peace, and the want of encouragement from the ascendant power of England, presented serious obstacles to a commerce so fortunate in its natural resources, that even these disadvantages could not prevent it from making a considerable start in advance, whenever there was a breathing time from civil fury. The obstacles which resulted from an uncertain state of property, and still more from the feebleness and defectiveness of the law, presented a more constant pressure, and were less capable of being remedied by any occasional measure or individual resistance; they operated not so much by direct interference, as by the influence they had in enfeebling the vital functions of trade by the effect which they had on public credit. To remedy this disadvantage, few laws were made, because the eye of the government was diverted from the ordinary processes of civil life, by the violent and disordered processes which affected the whole state of the land, in which no member performed its proper office, or moved in its proper place. An act "for quieting possessions, and disposing of undisposed and *plus* acres," was among the most useful and judicious enactments planned on the same occasion. In the preamble of this act, several statements are incidentally made, which throw some light on the policy of the government, and the state of the country. The introductory sentences state, that "Whereas it will very much tend to the prosperity of this kingdom, which hath been ruined by the frequent rebellions of Irish papists, and to the interests of your majesty's revenue, that your good subjects be quieted in their possessions, and encouraged to plant and improve the country." For the purpose of this encouragement, so essential to the advance of Irish prosperity, two main provisions are contained in this act,—viz., the disposal of certain residual denominations of lands, of which the principal part had already been granted, or otherwise disposed of. These portions, called *plus* acres, were now to be "vested in such person, or persons, who, on the 1st day of October, 1702, were in the possession of such *plus* acres, by themselves, their tenants, &c.," to be enjoyed by them and their heirs for ever, liable to such quitrent as was payable out of the other portions of the same denominations already vested. And by the following clause, to terminate all disputes about the possession of such land, a power was vested in the lord-lieutenant and six of the privy council, within three years to hear, and finally determine, all claims to their possession. The act goes on to state the fact, that there still continued to be large tracts of the same class of lands undisposed of; for the most part so sterile as

* How far the principle here enforced is capable of any practical application is a question of a different kind, and not within our province. Rights, whether real or imaginary, will not be relinquished for the good of mankind; and truth, if sacred, ought not, for any earthly consideration. But it is the more incumbent on those who agitate the world, to weigh well the tenets they support and propagate,

not to be worth any quitrent, "and therefore remains desolate and uninhabited, but are a receptacle for thieves, robbers, and tories, to the great detriment of the country, and delay of her majesty's revenue." On these considerations, a power is similarly given to the lord-lieutenant, &c., as before, to grant those lands to protestants, for reasonable rents, and such terms of years as they might see fit. Still more to the purpose declared in the preamble, is the first clause of the next following chapter of the act, which confirms every estate vested in pursuance of the acts of settlement and explanation, in the last reign, to be held free from all liabilities and exceptions contained in the provisions of that act, and in future barring all claimants who had not hitherto brought their actions, by the full and final extinction of their pretended rights.*

An advantage of at least equal importance to the trade of this kingdom was the act for recovery of small debts, &c., attributable entirely to the judicious advice of Sir Richard Cox. He also obtained an act of the English parliament, allowing the exportation of Irish linen direct to the colonies.

The effect of his visit to England was to make the character and distinguished abilities of Cox more thoroughly known and appreciated; and Mr Methuen, the Irish chancellor, having been sent ambassador to Portugal, Cox was raised to that high office.

In 1705, Sir Richard was appointed lord-justice, together with lord Cutts, the duke of Ormonde being at the time lord-lieutenant. The jacobite principles of this nobleman were fully understood, and there was entertained among the members of the Irish administration an anxious wish for his removal. The reader is aware that on both sides of the water there was at this time a powerful though latent collision of the two great antagonist parties on the subject of the succession. It was universally felt that the queen and court party were secretly favourable to the Pretender, and that all the great leaders of the court party kept up a private correspondence with that unfortunate family. Among these, some, as Marlborough, Harley, &c., were simply desirous to keep themselves well with either side, and had a sincere desire to preserve the act of settlement as limited by the act of succession. Others, among whom St John with the duke of Ormonde were the chief, were more sincere in their political zeal for the exile. The jacobites were of course preferred to place and power; and during this reign there was a general disposition of the administrative arrangements for the purposes of that party. This was carried to as great a height as the strong and universal sense of the British public admitted, so that there is abundant proof that the most of the court measures and appointments were dictated by James, or by his authorized agents in London. Ireland was, as ever, the rallying point of expectation; the devoted tenacity of the popular affections, the influence of the Roman See, the over-mastery of the thoroughly diffused agency of the regular clergy, and the general, and indeed natural, bias of a prevailing creed, which by its very institution was political, and which a stringent control imbibited; all these considerations, of which the

* Ir. Statutes, 2 Anne Reg. c. ix.

most prominent had already made Ireland the stage of a desolating conflict, now made it the scene of an important byplay of party. Under these circumstances, it is not improbable that there were several strong currents of public feeling against the person and conduct of the duke of Ormonde. In spite of the popularity of his very name and title, it was in effect difficult for him long to continue in favour with any. Compelled by circumstances to pursue a line of conduct which deprived him of the regard of the Irish party, his real temper and private views were too well known to be trusted by the English. The British cabinet, reluctantly hurried along by the strong zeal of the whig party, which then occupied the position and politics of the modern conservative, the measures of the administration were for the most part in conformity with the great protestant feeling in England, and the duke was directed to "prevent the growth of popery." To this effect he had pledged himself, and he kept his promise. From the state of feeling already described as secretly governing the administration of affairs, we should be inclined to infer that numerous under-currents of fear, suspicion, doubt, and intrigue, of which we have before us no direct evidence, then strongly agitated the minds of political men, and led to demonstrations not now precisely to be explained. The duke was, we doubt not, at the time sincere in his profession of political faith, though after-circumstances show that his mind was working round to the strong bias of the court. If the inference should yet be premature, still the anti-Jacobite zeal of the English people, and of the protestant party in Ireland, exasperated by a just suspicion of the court party, was not easily satisfied. The distinction of whig and tory became at this time prevalent in Ireland, and with it, it is probable, that the violent party feelings connected with it were also imported—from which our inference derives additional probability. Whatever were the duke's opinions, he must have at the time begun to be an object of jealous observation. And if it be said that the decision of his conduct was sufficient to exempt him from doubt, yet it is to be observed that for this he had the less credit with the whig party, as he was known to have, from carelessness and facility of character, so entangled himself in the discharge of his public trusts, as to be much in the power of the leaders of that party. Whatever were the causes, after the duke's recall to England, the feeling of the council against his continuing to hold the vice-regal office, began to show itself strongly. Lord Cutts, with Sir Richard Cox, were on this occasion appointed lords-justices. Cutts died, and an effort was made by some of the Irish council to persuade Sir Richard to issue writs to the council to elect a governor; by this means hoping that the duke might be superseded tacitly. To render this proposal more persuasive, it is asserted that it was suggested to Sir Richard that he would be the person on whom the choice of the council would fall. He was too experienced and sagacious to be circumvented by such an artifice, and repelled the temptation. An old statute of Henry VIII. was proposed as the authority for this proposal: Sir Richard explained that this statute was but a provision for the absence of the chief magistrate of the kingdom. The councillors urged, and Sir Richard consulted his learned brethren, the judges and law officers of the crown, who coincided in his view, to which, thus confirmed, he

adhered, to the no small vexation of those who had endeavoured to urge him on the opposite course.

In April, 1707, the duke of Ormonde was removed, and the earl of Pembroke was appointed in his room. There seems, at the moment, to have been a strong doubt among Sir Richard's friends as to the consequences of the change as regarded himself. But on the following June, he found himself under the necessity of resigning the seals to the lord-lieutenant, who took them with an assurance that he would not have received them but with the design of adequate compensation. Sir Richard was aware of the active enmity to which both his recent conduct and his known politics had exposed him, and he felt that he must not expect to pass free from its effects; but with the natural firmness of his manly character, he resolved to face his enemies, and trust to the integrity of his entire conduct and character. His country affairs had been for some time calling for his presence, and he had been preparing to leave town; but, considering the construction which political animosity is always prepared to fasten on the most indifferent actions, he resolved to stand his ground, and brave the inquiry which he knew his enemies would soon set on foot. On this point he was not kept in suspense: numerous accusations were brought against him; all of which he answered so fully and ably, as they followed each other, that the malevolence of his accusers was confounded, and their perseverance wearied.

On the death of queen Anne, Sir Richard retired from public life. In April, 1733, he was seized with an apoplectic attack, of which he died in the following month, at the age of eighty-three. He was endowed with many personal advantages, and many great qualifications for the professional career in which he rose to eminence, as well as for literature, such as it was in Ireland in his day. His historical work is well known, and has been largely used in the former parts of this work. His zeal, as a Protestant writer, is such as to render him liable to the charge of partiality; but he cannot be fairly charged with misrepresentation; and they who would make the charge, would do well to weigh his statements taken with their foundation in fact and general consistency, compared with the unmeasured and angry statements of the writers who may be regarded as his antagonists. His zeal is to be accounted for creditably, by the actual state of Ireland through his long life; and if we make many abatements on the score of fear and error, still, to estimate mens' conduct justly, we have no right to demand superhuman penetration, that looks beyond the present probabilities and appearances, and measures opposition by the philosophical standard of a political canon, which, in the middle of the 19th century has not yet been ascertained.

GEORGE FARQUHAR.

BORN, A.D. 1678.—DIED, A.D. 1707.

FARQUHAR was the son of a clergyman, and was born in Londonderry in 1678. He is said to have manifested early proofs of dramatic genius. He entered in the university of Dublin, in 1694; and, for some time, showed both industry and talent, but soon fell into a course of dissipation. The result was a total relaxation in his studies, and, if the account which has been given of his expulsion from college be true, he must have, for some time at least, fallen very low into the depraved levities, to which the young are liable when too soon set free from parental control. His class had been given an exercise on a sacred subject, which Farquhar having neglected until he was called upon in the hall, or perhaps in his tutor's apartment; he then proposed to acquit himself by an extemporaneous exercise. The proposal was allowed, and he wrote or uttered a jest at the same time so wretched, indecent, and blasphemous, that we cannot here make even an allusion to its monstrous purport. We are, indeed, inclined to disbelieve a story of such silliness and depravity; but, if it really occurred, it would serve to exemplify a mind so far gone from every sense of respect and decency, as for a time at least to have forgotten their existence in others; for it is said that Farquhar was disappointed at the failure of a witticism which could only have been tolerated in the last stages of drunkenness, to elicit the approbation of sober and religious men.

The narrative of this strange account relates that, in consequence he was expelled, *tanquam pestilentia hujus societatis*, from the university. The walks of professional life, which are the general aim of academic study, were thus closed against him, and he took refuge upon the stage for which he had in the meantime contracted a strong taste. He had formed an intimacy with Wilks, a well-known English actor, at the time engaged in Dublin, and by his interposition obtained an engagement. His *debut* was favourable, and he continued for a short time on the stage, until he had the ill fortune to wound a brother actor very severely in playing a part in Dryden's play of the Indian emperor. The accident was occasioned by his having inadvertently neglected to change his sword for a foil, in a scene in which he was to kill his antagonist. He was so much shocked that he resolved at once to abandon the stage as an actor.

His friend Wilks was at the time engaged by Rich to play in London. Farquhar accompanied him—and there is reason to presume, that he must have previously made up his mind to try his fortune and genius as a dramatic writer. He had also the good fortune to become acquainted with the earl of Orrery, who gave him a lieutenancy in his regiment.

In 1698, he brought out his comedy of "Love in a Bottle," which was acted with applause. In 1700, he produced his "Trip to the Jubilee," and obtained well-merited popularity by the character of Sir Harry Wildair. This celebrated comedy had a run of fifty-three

nights, and gained a reputation for Wilks in the principal character not inferior to that of the author. The same year Farquhar paid a visit to Holland, where he obtained the notice due to his celebrity. Among the incidents of this visit, he mentions an entertainment given by the earl of Westmoreland, at which king William was a guest.

By the influence of Farquhar, that well-known actress, Mrs Oldfield, was first introduced to the London boards in her sixteenth year. Her success was promoted by a drama brought out in 1701 by her protector, in which she obtained very distinguished applause. This was the year of Dryden's death—and Farquhar gives a description of his funeral in one of his letters. The following year he published his letters, essays, and poems, which are replete with all the peculiar qualities of his mind. Among these letters there is one in which he gives to his mistress, Mrs Oldfield, a very characteristic description of himself. "My outside is neither better nor worse than Creator made it; and the piece being drawn by so great an artist, 'twere presumption to say there were many strokes amiss. I have a body qualified to answer all the ends of its creation, and that's sufficient. As to the mind, which, in most men, wears as many changes as their body, so in me 'tis generally dressed in *black*. In short, my constitution is very splenetic, and my amours, both which I endeavour to hide lest the former should offend others, and the latter incommode myself; and my mind is so vigilant in restraining these two failings, that I am taken for an easy-natured man by my own sex, and an ill-natured clown by yours. I have little estate but what lies under the circumference of my hat; and should I by misfortune lose my head, I should not be worth a groat. But I ought to thank Providence that I can, by three hours' study, live one and twenty, with satisfaction to myself, and contribute to the maintenance of more families than some who have thousands a year."

In 1702, "the Inconstant" appeared with less than his usual success: this is accounted for by the circumstance of a change in the public taste in favour of the Italian opera. The same year he became the dupe of a female adventurer, who took a violent fancy to him, and determined to obtain him for a husband by an unprincipled stratagem, which, perhaps, loses much of its disgusting character when viewed in reference to the lax morals of the period, and the depraved lessons of the stage, in which Farquhar had his ample share. Knowing that he was not to be won without money, the female of whom we speak caused reports of her ample fortune to be circulated in every quarter which best suited her design. And, in the same way, it was conveyed to the vain poet's ear, that she had become desperately in love with him. Farquhar, who was utterly devoid of discretion, at once fell into the snare: the double bait was more than vanity and poverty could withstand. He married his fair ensnarer, and was, of course, undeceived not very satisfactorily—such a practical exemplification of his art he must have considered as bordering too nearly upon the tragic. But it was among the lessons of his pen, and in the habitual contemplation of his mind more nearly allied to the wit of the comic author, than to the baseness of the actual reality. Farquhar too, was not one to brood over an injury, or to reflect very seriously on any-

thing: if he was shocked, it was only for a moment, and he easily forgave the trick; and is said to have always after conducted himself with affection and kindness to his wife.

In 1704, he produced the "Stage Coach," a farce, with the assistance of a friend. In the following year "The Twin Rivals" appeared; and in 1706, "The Recruiting Officer," of which he is mentioned to have collected the materials on a recruiting party in which he was employed for his regiment, in Shrewsbury. Captain Plume, in this farce, is supposed to represent the author himself, and serjeant Kite his serjeant.

The "Beaux Stratagem" completes the list of his works. It still holds a high place in the list of what is called genteel comedy; we know not whether it yet retains any place on the stage, but it was a favourite in the early part of the present century. He died before its appearance—a prey to grief and disappointment, owing to great distress of circumstances, and, it is said, the perfidy of his patron. This nobleman, when applied to in the hour of need, persuaded him to relieve himself by the sale of his commission, and promised to obtain another for him very soon. The advice was followed, but the promise was forgotten; and Farquhar was so heavily affected by the painful feelings occasioned by such a complicated affliction he never again held up his head, but died in April, 1707, in his twenty-ninth year. He left two daughters in a state of entire destitution; but they were befriended by Wilks, his first and last earthly friend, to whom a very pathetic appeal was found among his papers after his death: it was the following brief note:—

"DEAR BOB,

"I have not anything to leave thee to perpetuate my memory but two helpless girls; look upon them sometimes, and think of him that was to the last moment of his life thine,

"GEORGE FARQUHAR."

Wilks obtained a benefit for the girls—it was very successful, and the produce was employed for their support.

Many years have past since we have looked into the comedies of Farquhar; we can now form but an indistinct opinion of their general character and merits from any recollection of our own. They belong perhaps to a department of the drama, which, of all branches of English literature, is the least likely to be restored to the possession of that popular favour which is the legitimate claim of those dramas which pretend to the representation of life and manners. Farquhar has been compared with Congreve. If the preference were to be settled with regard to pre-eminence of genius, or even superiority in that wit, in which both excelled, we should not hesitate to decide for Congreve—if, indeed, we should admit the propriety of so unequal a comparison. But Farquhar has his advantages which, although less brilliant and imposing when viewed with regard to genius only, give him many practical claims to an effective superiority. Compared with his greater rival, he is far more natural, and far less licentious and impure: and while the sparkling dialogues of Congreve could never have

taken place except upon the stage, Farquhar's scenes were at least true to human life, the manners of his day, and the passions of nature. His plots were also more finished, and the style of his dialogue more simple and unaffected.

Either of these distinguished comic writers, if they should at a future time be looked into, will be chiefly valuable for the reflexion which they retain of the taste and morals of the age in which they wrote; for, of both, it may be said, that they are licentious and artificial. There yet remained the consequences of that corruption of which we think the origin must be looked for in the disorders of the long rebellion, but which was nurtured and brought to its rank maturity in the hotbed of king Charles' court. A strong reaction set in during the reign of William and Mary; but the taint was too congenial for human nature to throw off with ease. Purer rules may be adopted by the reason and conscience, long before taste and fashion, which dwell in pleasures and levities, will be restored. The misapplications of talent are directed by the beck and eye of folly—to say no worse—and the taste of succeeding generations will long continue vitiated by the perpetuating influence of the poet.

It was in this generation, and in the person of Congreve, that the licentiousness of the comic drama received a check from which we are inclined to date much of the reform in manners, which can be subsequently traced. We refer to Collier's "Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage," published in 1688. He was weakly opposed by Congreve, whose opposition had only the effect of prolonging, and giving added decision to the victory of his antagonist. "Collier lived," writes Dr Johnson, "to see the reward of his labour in the reformation of the theatre."

Of Congreve, we are entitled to offer a separate notice, as he was educated first at Kilkenny, and then in the university of Dublin. The place of his birth has been disputed, but he was himself strenuous in the assertion of his claim to have been a native of England. We do not see any reason to dispute the point, and our fast contracting limits offer some for declining the doubtful honour. So far as education may be allowed to govern the judgment, store the memory, or guide the taste, his literary reputation is due to the university of Dublin. A brief but sufficient memoir of his life has been written by Johnson, whose writings are in every hand.

NAHUM TATE.

BORN A.D. 1652.—DIED A.D. 1715.

NAHUM TATE was the son of a clergyman of the county of Cavan. He was born in Dublin, whither his father had been driven by the rebels. His father became, after some vicissitudes, minister of Werburgh's church in Dublin. It may be inferred that the son had the advantages of a peaceable youth and pious education. At the age of sixteen he entered the university of Dublin. He was favoured

early with the patronage of the earl of Dorset, and succeeded Shadwell as poet laureat. The incidents of his life were few and uninteresting. He fell into great distress and died, it is said in the Mint, into which he had escaped from his creditors.

As a writer, he cannot receive much commendation—his poems and dramatic works could hardly be considered as entitling him to a notice here. But those far and universally known versions of the psalms, which have given to piety a welcome and available resource, and added to sacred music the utterance of inspired feeling, is not to be rated by the talent that has been employed in the pious and honourable task. When the proudest monuments of human genius shall have past away, and when the thoughts of which the very foundation and meaning subsist in perishable things shall have been forgotten, the meanest song, in which eternal truths are uttered, may be preserved by their abiding truth, and be a portion of the records of heaven.

The songs of Zion do not indeed demand the genius of Moore or Byron, to give to heavenly inspiration the power of earthly genius. They demand no refined and artful melody of versification, no terse and pointed rhetoric of style, to wrest them from their pure and simple significancy: they refuse the additions which are involved in the whole art of poetry, and have only required, with the utmost truth and fidelity to be conformed to the rhythm adapted to church music, and to the genius of the national ear. To be sung, as in their origin they were, and to be still the song of every rank and tongue, as well adapted to the sabbath-evening of the peasant, as the endowed cathedral; to be the effusion of the simplest christian piety, and still not lose their tone and echo of the ancient harp of Israel, only demanded changes of form, to which aspiring genius, with its excess of invention and profuse array of intellectual tints, will not be confined; and which a thorough infusion of genuine sympathy with pious sentiments, can alone command. In such a task a more refined and gifted mind than Tate's might have found itself wanting; and, it may perhaps be not unfitly added—for we have seen it variously exemplified—that a degree of intellectual power little competent in most exertions of human aim, when employed in the service of God, and elevated by that Spirit which is greater than the power of genius, will reach to heights which can be accounted for in no other way than by tracing them to the source of all truth and wisdom,—such efforts will ever be found characterized by a chaste adaptation to their good and hallowed purpose.

ROBERT, VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

BORN A.D. 1656.—DIED A.D. 1725.

THE Molesworth family anciently possessed rank and fortune in the counties of Bedford and Northampton; and are traced so far back as the reign of the first Edward, from whom their ancestor, Sir William de Molesworth, received knighthood in 1306, on the occasion when

prince Edward was knighted. He had attended the king in his expedition to the Holy Land, and, at several times, received distinguished honours from him and his successor.

From a younger branch of his descendants in a direct line, came Robert, the father of the person here under our notice. In the rebellion of 1641, he came into Ireland as a captain in the regiment commanded by his elder brother. At the termination of the civil wars, he became an undertaker, and obtained 2500 acres of land in the county of Meath. He afterwards became a merchant in Dublin, and rose into great wealth and favour with the government. He died in 1656.

Four days after his father's death, in the same year, Robert Molesworth was born—the only son of his father.

He received his education in Dublin, and entered the university. He married early, probably in his twentieth year, a sister of the earl of Bellamont. In the struggle previous to the Revolution, he came forward early in support of the prince of Orange, for which his estates were seized by king James, under whose parliament he was attainted. He was, however, soon restored to his rights, by king William, who entertained a high esteem for him; and, soon after his accession to the throne, sent him as an envoy into Denmark.

At Denmark he fell into some disfavour with the Danish court. The circumstances are only known through the representations of an adversary; but they are probable, and may be substantially true. He is stated, by Dr King, on the authority of the Danish envoy, to have most unwarrantably trespassed on the royal privileges, by hunting in the royal preserves, and riding on the road exclusively appropriated to the king. In consequence of those freedoms, he was forbidden the court, and left the country without the ordinary form of an audience. On his arrival in England, he wrote and published "An Account of Denmark." The book was written under the influence of resentment, and gave a very unfavourable account of the Danish government. It was, of course, highly resented by that court, and most especially by prince George, who was married to the English princess Anne, afterwards queen of England. A complaint was made to king William, by Scheele, the Danish envoy in London—he also supplied Dr King with materials for a reply—on the warrant of which we have the above particulars.

Molesworth's book became at once popular, and was the means of greatly extending his reputation, and raising him in the estimation of the most eminent literary characters of the day. He served in the Irish house of commons, for the borough of Swords. He was elected to a seat in the English parliament, for East Retford. He obtained a seat in the privy council, in the reign of queen Anne—but lost it in 1713, in the heat of party, in consequence of a complaint brought against him by the lower house of convocation, for some words of an insulting purport spoken by him in public. It is, however, easy to see that, in the fierce animosity of the tories then striving for existence, a staunch supporter of the house of Hanover had little chance of favour. The "Crisis," mentioned in the previous memoir, was partly written in defence of Molesworth.

At length the accession of George the first once more restored the Whigs to place and favour. Molesworth was again named as one of the Irish privy council, and a commissioner of trade and plantations.

In 1716, the king created him an Irish peer, under the titles of baron Philipstown and viscount Molesworth of Swords, by patent, dated 16th July, 1716. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, and took a prominent part in every concern which affected the welfare of his country, till the last two years of his life, when he withdrew from public affairs, and devoted his time to literary retirement.

He died 22d May, 1725, and was buried at Swords.

Besides his "Account of Denmark," he wrote several pieces of considerable ability, which had, in their day, the effect of exciting public attention, and awakening a useful spirit in Ireland.

In 1723, he published an address to the Irish house of commons for the encouragement of agriculture, and in 1719, a letter relative to the Irish peerage. He translated a political treatise of the civilian Hottoman, from the Latin, and this work reached a second edition, in 1721. His tracts were numerous, and were generally approved for their strong sense and plain force of style.

THOMAS SOUTHERN.

BORN A. D. 1659—DIED A. D. 1746.

SOUTHERN was born in Dublin in 1659, and entered the Dublin University in 1676. He did not continue his academical studies for more than a year, when he quitted Ireland, and went to study law in London. The temper of mind which was impatient of the studies of the University, was not likely to be fixed by the severer attractions of special pleading. Southern soon turned aside to dally with the lighter muse.

In 1682, the "Persian Prince," his earliest dramatic production, was acted. One of the principal persons of this drama was designed as a compliment to the duke of York, from whom he received a gratuity in return. After the accession of this prince to the throne, Southern obtained an ensigncy in the regiment of earl Ferrers, and served in Monmouth's rebellion. After this was terminated by the capture of that ill-fated nobleman, Southern seems to have left the army and given himself wholly to dramatic composition. He is mentioned as having acquired more money by his plays than any writer up to his time, and to have been the first to obtain a second and third night of representation for the author of a successful play. He also received sums till then unknown for his copyright, and gave larger prices for prologues. Pope notices this, in his lines addressed to Southern, with which we shall close this notice. Dryden having once asked him how much he got by a play—was answered, £700; while, by Dryden's comment on the circumstance, it appears that he had himself never obtained more than £100. This we are more inclined to attribute to the address and prudence of Southern, and to other causes of

